



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND VERTVOVS LADIE, THE LADIE

HARINGTON.

MADAME, the late pestilence in Couentrie, which occasioned my translation &c. of this Historie, moved me also, in part, to addresse the same unto your Honour.

For being altogether restrained then, from free practise of my profession abroad, & no lesse impatient of idleness at home, I could not readily thinke of a better course to spend that vacation, than in an Argument having a reference to mine old Grammaticall Muses, and according, in some sort, with my latter studies in Physick. What bowres therefore, either the doubtful or diseased estate of my neighbours, together with the meditations of mine owne mortalitie would afford, I employed gladly in the said Subiect.

Againe, for as much as the selfe same cause debarred me from accessse unto your house at Combe (a dutie that otherwise the vicinity of our aboad did require) I fully resolved at the finishing of those my Sedentary labours, to present the same to your view: thereby to sheild my selfe (whom it pleased you be foretime to grace with kind entertainement) from the iust imputation of rude negligence in that behalfe. But now, since the same citie so dangerous the yeare before, is become a retyring place of safety for your Household, & hath to mee already yeelded fit opportunitie to excuse my former absence personally by word of mouth, I have presumed nevertheles to dedicate the same unto your Honour, as a token of my thankfulness for your bounteous favour, farre above the proportion of my deserts,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

deserts, and an earnest penny of that propense minde, which I carie to honour your name, in the best maner I could devise.

And verily calling to my remembrance how courteously you have vouchsafed heretofore to accept even at second hand my trauailes in this kinde, and with good words testified oftentimes the contentment you received therein, I had no reason to doubt the like acceptance of that which out of a loving and devote heart I offer first unto your selfe.

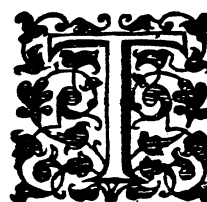
Lastly, when I consider, how together with sincere pietie, rare wisdom, and other eminent vertues, there is seated in your person a singular affection to advance good literature, with an extraordinarie respect of learned men, I knew no means out of my small fortunes to do you greater honour, than by entituling you as Patronesse of that, which may benefit young Scholers, my countrymen, that would be learned: to give knowledge unto the word, that all the profit or pleasure whatsoever, which shall grow unto them, from these endeavours of mine, are derived immediatly from you and for your sake bestowed upon them.

These motives, right Honorable, as well of my first enterprise, as of chusing your Patronage, if it please you to approue, (the onely thing that I humbly crave at your hand for this present) I shall not only thinke my pains well taken and choise as well made: prising your acceptance to the worth of a competent guerdon: but also continue my hearty prayers unto the Almighty for your perfect health, proceeding in a vertuous course of life, with increase of true Honour here upon earth, and after the revolution of many new yeares, for eternall happinesse in the highest Heaven.

Your Honours most readie at command,
Philémon Holland.



To the Readers.



HAT yee may with better contentment reade these Historically reports of the twelve first CÆSARS, which SVETONIUS hath delivered most truly, compiled as compendiously, and digested right methodically; I have thought it good with some few advertisements pramised, to commend the same unto you.

First therefore, whereas by the iudgement of the best learned, and the Analogie of other Histories, hee seemeth to affect nothing so much as uncorrupt & plaine truth, (the principall vertue of an Historiographer) forbearing to meddle with those * Emperours in whose daies he flourished; because he would not thrust himselfe into danger by revealing, nor betray the libertie of a writer in concealing the faults; much lesse incur the note of Flatterie, extolling above measure the good parts of Princes then living; and to that purpose penned their lives, who were lately deceased, as one said very well, *eadem libertate qua ipsi vixerunt*: if happlie in prosecuting of this point, he hath recorded ought that may be offensive to chaste and modest mindes, yee shal do well to glaunce over with your eye such places lightly, as I with my pen touched unwillingly.

Secondly, forasmuch as he continueth in generall the Narrations of the said Princes, from before their Nativitie unto their Death & Funerals: and in the severall discourses, of their ages, affaires, vertues, vices, feature & lineaments of bodie, first, after an uniform maner, proposeth throughout certain heads summarily, and then exemplifieth the same in due order by perticulers (a most lightsome method and way of teaching) keeping him selfe still to the Subiect matter, without any digressions at all: my advise is, that for your more expedite course in reading the whole, yee direct your minde thereunto. Now, for that his IULIUS CÆSAR forteth not with the rest, but appeareth *dispar* as whose antecedours, birth, childhoode, &c. be not set downe; (which maime I impute rather to the iniurie of time, than unto the purpose or oversight of the Authour) I have in some sort supplied that defect, with the labours of LEVVIS VIVES, TORRENTIVS and others, which I finde præfixed in the last and best Editions.

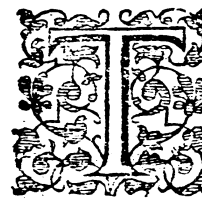
Thirdly, considering that brevitie is many times the mother of Obscuritie, may it please those among you, who are not so conuersant in such concise writings, as admit not one word superfluous, to have recourse, for the clearing of some doubts unto the margin, as also to those briefe Annotations, which for their sakes, out of mine owne readings, together with the select observations of BEROALDVS, SABELLICVS, TORRENTIVS and CASAVBONVS I have collected. Which also will ease them of many difficulties that his succinct style and termes, not elswhere obvious, interlaced, may otherwise breed.

Finally, if there happen to occur some Errata, that might escape either my pen in writing, or the ordinarie diligence of meane Correctors in the printing, ye will of your iudicious candour, I hope, either passe them over with connivency, if they be literall, or else taxe with some easie censure in case they bee materiall: So long as for your full satisfaction, ye may with small paines before yee begin either to read or iudge, correct what is amisse, according to the Examen and Review annexed to the end of all.

Farewell.

Nerva,
Traianus,
and Hadrianus
whom
secretarie
he was.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE BEGINNING OF C. IVLIUS CEASAR DICTATOR.



THE IVLIAN lineage, as most men are persuaded, is descended from Ascanius Iulus, the sonne of Aeneas by Creusa: which Iulus, after he had left Lavinium, built long Alba: wherein also he reigned. Others, grounding upon a more assured evidence, have thought it good to derive the same rather from Iulus the son of Ascanius. For when after the death of (this) Ascanius, the Kingdom of the Latines was devolved* againe upon Sylvius the sonne of Aeneas and Lavinia, the charge of Religion & sacred ceremonies of the Latin and Trojan Nation both, remained yet still in the race and progenie of Iulus: out of which are sprung the Iulij. These (Iulij) with certaine other most noble families of Latium, Tullius Hostilius King of the Romans, after he had raised Alba, translated to Rome, and raunged among the Nobilitie. Late it was, ere they rose and mounted to high place of Magistracie; but were reckoned almost in the last ranke of the Patricians of ancient Nobilitie: & of them, the Iulij bare the principall names. For C. Iulius, (sonne of Lucius) surnamed also Iulus, was Consul together with P. Pinarius Mamerinus Rufus, in the yeare after the foundation of Rome citie* 264. And* seven yeeres after,* his sonne, with Q. Fabius Vibulanus (Consul) the second time. Againe, some space of time coming betweene, Vopiscus Iulius, sonne of Caius and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Consulshippe with L. Aemilius* Mamerinus third time Consul, in the yeere* 280. I finde likewise, that in the yeere* 302. Caius Iulius, sonne of Caius, and nephew of Lucius, was a decemvir for the enacting and pruning of Lawes, and that in the former Election of that Magistracie: as also, that Caius Iulius sonne of Caius and Nephew of Caius, became Consul with Marcus Geganius Macerinus, in the yeere* 306. and the selfe (some men a second time, with Lucius Verginius Triostus in the yeere* 318: and immediately in the* yeere next following, at third time, with the same Verginius now twice Consul. And thus much for the Iulij. For to rehearse and collect all them of that familie, together with the honorable places of everie one, which were many in number, and of sundry kindes; is not our purpose: and besides, the thing is selfe is apparent and upon record in the publick Registers.

Moreover, I have observed in the Iulian line, a certaine house also of the Mentones: and among them, one Caius Iulius, colleague in the Consulshippe with T. Quintus Pennus Cincinnatus, in the 322. yeere after the foundation of the citie. I finde likewise, Caius Iulius Denter to be master of the Horsemen, when Caius Claudius Crassus Sabinus Regillensis was Dictator, for to hold their solemn assembly of Election in the yeere 405. There were besides of these Iulij, others going under the name of Libones: and of the same race one triumphed; to wit, Lucius Iulius, sonne of Lucius and nephew of Lucius; companion in the Consulate which Marcus Atilius Regulus, in the yeere* 486. But, as touching Caius Iulius sonne of Lucius, and surnamed Caesar Strabo, whom Suetonius also ment in the 55. chapter of Iulius Caesar, and Cicero praiseth in his Brutus, and in the second booke of his Oratour, I doubt, whether this addition (Strabo,) should not be taken as a by-name. For, otherwise there is in our hands a peece of silver coine, with the inscription of Lucius Iulius, sonne of Lucius, and surnamed Strabo. The Epigramme of the former is extant among the Antiquities of Rome citie, in this manner.

C. Iulius, L. F. Caesar Strabo, AEd. Cur. Q. Trib. Mil. Bis
XVII. AGR. D. and. AD TR. IV D. Pontif.

To conclude, I have met with writers, who reckoned also among the Iulij, certaine* Annales: which, for mine owne part verily, I could never yet light upon, in searching the Records & Chronicles. But in the eight booke of the Familiar Epistles (of Cicero) and namely in the seventh letter there, of M. Caelius unto Cicero, there is mention made among others, of one L. Iulius, sonne of Lucius, Pomp. Annalis: where the writing (as I suppose) is not very certaine and

* or returned unto

* or rather 265, according to the Chronology annexed unto Titus Livius.

* By the computation of Dionysius, T. Livius, Celsiodorus & others.

* C. Iulius, or Iulus.

* al. Mamerinus

* or 28, after the

Caro.

nologie 2.

for claid of Dionysius.

* more truly 303

* 307, by Livius 300

compte

* 319.

320.

487

* So surnamed.

* Haply Pompeius of the tribe Pompeia

A Supplement &c:

clearly acknowledge. For besides that the better corrected Copies call him Villius, (for Iulius) Livie also hath expressly & plainly written in his fortieth booke, that one Lucius Villius a Tribune of the Commons, made a Law which provided and ordained, in what yeere of mens age they might sue for everie kinde of Magistracie, and be capable thereof. Whereupon, unto that familie was given this surname, to be called Annales. Thus farre Livius. Hereunto may be added this more note; that the Kinred Iulia, is reckoned in the Tribe Fabia (and not Pompina), as we have noted in the fortieth chapter of Augustus. I am of opinion therefore, that safer it is to account the Annales among the Villii, and not the Iulii. But thus much thereof, by the way, and as it were passing by; Now proceede me to the rest.

In the lineage Iulia then, there was a familie also of the Cæsars. But what the reason should be of that surname, it is not certainly knowne; no more, than who he was, that first bare the saide surname. For before Cæsar the Dictator, and his father and grandfather, there were Iulii named Cæsars. As for example; He, who (as Livie witnesseth in his 27. booke) was in the second Punic warre sent from the Senate to Crispinus the Consul, about the nomination of a Dictator. As for the terme Cæsars, those usually the Romane tongue surnamed so, who were borne, either by ripping their mothers wombes, or with a * bush of haire growing on their heads, or else * cry-cad. Some add moreover the tale of an Elephant slaine in Africk, which the inhabitants there call Cæsars; and upon that verie cause, this surname first befall unto Cæsar the Dictator's Grand-father. But Spartianus and Scivius, the Authors hereof, are of the meanest credite and authority. For not his progeny alone, of all the Iulii, had this surname, but many others besides of his kinde and kindred, both long before and also together with him.

(Consult before Iulius Cæsar the Dictator, there were, Sext. Iulius, sonne of Caius, nephew of Lucius, together with Lucius Aurelius Orestes, in the yeere after the foundation of Rome * 595. Also Sext. Iulius sonne of Caius, nephew of Sext. was colleague with L. Marcus Philippus in the beginning of the Sociall warre in the yeere after the cities foundation * 662. and in the next yeere after, Lucius Iulius sonne of Lucius, and Nephew of Lucius, bare the Consulate with Pub. Rutilius Lupus. Neither before these, were any of the Cæsars renowned or advanced to the highest Office * of State. Many yeeres after, out of the same familie, Lucius Cæsar, son of Sextus and * cousin Germane to that C. Iulius Cæsar, who begat the Dictator, and attained only to the Preturship, who also died at Pisa without any evident sicknesse, even as he did his soles on in a morning, that L. Cæsar I say, came to be Consul.

Well, Cæsar the Dictator was borne at Rome (when Caius Marcius and Lucius Valerius Flaccus were Consuls) upon the fourth day before the Ides of Quintilis, which moneth after his death, was by vertue of the Law Antonia called for that cause, Iulie. His bringing up bee had with his mother Aurelia, daughter of Caius Cotta, and his aunt by the fathers side Iulia, the wife of Marcus. Whereupon grew the love that he tooke (a Patrician though he were) to the Plebeian Follies, and the hatred he bare to Sulla. The Greeke and Latine tongue, the precepes also and rules of Oratorie, he learned of M. Anticius Gnipho, a French man borne. Who being of an excellent wit and singular memorie, courtiers besides in his behaviour, and of a kinde of good nature, taught the Greeke and Latine Grammer, & Rhetoricke withal, first in the house of Caius Cæsar his father, after wards in his own; and got much thereby, such was the bounty of his father, in giving that he never compounded with them for any wages or reward. Now you may call Cæsar a wonderful dulle and apt to learne, yet and framed naturally for eloquence.

His Latine speech was trimly garnished, (tho' not Domesticall acquaintance) by his mother Aurelia, who taught him to speake the Romane tongue purely and elegantly like as the Muciae, Lelie, Cornelia, and other right honorable Dames did, in whose families there arose Orators of great name.

An Index to the Historie and Marginall Glosse.

A			
in Agrippa.	Page, 83	Killeth himselfe.	44
Accensus.	8	Taxed for obscurity of speech.	45
Acilius for his valour compared with Cynegirus.	27	Antonie, sonne of M. Antonius killed.	77
Acroames.	249	Antonius Musa Physician to Augustus	45
Aetia battaile and victory.	44-45	Cæsar, honoured by the people.	65
Aetours upon the Stage, and Champions in what manner chastised.	60	Anticyra the Isle.	146
Ad anthium.	110	Apelles an Actor, whipped by Caligula.	138
Adminius, Cinobelinus sonne.	144	Apollonius Molo:	2
Adulterie punished.	54, 104	Apollo Palatinus his temple.	51
Egythus the adulterer.	21	Apollo Sandaliarius,	65
Elianus gently reproved by Augustus.	62	Apollo Temenites.	121
Elius Lamia put to death by Domitian.	265	Apollo Intonus et xuepeneung:	207
		Apollo Totor.	70
		Apollodorus of Pergamus,	77
		Aponius Saturninus confined by Caligula,	141
Enobarbi,	178, 202	Apparell of Romane Citizens,	57
The reason of that name.	ibidem	Appius Cæcus:	88
Æsar, what it signifieth.	83	Appius Claudius Regillanus,	88
Æserminus hurt in Troy tournament.	58	Apragopolis an Isle,	83
Afranius his treacherie.	29	Aræus the Philosopher.	78
Agraria law.	8	Artocreas,	16
Agrippa, Nephew to Augustus, in disfavour,	67	Asclepiades Mendefius,	80
He is slaine.	99	Ascleptario a famous Astrologer,	269
Agrippina wife of Germanicus persecuted by Tiberius Cæsar:	111	Killed by Domitian,	269
Pined to death.	ibidem	Asellius Sabinus, his Dialogue,	107
Agrippina daughter of Germanicus wedded to Claudius Cæsar her own Vnkle.		Asiaticus, Vitellius his minion,	235
		Hemistadeth Vitellius,	ibidem
		Asxoye pueu.	24
Enamoured upon Galba.	174	Asinius Pollio complaineth of the Troie-fight.	58
Mother of Nero, by him killed.	196	Asprenas Nonius in question for poison.	64
Ajax.	76	Asses what peeces of money:	79
Alauda, the Legion why so called:	10	Astarte	208
Alexandrines salute Augustus,	83	Astrologers misliked by Tiberius Cæsar:	104
Ametyst colour and purple in graine forbidden.	194	Astura:	83
Amnestia.	89	Atalanta and Meleagers picture:	107
Amphitheatres three.	61	Atergate:	203
Ancilia,	226	Atia the mother of Augustus:	39
Anicetus slandereth himselfe with Octavia	197	Thought to bee conceived by a Serpent:	50
Anna Perenna,	52	Her dreame,	ibidem
Anticatones, bookes so called,	23	Atrium, what it is,	51
Antistius Labeo, his franke-speech to Augustus Cæsar.	63	Atrium libertatis,	ibidem
Antonia daughter of Claudius killed by Nero.	197	Augurie of Sallius:	51
M. Antonius vanquished by Augustus.		Augusta what they be,	40
		Augustus Cæsar ubraided for his base	

THE INDEX.

Parentage:	39	cles, &c:	60
His birth:	ibidem	His clemencie and fatherly regard, the	60
His pedigree:	38	wed to foraine Princes and Potentates:	61
Surnamed Thurinus,	ibidem: 40	How he ordered his militarie forces,	61
Surnamed C. Cæsar. &c,	ibidem	His clemencie to his Opposites,	62
His towardly young yeeres,	40	His courteousie and civill behaviour,	63
A student in Apollonia,	40	Howe much beloved of all sorts and de-	64, 65
His five civill warres,	40, 41	grees:	66
Hee revengeth his Vnkle Iulius Cæsars	41	His wives:	66
death.	41	Howe hee brought up his Daughter and	67
Hee fideth against M. Antonius the Tri-	41	Nieces,	67
umvir	41	His unhappinesse in his progenie:	67
His victory against Pansa & Hirtius.	41	His demeanour to his friends:	67, 68
He putteth the Nurfines to a fine,	42	To his freed men and servants:	68
Hee entreth societie of Triumvirate with	42	Noted for bodily uncleannessse against	69
Antonie and Lepidus.	42	kind:	69
His bloody cruelty.	42, 43	For adulteries,	ibidem
He hardly escaped murdering.	43	Taxed for Corinthian vessels,	70
His dangers at sea.	43, 44	For Dice-play:	ibidem
By land.	44	His integrity of life,	70: 71
Hee deposed and confined Lepidus his	44	His apparell,	72, 75
Colleague.	44	His order at the table:	72
He disgraced M. Antonius.	44	His diet for himselfe,	72
His moderate cariage toward M. Antoni-	ibidem	His abstinence of wine,	73
us.	ibidem	His sleepes,	73
He vanquisheth M. Antonius.	44	His presence and personage,	73, 74
He forceth Alexandria in Aegipt.	44	His stature and feature:	74
Hee caused Antonie and Cleopatra, to be	45	His infirmities of body,	74, 75
honourably buried.	45	His bodily exercises,	75
He clenseth the river Nilus:	ibidem	His recreations and pastimes,	75
In danger of many conspiracies:	45	His eloquence and liberall studies,	76
His foraine warres:	46	His voice and vterance.	76
Not desirous of large dominion:	46	What bookes and compositions he made:	76
His moderation whereby hee won many	46	His Poetry,	76
nations:	46	His Ajax:	76
His triumphs.	47	He misliketh indifferently of affectate and	76
His sorrow for the losse of Quintilius Va-	47	antique phrases:	76, 77
rus:	47	His phrases in ordinary talke,	77
His military Discipline:	47	What teachers he followed,	77
His manner of rewarding Souldiours	47	Not ready in the Greeke language,	78
His offices of Estate.	48	A lover of fine-wits,	78
His cruelty in the time of Triumvirate.	49	His religious scrupulosity,	78
Perpetuall Tribune:	50	His respective observance of foraine cere-	79
Perpetuall Censor,	50	monies,	79
His purpose to resigne vp his absolute go-	50	His greatnes fore-told by propheties, ora-	79
vernment:	50	cles, &c,	79
His fatherly care for Romes prosperitie.	50	By Dreames and Prodigies,	81, 82
His publick works and buildings:	50	His miracles that he wrought,	81
His lenity and severity both in ministring	53	His prescience of future things:	82
justice.	53	His death fore-signified.	82
He ordaineth a priuie Counsel:	54	His Deification prefigured,	83
He deviseth new Offices:	55	The sicknesse whereof he died:	83
His bounty in rewarding Souldiours:	55	His mirth & affability a little before death	83
Endangered at the sight of solemne Games,	59	His death.	84
His delight in beholding publick Specta-	59	His age.	85
		His	85

THE INDEX.

His Deification.	85	Weddeth Pompeia and putteth her away.	3
His Monument.	85	An æmulus of K. Alexander the Great.	3
His last will.	85, 99	His dreame,	3
His wealth and treasure.	86	His conspiracies for alteration of State.	4
His bounty to the Common-wealth.	86	His games exhibited, and workes during	4
His opinion of Tiberius Cæsar.	98, 154	his Aedileship:	45
Augustians,	155	Sweth for the Province of Aegipt,	5
Augustum sæculum.	190	Chosen chiefe Priest,	5
Aurelia Iulius Cæsars mother.	85	Favourable to Catiline and his complices,	5: 6
Aureus, of what value it is.	224	He converted Catulus and suffred a foile.	6
		He gave over his Senatours Robe,	6
		Restored againe,	7
		Detecteth Catilines conspiracie,	7
		Appeached by Verrius and acquitt:	7
		In danger of his creditours,	7
		Chosen Consul,	7
		Sideth with Cn: Pompeius,	8
		His Acts whiles he was Consul,	8
		He ruleth Consul alone,	8
		His absolute rule in his Consulate,	8
		He weddeth Calpurnia,	9
		He chooseth the government of Gaule.	9
		His proud and arrogant words,	9
		Accused by Antisthus,	10
		His Acts in Gaule,	10, 11
		He warred vpon the Brittaines,	11
		His aduerse fortune in warre,	11
		Aspireth to the Empire of Rome,	11
		His largesses,	11, 12
		His proceeding crossed by Claudius Mar-	12
		cellus,	12
		The pretences and causes of his civill	13
		warre:	13
		His first enterprise of civill warre, and his	14
		departure from Rome	14
		His exploits in the civill warre,	15
		Hee encountreth the forces of Pompeius,	15
		He vanquisheth Pompeius,	15
		He warreth vpon K. Ptolomeus,	15
		He subdueth Pharmaces, Scipio, Iuba, and	15
		Pompeies children,	15
		His fortune in warres,	16
		His triumphs,	16
		His liberality to his Souldiours & the peo-	16
		ple,	16
		His Plaies and Spectacles exhibited to the	16
		people:	16
		How hee commended his Candidates for	17
		Offices,	17
		The ordinances that hee made in his Dic-	18
		tatourship,	18
		What stately workes and buildings hee in-	19
		tended,	19
		His shape, feature, apparell, and behavi-	19
		our.	19
			19

B

Babilus, a great Astrologer.	198
Banishment voluntarie.	18
Basilides,	244
Bathing seldome,	75
Bawderie maintained by Caligula.	142
Beccus what it signifieth,	238
Bellona.	71
Berenice,	255
Bibulus Aedile with Iulius Cæsar.	4
His prety speech touching his Colleague	5
Cæsar.	3
Consul with him.	4, 8
He stood for a Cypher in both offices.	198
Blazing starre what it portendeth.	3, 29
Bona Dea, the Goddeesse,	90
Bonet the badge of Freedome.	169
Boter, Father of Claudia.	32
Brachæ.	162
Britaine attempted by Claudius Cæsar.	168
Britannicus the sonne of Claudius the Em-	169
perour.	195
Recommended to the Souldiours and Cõ-	71
mons.	198
Poisoned by Nero.	134
Buildings stately & sumptuous Augustus	
Cæsar careth not for.	
Burrius poisoned by Nero.	
Buthysia,	

C

Cænis the Paramour and Concubine of	241
Vespasian,	83
C: in Cæsar,	30
A. Cæcina railleth vpon Iulius Cæsar.	1
C. Iulius Cæsar Dictator persecuted by	2
Sulla.	2, 3
Obtaineth his pardon.	2, 54
His warfare during his youth,	1
Suspected for wantonnesse with K. Nico-	2
medes,	2
Taketh part with the Marians,	3
Retired to Rhodes,	
Taken by Pirates,	
What Funerall Orations he made,	

THE INDEX

How he covered his bald head.	19	He is put to death,	45
His exccesse in house-furniture.	20	L. Cæsar commended by Augustus: 15, 2.	
His severitie in domesticall discipline.	20	L. Cæsar his cankred malice against Iulius	
His passive incontinencie.	20, 22	Cæsar Dictator,	30
His whoredome and adulterie.	21	Cæsaræa, the name of divers Cities,	65
He kept Queene Cleopatra.	21	Cæsonia slaine with her husband Caligula,	151
Abstinent of wine and nothing curious in his fare.	22	Caius and Lucius adopted by Augustus	
His extortion and sacrilegē.	22	Cæsar,	66
His eloquence.	22	They both die,	96, 67
His promuntiation and gesture.	23	Caius a fatall name to the Cæsars,	151
His orations and writings,	23, 24	Caius, Nephew of Augustus ill affected	
His Commentaries.	23	to Tiberius Cæsar,	94
His letters misive.	24	Calends,	77
His manner of writing.	24	Ad Calendas Græcas.	77
His paines taking in warlike expeditions.	24	Caius Cæsar Caligula his birth.	125
Whether he were more warie or adventurous, doubtfull.	24	The place of his nativity,	125
Irreligious.	25	Why surnamed Caligula,	126
His militare pollicie.	25	Beloved and respected of the Soldiours,	
His resolution in Battailles.	25, 26	His hypocrisie,	126
His martiall Discipline.	26	His cruell nature,	126
His affability to his Souldiours.	26	He plotteth for the Empire,	127
His affectionate love unto them.	27	He courteth Ennia wife to Macro,	127
Beloved of his Souldiours.	27	Practiseth the death of Tiberius Cæsar,	127
His Souldiours valour and fidelity to him.	27	With what ioy of people and forainers he	
His severity unto mutinous Souldiours.	28	entred upon the Empire,	127, 128
Taxed for his manner of beholding publick spectacles.	60	His popularity,	ibidem
His faithfull love to his Dependants.	28	His shew of Pietie and kindnes,	128
His respective kindnes to his friends.	28	His semblance of restoring the common	
Sooner reconciled.	28	liberty,	129
His clemencie to his enemies, in warre and after victory.	29	What honours were decreed and done	
To Romaine Citizens.	ibidem	unto him,	129
His ambitious pride and arrogancie in deeds.	30	His largesse and bounty,	130
The same also in words.	30, 31	His publick plaies and Spectacles exhibited,	130
How hee incurred the envie and hatred of the world:	31	His bridge betweene Baiæ and Puteoli,	130
He openly affecteth regal Empire.	31	The motive of making it,	131
Conspiracie against him.	32	Works by him finished,	131
His death fore-signified.	32	His style,	131
His last will and testament.	34	He usurpeth divine majestie & honor:	132
Murdered in the Senate-house.	33	His sacrifices,	132
His murderers died miserably.	36	His unkindnesse to his owne blood,	132
His Funeralls & solemne obsequies,	34, 35	His incest,	133
Not willing to live, and why?	35	With Drusilla his owne sister,	ibidem
Hee wished for a quick and unexpected death.	36	His sorrow for her death,	133
His age.	36	His mariages,	134
His canonization after death:	ibidem	He weddeth Cæsonia,	134, 138
Cæsar 10, Cæsars supposed son by Cleopatra.	21	His unnaturall cruelty to his best deserving friends,	135
		His bloody & proud nature,	135, 136, 137
		His unplaceable nature,	136
		His jests and scoffes,	138
		His envie and malice,	138
		To Homer, Virgil, and Livie,	139
		He was envious of all good parts.	139

THE INDEX

His particular spite and envie to Colosse-ros.	139	far:	81
His vncleanenes and incontinencie.	139	Causarj:	240
His cruell pillage,	140	Cautelous and cunning casts punished by	
His riot and wastfull expence.	140	Tiberius Cæsar,	104
Wrongfull proceedings.	141	Cercopithecus:	193
His Dice play.	143	Centumviral causes:	246
His extraordinary loue to money.	143	Charicles the Physician:	120
His martiall acts.		Chariotiers and their factions: 180, Re-	
His mock-warfare:	144	strained,	186
His bounty.	145	Christians nicknamed Christians,	167
His triumph.	145	Christians persecuted and put to death	
His hatred to the Senate.	145	under Nero,	186
His cruell proiects.	146	Choregus:	69
His stature, shape, &c.	146	Clamber Tullius a conspiratour against Iu-	
His infirmities of body and mind.	146	lius Cæsar:	33
His vices:	146, 147	Helvius Cinna killed in steed of Corn:	
His habite and apparell.	147	Cinna:	35
His naturall eloquence:	148	M: Cicero his dreame of young Octavius	
His profession of arts:	148	afterwards Augustus,	81
What faction of Chariotiers and Sword-		City, what it signifieth,	162
fencers he favoured:	149	Civil, how to be understood,	101
His death contriued:	149	Claudian family both Patrian and Ple-	
His death foretold by strange signes:	149	beian,	87
	150	The beginning of the Claudian family at	
He is murdered.	151	Rome,	87
His corps enterrē.	151	Claudius Caudex,	88
Callipides.	105	Claudius Drusus,	88
C. Calvus made libels of Cæsar:	28	Claudius Pulcher,	88
Calvini:	178	Claudia noble women and their sundry	
A Camp maintained about Rome:	Y04	examples,	88
Capita Bubula:	39	Claudij opposite to the commons,	88
Capitol at Capua:	150, 106	Sext. Claudius an old Fornicatour,	106
Capricorne, the stamp of a Coine:	82	Claudia water,	163
Caprea, the Island exchanged by Augustus Cæsar for Aenaria:	79	Claudia espoused to Augustus Cæsar,	66
A place wherein Tiberius Cæsar delighted:	106	Claudia daughter of Claudius the Empe-	
Capys founder of Capua: 32. His Sepul-		rouer,	169
cher:	ibidem	Claudius the Emperour his birth:	253
Carmelus:	243	His youth,	154
Carnulius killeth himselfe:		His study in liberall Sciences,	154
Cassita, what bird.	10	Reputed no better than a foole,	154
Cassius Chærea, a principall conspiratour		His sluggardie, folly, drunkennesse, and	
against Caligula:	149	gaming:	155
Cassius Longinus, Proconsul, killed by		Honoured by all estates,	156
Caligula:	150	Of base reckoning,	156
Cassius Longinus a Lawier killed by Ne-		His troubles,	157
ro:	198	How he attained to the Empire,	157
Cæsars or Casca, a conspiratour of Iulius		He executeth certaine conspiratours,	158
Cæsars death.	33	His piety and kindnes:	158
Cassius Patavinus gently chasticed by		His modest cariage,	158, 159
Augustus:	62	His popularitie,	159
Castra scelerata:	153	In danger of Treasons,	159
Catta and Catti:	236	His Consulates,	159
Valerius Catullus his Epigrams of Cæsar:	28	His jurisdiction,	159
		His variant conditions,	160
		His wife judgement,	160
		His contemptible demeanour,	160
		His censorship,	161, 162
		His warlike expedition,	162

THE INDEX.

His triumph:	<i>ibidem</i>	Corne distributed by Augustus:	57
His care over the City of Rome.	<i>ibidem</i>	Cornelia Law:	18, 53
The workes and buildings that hee made.	163	Craffus Frugi:	162
His munificence,	163, 164	Columbus a Mirmillon Fencer:	149
His bald jests.	164, 165	Covetousnes & Avarice how they differ:	264
His navall fight.	165	A Crow prophesieth:	272
His religious ceremonies.	165	Crucifying:	29
His managing of civil affaires.	165, 166	Curiæ:	67
His exploiting of martiall feates.	<i>ibidem</i>	Curiatæ leges:	67
His ordinances in sundry kinds.	167	Curtius lake:	65
Ruled by his wives and freed-men.	168	Cutiliæ waters:	251
His wives,	168		
His divorcements.	168		
His children.	168		
His cruelty and iniustice.	170		
His person and feature.	170		
His health.	170		
His manner of feasting.	170		
How hee vsed a filching guest at his bord.	171		
	171		
His appetite to meate.	171		
His wantonnesse:	171		
His dice-play.	<i>ibidem</i>		
His bloody nature.	171		
His timorous diffidence,	172		
His anger and malice,	173		
His foolishnesse:	173		
His oblivion & inconsiderate blindness.	174		
	174		
His unadvised words.	174		
He compiled an history:	174, 175		
His other bookes:	175		
He studied Greeke:	175		
Hee repenteth his mariage with Agrippina:	175		
He maketh much of Britannicus his sonne.	176		
	176		
His death:	176		
Murdred with the privy of Nero.	195		
Canonized a God:	176		
Clanens rebelleth against Tiberius:	100		
Cleopatra poisoneth her selfe:	45		
P. Clodius suspected for incontinencie with Pompeia, Iulius Cæsars wife:	3, 29		
Adopted into the Rank of Commanders:	88		
	88		
A Comet why so called:	251		
Commoions prevented by Tiberius Cæsar:	105		
Commoitioners punished by him:	105		
Comædie the olde allowed by Augustus:	78		
	78		
Compitalitiij plaies:	52		
Concordes temple:	98		
Congiarie given by Augustus Cæsar:	57		
Consuls when they entred into their office:	57		
Conventus what they be:	3		
	3		
		Daies observed by Augustus,	79
		Date tree,	81
		Datus a Comædian Actor,	200
		Decemvirs,	55
		Decocted water of Nero,	206
		Decurions:	85
		Deliciæ Romanis,	75
		Demetrius a Cynick Philosopher:	247
		Distare,	30
		Diogenes the Grammarian how hee was requited by Tiberius Cæsar.	103
		Dis, why so called,	226
		Dixus, what it is,	271
		Dodecatheos a supper of Augustus Cæsar	69
		Dominus a title & terme reiected by Augustus,	63
		L. Donutius the Stock-father of the Acnobarbi:	178
		Cn. Domitius:	179
		Domitius the Grand father of Nero:	180
		His acts,	180
		Domitius the Father of Nero,	180
		His pranks,	181
		Domitian the Emperours birth,	259
		His poverty in his youth,	250
		Noted for unnaturall impurity,	260
		Saluted Cæsar,	260
		His wilde and vnruely pranks,	260
		His ambition,	260
		His study in Poetry,	<i>ibidem</i>
		Most vnkind to his brother,	261
		Putteth away his wife Domitia,	<i>ibidem</i>
		His couetise and cruelty,	261
		His publicke Shewes,	261
		His Games,	262
		His building,	262
		His warlike expeditions,	262
		Histrimph,	262
		His manner of feasting, & house-keeping:	263
		He added ij factions of Characters:	263
		A precise Iusticer:	263

THE INDEX.

Hereformeth abuses in Iudiciall Courts,	129
His severe reformation of all Enonimities,	263
His hypocritical religion,	264
His bountifull mind,	264
His false semblance of Clemencie and piety,	264
His barbarous cruelty,	265
In his cruelty, subtiltill and crafty,	266
His rapines and wrongs,	267
His insolencie and Arrogancy	267
His 7 Consulships.	267
Heforeknew the houre of his owne death	268
His death wrought by his neereſt favorites, and wife.	268
Suſpitiouſ and fearefull of death.	268
His deſtruction foretold by many prodigies,	269
His Apophtheumes and notable ſentences.	271
Murderd in his bedchamber,	269
His recreations,	271
His Stature and countenance,	270
His effeminate wantonneſſe.	271
Impatience of fall labour.	170. 271.
An excellent archer.	271.
Murderers of him executed.	272.
Domitia, wiſe of Domitian falleth in fancy with Paris the player.	261
Doves,	81
Druides and their Religion,	167
Drufilla ſiſter of Caligula	133
Honored as goddeſſe,	133
Drufus ſonne of Tiberius Caſar,	110
His vices and death,	110. 116
Drufus a name, from whence it commeth,	89
Dec. Drufus Nero father to Claudius Caſar.	152
Begotten in adultery.	152
His acts,	152, 153
His death and honours after death,	153
His will.	153
Drufina ſoſter.	153
Drufus ſonne of Claudius Caſar choaked with a pearce,	168
Ducenaries,	166
A dwerfe,	59
Dwerfes ſeleſted by Auguſtus.	75
Dyrnachium ſtrongly beleaguered by Auguſtus Caſar,	27
E	
Elephants walking vpon Ropes.	213
Eleuſine Sacred Ceremonies,	144
Ellebor.	146
Emblema.	
Epaphroditus Neroes ſecretary put to death by Domitian.	269
Epicadus his conſpiracie againſt Auguſtus.	49
Equeſtria,	135
Ergaſtula.	92
Elius Proculus called Coloſſeros,	139
Eugeſia & Eugeſias,	269
Euthanaſia.	84
Exceſſe in houſe furniture reſtrained.	103
Exceſſe in fare of the table reſtrained	53. 54. 103. 185
See more in ſumptuarie.	
Exploratorie Coronets.	144
Extortion of the Pollentians puniſhed by Tiberius Caſar.	105
F	
Fall of an Amphitheatre at Fidenæ.	106
Fauſtus his treacherous rebellion.	29
Felix a freed man of Claudius the Emperour.	169
Fercula; what they be.	92
Fiſt fight Auguſtus Caſar delighted in.	60
Flaminiſhip of Iupiter.	52
Flavijs.	239
T. Flavius Petronianus,	239
Flavius Sabinus a faithfull Publicane.	240
Flavius Sabinus put to death by Domitian.	266
Flavius Clemens killed by Domitian.	268
Flavian Family, noble and auncient.	240
Flora, and Floralia,	213
Forgery of writings provided againſt.	186
Freedome of Rome City, ſparily granted	56
Freindſhip, how Auguſtus Caſar intertain'd.	68
Frogs ſilent.	81
Futinus the Meete drawn dry,	163
Fuſtuarium.	114
G	
Gabinius ſurnamed Caucius.	166
Galba the ſurname of the Seruilij.	211
Galba with Spaine rooketh;	202
Galba enriched by Livia Auguſtaes will	213
His offices of State.	212

THE INDEX.

His martiall Discipline.	213	Germanicus Cæsar the adopted sonne of	
His Proesse.	213. 214	Tiberius Cæsar.	111
Highly esteemed of Claudius the Empe-		Disgraced by him,	111
rouer,	213	Murdred by Piso,	111
His civill Iurisdiction.	214	His offices and Acts,	122
His Honours,	214	His death,	123
His Empire fore signified,	212, 214, 215	His commendable parts,	123
His extreme severity,	214	How much beloved,	123, 154
His semblance of Surquedrie,	214	What ensued upon his death,	124
Saluted Emperour.	215	His mariage and yflew,	124, 125
Indangert to be killed.	216	Gestures in worshipping the Gods,	231.
Taketh upon him the name of Cæsar.	216	Guelding of males prohibited by Domi-	263
Ill spoken of for couetousnesse and cru-		tian.	
elue.	216		
His Niggardise,	216. 217		
His noble Pedigree,	211		
His death foretiewed,	219		
Slaine.	220		
Entered.	220		
His stature and personage.	220		
His unclean life.	221		
His 3. pedagogues,	217		
His variable cariage.	217		
His corrupt government.	218		
Incurreth the hatred of soldiers especially	218		
Forfaken first of the Germanician for-			
ces.	218		
Galbanum what gumme.	211		
Galbei what they be.	211		
Galeria, wife of A. Vitellius the Empe-			
rouer.	10		
Galerita, what bird,	210		
Ad. Gallinas, a place.	137		
Gallogræcia.	49		
Q. Gallius the Prætor, tyrannously			
killed by Augustus Cæsar.	63		
Gallius Terminus mindeth to famish him			
selfe.	68		
Corn. Gallus shortmeth his owne life.			
His death lamented by Augustus Cæsar			
Games and Shewes exhibited by Augu-			
stus Cæsar.	58		
In Games and Shewes what orders Au-			
gustus Cæsar put downe,	59		
Genini Fratres, who they be,	5		
Genij.	136		
Gentlemen Romane Surveied by Augu-			
stus.	55. 56		
Their solemn riding.	56		
Their estate and worth.	56		
Germane Embassadors well respected,	167		
Germanician soldiers refuse Tiberius Cæ-			
sar, for their Emperour.	100.		

H

HALotus a bloud-hound of Nero,	218
Odious to the people,	218
Harpocras, a freedman of Claudius,	169
Hasta pura.	169
Q. Haterius,	101
Helvidius Priscus over malapert with	
Vespasian the Emperour,	248
Helvidius Priscus, another Cato.	265
Helvidius the sonne put to death by Do-	
mitian the Emperour,	265
Hirtius Consul, with his Colleague Plan-	
cus slaine	41
Historiographers countenanced by Caius	
Caligula,	129
Honorarie Games,	53
Hoplomachus,	139
Horoscope of Augustus his Nativitie,	82
Horfe of Iulius Cæsar,	25
Hostages of women,	46
Hyme,	24
Hylas a Pantomime whipped,	60

I

Ianiculum what Hill,	230
Ianus Quirinus Temple shut by Augu-	
stus,	47
Iewish Religion censured by Tiberius	
Cæsar,	104
Iewes by him banished,	16
Iewes banished out of Rome,	167
Iewes affected Iulius Cæsar	35
Iewes plagued by Domitian in their pai-	
ments,	267
Ilicians eased of Tribute and endowed	
with immunities.	167
Ilician Embassadors scoffed at by Ti-	
berius Cæsar.	111
Images and Statues how they differ,	225
Incendium a Comædie	
Incitatus, the name of an horfe.	149
Inferum mare what sea,	61
Ira and Iracundia, how they differ,	173

THE INDEX.

Iaquicus, the surname of Servilius, where-		Libitina the Goddesse, and her Temple.	
upon,	2		206
Ildorus the Cynicke Philosopher,	200	Libraries maintained by Domitian.	271
Isthamus attempted by Caligula,	131	Licinius Mutianus governour of Syria,	
By Nero,	186	favoureth Vespasian.	244
Italian Regions,	61	Licinius Mutianus, a Catamite noted by	
Itius a Dwerfe,	59	Vespasian,	247
Italic peopled and adorned by Augustus		Livia Drusilla wife of Tiberius Nero,	
Cæsar.	60	wedded to Augustus Cæsar,	66
Iulia daughter of Cæsar		Her experiment when shee went with	
Dictator, wedded to Pompeius Mag-		child,	95
nus,	9	Livia Orestilla kept as a paramour by Ca-	
Iulia, daughter of Augustus Cæsar wed-		lius Caligula.	134
ded to Marcellus and Agrippa,	66	Livia Ocellina, wife to Galba the Empe-	
Iulia daughter of Augustus banished and		rouers father,	211
confined,	67	Livilla for Livia,	127
Iulia wife of Tiberius Cæsar convict of		Livius Salinator,	89
Adultery,	94	Livius Drusus,	89
Iulix, daughter and Neice of Augustus,		Locusta professeth poysoning,	195
dishonour him.	67	Lollia Paulina, wedded to Caius Caligula	
Iulix killed by Claudius,	170		134
Iulius the haven,	43	Lone-mony dealt out by Augustus Cæ-	
Iunia Drusilla daughter of Caligula by		far,	57
Cæsonia,	134	Lord. See Dominus,	
Iunius Rusticus put to death by Domiti-		Lucius a fore-name, reiected by the	
an,	265	Claudian Family,	88
Impiter the Thunderers Temple,	51	Lucus,	88
Iupiter Tragædus,	65	Lupercal instituted by Augustus,	52
Iupiter Olympicus,	65. 132	Lustrum,	41
Iupiter the Thunderer.	78	Lycians disfranchised,	167
Iupiter Custos,	262		
Iuvenal pastimes,	183		

K

Kalendar reformed by Iulius Cæsar,	17
King of Kings,	124
Kisses forbidden,	104

L

Lambranes, a people why so called,	4
Laurel checketh lightning,	119
Lawes precisely observed by Tiberius	
Cæsar,	103
Law-steed what it is.	124
Cn. Lentulus forced to die by Tiberius	
Cæsar,	109
Lepida, wife to Galba.	
Letters new in the Alphabet devised by	
Claudius,	175
Libels and Libellers not regarded by Au-	
gustus,	64
Libels against Nero,	200
Libertines,	166
Chasticed by Claudius the Emperour,	167

M

Master,	141
Mæcenat reproved for affectation	
of new phrases and words	76
For want of of Secrecie and Taciturnity,	
	68
Mago and Annibal,	265
Maleopinari, what it is,	62
Mallia,	70
Mallonia filthily abused by Tiberius	
Cæsar,	108
Her death.	ibidem
Malum.	201
Mans ordinary stature and weight.	59
Mariage betweene Gentry & commons,	54
Mariage urged and rewarded,	54
Mariage betweene cousin Germans allo-	
wed by Claudius.	168
Mars the Revenger his Temple built by	
Augustus Cæsar,	51
The use thereof,	ibid
Masgabas and his tombe.	84
Masinthia rescued out of trouble by Iuli-	
Cæsar,	28
Masilia standeth out against Iul. Cæsar,	15
Master,	

THE INDEX.

Masters misusage of their servants,	167	His buildings,	185
Matian appuls,	271	His martial exploits,	186
Mausoleum of Augustus,	86	His extraordinary love to Musicke,	187-188
Maxima and Maximilla	264	Is excused,	201
Maximi Ludi, what Plaies,	183	Given much to horfemanship and chariotting.	188, 190
Medioxuna,	136	Strived for the Criers Coronet.	190
C. Memmius his invectives againſt Julius Cæſar,	28	He triumpheth for victorie in games of priſe,	190
Freinded by him,	ibid	His unruly wildneſſe,	191
Menecrates the harper advanced by Nero.	168	His ſhrewd pranks,	191
Mefſallina the Empreſſe wedded to C. Silius,	168	His riotousneſſe,	191
Mefſallina the Empreſſe by commande-ment of her huſband Claudius killed,	174	His looſe life and filthineſſe,	192
Metius Pompoſianus,	248	He wedded Sporus,	192
Put to death by Domitian	264	His laſhiv expenſe,	193
Minervaes Targuet,	235	His golden houſe,	193
Mirmillones what Fencers,	137. 149	His outrageous and enormous workes,	194
How armed,	257	His pilling and oppreſſion of the people	194
Mneſter a Pantomime,	139	His ſacrilege,	194. 195
Favoured by Caligula,	148	His bloody murders and paricides	195
Modius, what meſure,	214	His unnaturall cruelty to his own mother	195. 196
Monomachi.	137	He is ſtung with the worrne of Conſcience	196
Monopolium.	119	Forſaken of the French.	201
More maiorum what it is	105	Deluded by the Oracle at Delphi.	201
What puniſhment is ment thereby?	266	His careleſneſſe of the State	202
A Mule foaleth,	212.	His bloody deſignments	202. 203
Mummia Achaira, wife of Galba the Em- perours Father.	211	His warlike voiage,	203
Musicke games of priſe inſtituted by Nero at Olympia,	189	His exactions,	203
		Forewarned of his death,	204
		His fearefull dreames.	204
		His deſperate caſe,	205
		He flyeth from Rome	205
		His death.	207. 209
		His funerals.	207
		His Statute, Feature, Shape &c.	ib.
		His Attire,	207
		Given naturally to Poetry,	207
		He delighted in painting,	208
		He was Popular.	208
		Irreligious,	208
		He murdereth his Ant Domitia,	197
		His wives,	ib.
		He ſlew Atticus Veſtinus,	ib.
		He killeth Poppæa,	197
		His cruelty to his kinſfolke and Affinity.	197
		He poiſoneth his freedmen,	198
		Intendeth a maſſacre of the Nobility.	198
		His cruelty to all in general.	198
		Malitiouſly bent to the Senate.	199
		He ſetteth Rome on fire,	199
		Neronia, what Games.	184

IV

Narciſſus a favorite & Miſion of Clau- dius the Emperour,	169
Naumachia, what place,	191
Naumachie, or Navall battailes exhibited by Auguſtus Cæſar,	58
Exhibited by Julius Cæſar,	17
Nemoreſis Rex.	139
Nepos, ſurnamed of Cæcilius Metellus	6
Nero, what it ſignifieth,	88
Nero the Emperour his birth.	181
In daunger to be murdered,	181
His acts in his childhood,	181
He entred vpon the Empire.	181
His ſhew of Pietie and kindneſſe,	182
His ſemblance of Bounty, Clemencie, Courteſie and Humanity	183
His ſhewes exhibited,	183
He ſhuteth the Temple of Ianus	185
His manner of Iuriſdiction,	185
His order in conſerring dignities,	185

THE INDEX.

Neroneus Neropolis,	208	widow.	227
New yeeres gifts reſtrained,	104	Deſtroyed civil warre,	227
Nicopolis, built by Auguſtus Cæſar,	45	Killed himſelfe.	228
P. Nigidius a great Aſtrologer,	80	His ſtature, proportion and habit.	228
Niobe.	188	Beloved of his ſoldiers,	228
Niobe and other parts acted by Nero upon the ſtage,	188		
Nollem faſtum,	28		
Nomenclators,	45	P aconius put to death by Tiberius Cæſar,	116
Nonæ.	97	Pæderasie condemned,	44
Nonæ ominous dayes,	79	Pædia Law.	180
C. Nonius Asprenas honoured with a collar of gold.	58	Pærus Thraſcas, killed by Nero,	198
Called thereupon Torquatus,	58	Paidica Græcis.	
Novatus ſlightly chaſticed by Auguſtus Cæſar,	62	Palilia.	129
Numerius Atticus,	85	Pallas, a freed man of Claudius,	169
Nundinæ.	75	Panſa Conſull with Hirtius his Colleague ſlaine,	42
Nundinæ, ominous dayes.	79	Pantomime	199. 61
		Paris the actor envied by Nero,	208
		Parricidium, what day?	36
		Parthian hoſtages reſpectively honored by Auguſtus Cæſar.	
O bnuntiare what it is,	8	Pater patriæ, a title conferred upon Auguſtus Cæſar,	65
Ocellatæ veſtial votaries and ſiſters, put to death for Inceſt,	264	Patres familias.	65
Octavia wife of Nero.	197	Peace maintained by Tiberius Cæſar,	104
Put away	ib.	Peculium.	96
Murdered by Nero.	197	Peere at Oſtia.	163
Octavij whence they are deſcended,	37	Periſtylum.	51
Octavius the father of Auguſtus,	38	Petronium.	24
His Acts,	ib. & 39	Peffilence in Rome.	200. 257
His dreames,	8	Petereus his Treacherie,	29
An offence, Voluptatibus,	107	Petronia wife of A. Vitellius the Empe- rour.	232
Oppius kindly intreated by Julius Cæſar	28	Phagita pardoned by Julius Cæſar.	29
Origines of Cato,	77	Pharnaces K. of Pontus ſubdued by Jul. Cæſar Dictatour.	15
Orthographie of Auguſtus Cæſar.	77	Phengites a ſtone,	268
Otho the Emperour his progenitors	222	Philemon a traitor to Iuli. Cæſar,	29
L. Otho father of the Emperour,	222	Phœbe haugeth her ſelfe,	67
His praife,	223	Phonæſcus,	76
Otho the Emperour his birth,	223	Cn. Piſo worketh the death of Germani- cus Cæſar.	123
The wild pranks of his youth,	223	Piſo adopted by Galba,	218. 224
Put in hope of the Empire by Seleucus	224	Piſo ſlaine by the Spaniards,	4
His popularitie.	224	Piſo his conſpiracie.	198
Farre in debt.	224	Pitholaus his railing verſes againſt Cæſar	30
Conſpireth againſt Galba	ib.	Players upon the ſtage reſtrained by Do- mitian.	263
Saluted Emperour,	225	Plaudite,	84
Accepteth the ſurname Nero	225	A. Plautius abuſed and killed by Nero.	197
Murdereth Galba and Piſo,	225	Pluto, why ſo called.	226
Haunted with the gholt of Galba,	225	Polybius a favorite of Claudius,	169
Faithfully beloved of his Prætorian ſol- diers,	225	Poligamic.	22
His death foretoked.	226		
He is defeated,	227		
Minded to kill himſelfe,	227		
He intended to wed Meſſallina Neros			

THE INDEX.

Pomgranate a place,	259	ro.	128
Pomp of funeralls.	34	Salvius Liberalis a Lawier.	247
Pompeius Magnus sonne in law of Clau-		Salvius Cocceianus put to death by Do-	
dus,	169	mitian.	265
Murdred,	170	Salustius Lucullus put to death by Do-	
Poppæa Sabina commo to Nero and O-		mitian.	265
tho.	223	Scæva his valour,	27
Posides an Eunuch & freed man of Clau-		Scribonia divorced from Augustus.	66
dus,	169	Scribonius an Astrologer,	95
Post-curiars ordained by Augustus Cæ-		Scribonius Libo conspireth against Tibe-	
ser,	62	rius Cæsar.	100
Postumus who it is.	34	Seale or signet of Augustus Cæsar,	62
Prodigies portending Galbaes destructi-		Secular plaies,	52.164.231
on.	209	Secutores, what fencers.	137
Promoters or informers plagued by Ti-		Ael. Scianus put to death by Tiberius	
tus the Emperour.	257	Cæsar.	112.115
Punished by Domitian.	265	His death plotted by him,	117
Proscription in time of the Triumvirate		Seleucus the Astrologer,	224
rigorously executed by Augustus		Seleucus the Grammarian put to death by	
Cæsar.	49	Tiberius Cæsar,	112
Pylli.	45	Sempronia Law.	10
Ptolemæus Auletes.	5	Senatours number restrained.	54
Puerperium what it signifieth.	125	Senatours sonnes honoured by Augustus	
Pulvinar,	60.155.267	Cæsar.	55
Pylades the player banished,	60	Senatours estate augmented by Augustus	
Pyrrhus a Courtisan, paramour of Cali-		Cæsar.	57
gula.	140	Seneca taxed by Caligula,	148
Pyrrhich daunce.	16	Seneca schoolemaister to Nero,	198
		Done to death by him.	198
		Septimontiall sacrifice,	262
		A Serpent Dragon,	120
		A Serpent so cubits long,	59
		Sestertium in the Neuter Gendre,	193
		Sextants.	73
		Sextarius.	73
		Sextilis the moneth named Augustus,	53
		Signes observed by Augustus,	79
		Silanus put to death by Claudius	173
		Sociale Bellum.	47
		Soldierie well rewarded by Augustus,	61.62
		Spæresterium.	249
		Spelunca what place,	106
		Spicillus the Fencer.	193
		Sporus a great scholer.	77
		Spintrix.	107.232
		Expelled by Caligula,	129
		Sportula.	164
		Spurina a famous Soothsayer,	33
		Stage players and Swordfencers expenses	
		cut short,	103
		Statues of silver refused by Augustus.	60
		Stephanio an Actour banished,	60
		Strange things exhibited by Augustus	
		Cæsar to be seene,	59
		Subdival.	51
		Suburra.	19
		Suggestum comæ.	207
		Suing	

THE INDEX.

Suing indirectly for Offices reformed.	56	Adopted by Augustus,	96
Sulla the Dictatour his speech of Iulius		His promotions,	ibidem
Cæsar.	2	His hard warfare in Illyricum:	96
Sumptuaria lex:	18.53.54	His prosperous successe,	96
Superum marc.	61	His Honours,	96
Supra-numerum.	166	His circumspect providence in warre af-	
Syracusz.	71	fares:	97
		His martiall Discipline:	97
		His superstitious observations,	97
		Like to have beene murdred,	97
		His Triumph:	97
		His thankfull munificence to Baton,	97
		He feasteth the people of Rome:	98
		He entrench vpon the Empire,	99
		His manner of refusing the Empire, con-	
		trolled:	100
		He distrusteth Libo:	100
		His civill carriage at his first entrance:	100
		He hated flatterie:	101
		He contemned Libels, &c:	101
		He debaseth himselfe overmuch to his Se-	
		natours:	102
		His respect of the Senate:	102
		His courteous humanity,	103
		His moderation,	103
		His worthy Apothege:	103
		He looseth both his sonnes,	105
		Retireth himselfe into Campania:	105
		Escapeth a great danger:	106
		His neglect of the weale publick:	106
		His drunkennesse and gluttonie,	106
		His nick names,	106.107
		His Nigardise,	108
		His covetousnesse,	109
		His polling and pilling,	109
		His hard hart to his wife Iulia,	109
		His hatred to his kinsfolk,	109
		His unkindnesse to Livia his owne Mo-	
		ther,	110
		His quarell unto her,	110
		Hee starved to death Nero and Drusus his	
		Nephewes,	112
		His cruelty unto Noble Roman Citizens,	102
		His close and cruell nature:	113.114
		His cruelty to Greeke professours,	112
		His open cruelty,	114.115
		He devised new torments,	116
		Hated of the world.	116
		In continuall feare,	ibidem
		Exposed to the reviling taunts of men:	117
		His stature, feature, &c,	118
		Irreligious,	119
		Fearfull of Thunder and Lightning,	119
		His Studies and Writings,	119
		He forbare to speake Greeke,	119
		He was very healthfull,	118
			B

THE INDEX.

He falleth sicke,	120	Varus his ouerthrow,	47,96
His death,	120, 121	Vatinia Law,	9
His death forefhewed,	121	Venice gulfe,	15
It contenteth the people,	121	Venus Erycines Temple,	167
His corps burnt,	121	Vestal Virgins of what refpect,	89
His will and testament,		Vindex rebelleth,	201
Tigellinus a bloud-hound of Nero, odious to the people,	219	Polla Vefpafia mother of Vefpafian the Emperour,	240
A Tigre fhewed by Auguftus,	59	Vefpafian the Emperours birth,	240
Tillage maintained by Auguftus,	58	His Education,	ib
provided for by Domitian,	263	He espoufeth Flauia Domitilla	241
Tiridates fhewed at Rome,	184	His Martiall exploits,	241, 242
Titus the Emperour his commendation,	253	Surnamed in mockerie, Mulio,	241
His birth and education,	253	In difgrace with Nero,	242
Poyfoned with Britannicus,	254	His empire forefignified by fundrie fignes,	242, 243
He loued Britannicus entirely,	ib	Friended by Vologefus King of the Parthians,	244
His good parts,	254	How he acquired princely maieftie,	245
His war-feruice,	254	He triumphed ouer the Iewes,	245
He diuorseth Martia Flauia,	ib	Here reformeth militarie difcipline,	245
Hee affaulteth and forceth at Hierufalem,	255	His care to repaire buildinges in Rome,	246
Saluted Emperour,	255	His workes and buildings,	246
Sufpected of his Father,	255	Hee reformeth the iudiciall Courts, &c.	246
He cleereth himfelfe,	255	He repreffeth vnbridled luft & lauiſh expence,	246, 247
Hee ruleth the Empire ioyntly with his Father,	255	Not vaine glorious,	247
His violent and cruell demeanor,	255	His patience,	247
Sufpected for riotous life,	255	His mercie and pittie,	248
For wantonneſſe,	ib	Noted for Avarice,	248, 249
For extortion,	ib	A maintainer of learning and learned men	249
His honeſt conuerſation and princely carriage euery way,	256	Surnamed Cybia factes.	249
His ſumptuous ſpectacles,	256	His ſtature, &c,	249
A moſt gracious Prince,	256	Given to ſkurrile ſkoffs,	250
What miſhaps fell out in his dayes,	257	His prety jeſts,	250, 251
His clemencie,	257	His death,	251
Forlayde by his owne brother Domitian,	258	Vibius Criſpus his ſaying of Domitian,	261
His vntimely death,	258	Vineyards goe to decay vnder Domitian,	263
Honoured after death,	258	Viniuſus his conſpiracie,	258
A treaſurie erected by Auguſtus Cæſar for Souldiers,	62	Viſcecratio what it is,	16
Tribunes of Com. created out of Gentle-men,	56	Viſitation of forraine Provinces and Cities by Auguſtus Cæſar,	61
Triumphirate	55	Vitellia a goddeſſe reputed,	230
Troie warlike game,	17, 58	A. VITELLIUS the Emperour his riſing,	231
Tropæi,	156	His deſcent and Pedigree,	229
Tunicati,	137	His moderate behauiour in the Prouince,	232
Tuſcus killed by Nero.	198	His lewde Demeanour in Rome Cittie	232
		His birth,	231
		He	He

THE INDEX.

He killeth his own ſonne Petronianus,	232	His ſhape and ſtature.	238
Driven to extremities for neede	232	He maketh head againſt Otho.	226
His unſeemely affability and popularity,	232, 233	P. Vitellius.	230
Proclaimed Emperour,	233	Q. Vitellius removed from the Senate,	230
Surnamed Germanicus,	ib.	P. Vitellius cutteth his owne veines,	230
Refuſeth other titles in his ſtyle,	233	L. Vitellius doted vpon a woman,	230
His exemplarie Juſtice done vpon traytors		Devoted to Caius Cæſar,	230
		To Meſſallina,	231
		His death,	231
His inſolencie and pride.	234	Vltimum ſupplicium what it is,	56
Surnamed Spintria,	231	Vologefus affected to Nero,	209
Sumteous at his table,	230	Volucer the horſe of Verus the Emperour,	149
He ſacrificeth to the Ghoſt of Nero,	234	Vonones perfidiouſly killed by the means of Tiberius Cæſar,	109
His gluttonie,	235		
His Platter,	235	Wayfaring men how they ſhould travell	167
His cruelty,	235	Wine not allowed by Auguſtus,	57
Vnto Aſtrologers eſpecially,	236	Winter moneths which they be,	1
Impious to his mother,	236		
His largeſſes,	236	Z	
Minded to reſigne up the Empire,	137	Zeno confined by Tiberius Cæſar,	112
He fireth Iupiters Temple vpon the Capitol			
Surnamed Concord,	237		
Murdred with ſhamefull indignities,	238		

AN INDEX TO THE Annotations.

Accensus, what officer. 3, b
Acclamations, 39, b
Adoptions of iij. forts 15, a
Adulteria. 25, b
Aegle the **R**omane Mainestandard, 7, a
Aeneas kind to his father **A**nchises, 31, b
Agrippz who they be: 21, a
Ajax. 9, a
Alcmon killed **E**riphyle his owne mother, 31, b
Alexandrea in **E**gypt, 8, a
Allienfis dies, 35, a
Amazones what woman, 4, a
De **A**mbitu, **L**awes, 13, a
Amphora what measure, 23, b
Ambubaiz, 30, b
Ancilia, 34, b
Annales or annariz **L**awes 12, b
Why so called: 25, a
Annonz 13, b
Anticatones, 7, a
Anticyra, 27, a
Antipater **S**idonius his **A**gue 17, a
Apis, what **I**dol, 18, b
Ἀποκαλυψις. 41, a
Apollo **P**zan, 31, b
Apollo **H**ecatebcletes, 31, b
Apoplexie. 35, a
Appelle unto the people, 2, a
Area, 38, b
Armie **R**omane, 11, b
Artaxerxes **M**neumon, 14, b
As, 20, a
Alpis the **S**erpent, 11, b
Asprenas **N**onius accused for poysoning 14, b
Ἀσφαλαμαντῆς. 21, a
Atellane **C**omædies, 24, b
Atricapilla what bird, 23, b
Attz, who they be: 21, a
Augures and **A**ugurium: 12, b
Auguralis cæna 13, a
Augustales, priests: 33, a
Sodales: 19, b
Augustus **C**æsar punisheth **A**dulterie, 13, a
Favoureth the **J**ewish religion 18, b
Aurei **R**omani, what peeces, 33, b
Automatum. 28, b

B

B als to play with divers sorts	17, <i>b</i>
Basilides,	38, <i>b</i>
Bathing much:	17, <i>b</i>
Biberus,	23, <i>a</i>
Biffextile or Leape yeere:	5, <i>b</i>
Blackebird commended,	23, <i>b</i>
Bombi.	30, <i>a</i>
Bonum Factum,	8, <i>a</i> , 25, <i>b</i>
* Bos <i>ωρια</i> , significth a great sacrifice: a word compounded of <i>βω</i> , which is <i>ωρια</i> <i>ωριον</i> and <i>ωρια</i> i. or of <i>βω</i> c. i. Bos an ox. And such were their Hecatombz, whereat a thousand oxen were killed.	29, 12, <i>a</i>
Bracata Gallia,	43, <i>b</i>
Bracæ or Brachæ.	8, <i>a</i> , 17, <i>b</i>
Bridges in Campus Martius:	8, <i>a</i>
Brutus supposed to be Iulus Cæsars sonne	8, <i>b</i>
Busaucheres.	24, <i>a</i>

C

Cenz Adijciales, 19,^b
 Cezar in a duple signification, 38,^b
 Caius Cezar killed, 15,^a
 C. Cezar his fodaine death, 1,^a
 C. Iulius Cezar how deeply endedebted 13,^a
 Calcei Lunati, 13,^a
 Caldus 23,^a
 Caliga what it is, 25,^b
 Caligati, what soldiers? 12,^a
 Caligula exceffive in table expences. 27,^b
 Caligula counterfaitheth thunder and light-
 ning, 27,^b
 Callipides 23,^a
 Camp duple why prohibited, 38,^a
 Canace 30,^a
 Cancers, what they be, 15,^b
 Candidates. 44,^a 14,^b 15,^a
 Candida Toga differeth from Alba, 4,^a
 Caninius Rebilus his Consulate, 7,^b
 Canis, what chaunce 16,^a
 Capitolum, 27,^b
 Cardiac Cardialgia, 28,^b
 Carmelus, 36,^a
 Casca and Cassius, 8,^b
 Castor hardly intreiated by Caligula. 26,^b
 Caudez. 21,^a
 Gauneas. 18,^b

THE INDEX.

Centumviri.	13. ^a	Divisores what they are,	39. ^a 10. ^a
Centumviralis hasta,	36. ^a	Divortium what it is.	1. ^a
* Ceres priestesses named Antistitæ for		Dog tied at the Porters Lodge,	35. ^b
their holiness & chastitie, were no lesse		Domini Insularum.	31. ^b
honored at Athens, thā the Vestal Nuns		Dominus.	14. ^a
in Rome.	29, 12, ^c	Domitian more Sanguinarie than Nero.	39. ^a
Chariotiers factions howe distinguished.	29. ^a	Dragon creeping.	24. ^b
Chius, what chaunce,	16. ^a	Droopies of three kindes.	29. ^a
Cicero what hee said as touching his bro-		Drusilla, Claudius the Emperours wife:	28. ^a
thers Demy-personage.	25. ^b	Dulcarius.	23. ^a
Cinædus,	15. ^b		
Circenses Games,	5. ^a		
When exhibited?	22. ^b		
Cisalpine Gaule.	3. ^b		
Civick gairland.	1, 6, 22, ^b		
Civility in Emperours,	14. ^a		
Civil, in Suetonius, what it signifieth.	25. ^a		
Claudius the Emperour, compared to a			
dumb Player in a Shew,	28. ^b		
Clients and Patrons,	1. ^b		
Climacterick yeere:	9. ^b		
Coleta, what place:	5. ^b		
Colonies,	13. ^b		
Colonies Latine,	2. ^a		
Colossos,	27. ^a		
Colossus.	36. ^b		
Comata Gallia,	3. ^b		
Comitales Leges, what Lawes,	25. ^a		
Comitalis morbus. See Falling-Sicke-			
ness.			
Comitum what place,	2. ^a		
Commilitones,	12. ^a		
Comædies the olde, and who wrote them,	18. ^a		
Congiarics,	4. ^b		
Consuls reckoned for Sovereaine Magi-			
strates after the free State.	26. ^b		
Copæ:	30. ^b		
Cornelia Law.	13. ^a		
Cous, what chaunce,	16. ^a		
Criers for the best Game:	30		
Cubiculum, what it signifieth,	29. ^b		
Curia and Curio,	2. ^b		
Cutiliz what waters,	36. ^b		
Cybele,	15. ^b		
Cynicks,	36. ^a		

D

Deceres, what Galley,	27. ^b
Decuriones what they are,	13. ^b
Depilatorz medicinz:	34. ^b
Dialects:	23. ^b
Dialis,	7. ^b
Dialis cræna,	13. ^a
Dictare &	
Dictator,	7. ^b

G

Galli:	32. ^b
Galli Priests of Cybele.	15. ^b
Games sacred which they were.	30. ^a
Genius of the Emperour:	26. ^b
Gentlemen in youth how trained vp:	1. ^a
Gentlemen of Rome, their estate:	4. ^b
Germaniciani who they be:	22, 34, ^b
Gestation, what exercise.	36. ^b
Gales	

THE INDEX.

Goales in the Cirque.	5. ^b	Cn. Lentulus of great wealth.	23. ^b
Gods and Goddesses Select,	16. ^a	M. Lepidus his death,	1. ^b
Gowne, the Romane habite,	13. ^b	Levana, what Goddess,	10. ^b
Græcia Magna,	11. ^a	Libellers punished,	14. ^b
Graphium.	8, 27, ^a	Libera Legatio	22. ^b
Gymnick Games, and Gymnasium	19. ^b	Libertines, who they were.	1, 12, ^a
	29. ^b	Librarie at Alexandria.	39. ^b

H

Hare commended,	23. ^b	Linigeri.	38. ^a
Halles of Iustice.	12. ^b	Litare.	19. ^a
Hecatebeletes.	31. ^b	Livia the Empreffe what names shee had,	20. ^b
Height of men.	16, 24, ^a	Lorarij, why so called,	27. ^a
Hemiplegia,	35. ^a	Loxias, an Attribute of Apollo,	32. ^a
Hercules enraged,	30. ^a	Luperci.	7. ^b
Hersilia,	33. ^b	Lustrum.	19. ^a
Hidroa,	24. ^a		
Hieronica,	20. ^a		

I

HS. what it signifieth, and so forth,	4. ^a		
Ianus Quirinus his Temple,	11. ^b		
Icarus and his fable,	29. ^b		
Ides of the moneth,	13. ^a		
Iewes, put for Christians	28. ^a		
Ilium,	8. ^a		
Imbrices,	30. ^a		
imperator how diversly taken,	22. ^b		
Impudicitia,	6. ^b		
Inferix,	9. ^b		
Inheritances Testamentariæ and Legiti-			
mæ,	1. ^a		
Inferix,	24. ^b		
Insula,	31. ^b		
Iovis Epulum,	13. ^a		
Ira and Iracundia how they differ.	28. ^b		
Isthmus,	6. ^a		
Iulia Law,	13. ^a		
Iulius the moneth,	7. ^b		
Iulius Montanus,	30. ^b		
Iupiter his Ensignes,	27. ^b		
Ius, what it is.	23. ^a		
Iustitium at Rome what it betokeneth,	25. ^b		
Iuvenalia,	29. ^b		
Iuvenes secundi ordinis,	30. ^b		

K

Kalends of Ianuarie,	2. ^b		
Kal'sææ, what it is,	31. ^a		
King of Kings.	25. ^b		
Knights Living what it was,	28. ^b		

L

Laberius quitteth Cicero with a scoffe,	5. ^a		
Lares, Lararium,	25. ^a		
Latro,	27. ^a		
Latus Clavus and Laticlavij.	13, 36, ^a		
Law Sempronia.	3. ^b		

M

Mactæ,	19. ^a		
Mæcenas noted to be Vxorius,	15. ^b		
Taxed for curious trimming of himselfe,	18. ^a		
and for affectate speech.	18. ^a		
Mænius, and Mæniana,	25. ^b		
Magistrates Superiour and Inferiour,	2. ^b		
Magistrates at Rome who were properly			
called.	29. ^b		
Mancipatio, what it is,	15. ^a		
Mariage enforced by Law.	13. ^a		
Mars the revenger and his Temple.	11. ^b		
Mater Deum what Goddesse.	15. ^b		
Marronalia,	36. ^b		
Mausoleum.	20. ^a		
Maxima vestalis.	9, 20, ^a		
Melanocoryphus what bird.	23. ^b		
Mellita bellaria,	23, 30, ^b		
Mercurius his Ensigne,	27. ^b		
Mero.	23. ^a		
Metellus perswadeth for Mariage.	18. ^b		
Milliarium in Rome, what it was	34. ^a		
Mimi what they be	5. ^a		
Mirmillones.	27. ^b		
Mirtitrichila	30. ^b		
Mioneres, a Galley	27. ^b		
Monopolic	24. ^b		
Morari	31. ^a		
Mortalities with pestilence.	31. ^b		

N

Nauphilus	32. ^a		
Nemesis,	18. ^b		
Neptunes mace,	27. ^b		
Nero, what it signifieth,	21. ^a		
Nestors cup in Homer	32. ^b		
Nicon	19. ^a		
Nomi in Aegipt,	32. ^b		
Nominalia	29. ^b		
Nones of the Moneth	13. ^b		
Novæ Tabulæ	5. ^b		
Nundina what Goddesse	29. ^b		
Nundinz	18. ^b		
Ocellatæ			

THE INDEX.

O		Præfidiaz.	ib.
Ocellatz,	18.4	Populi.	ib.
Oſophorum what Liſter,	22.6	Prætoriz, Conſulares:	14.4
Oedipus.	30.4	Pſylli.	11.4
Ops.	10.4, 15.6	Ptolemæes counted dead:	11.6
Optimates who they be,	2.4.6	Publicanes,	12.4, 13.6
Optimus Maximus.	7.6, 8.4	Pulvinar.	7.6
Orbis in ij, ſignifications,	15.6	Pyrrhick daunces,	5.4
Orcheſtra,	15.4, 28.4	Pythagoras.	31.4
Orcus,	22.4		
Oreſtes killed his mother,	30.4, 31.6	Quadrageſima.	36.4
Otho his coſtly feaſting of Nero,	30.6	Quindecemvirs.	8.4, 19.6
His effeminacie.	34.6	Quinquatria:	16.4
Ovatio.	11.6	Quintana:	30.6
Ovilia.	22.4	Quintilis what Moneth.	7.6
		Quirites:	7.4
P			
Pzan.	31.6		
Pagani,	33.6	R. eſtæ Cænæ.	29.6
Pelilia, what feaſt,	25.6	Regall enſignes what they be:	26.4
Palmularius.	38.6	Regaliolus, what bird,	8.4
Papia Poppæa Law.	13.4, 28.4	Regions of Rome City.	5.4, 10.4
Parricidium a day,	9.6	Repudium what it is.	1.4
Parricidium what crime.	5.6, 6.4	Retarij what ſenſers:	27.6
Parricides puniſhment.	12.6, 13.4	Rex Nemoreſis:	27.6
puniſhed by Claudius.	28.6	Rhegium, why ſo called:	10.6
Pafiſphæ.	29.6	Riding of Romane Gentlemen.	3.6
Pater familias.	138.4	Ring-finger.	4.6
Patrones and Clients.	11.4	Rings of gold and yron:	19.6
Pegmares, and Pegmatis.	26.6	Rogatio, what it is.	1.6
Pemmata,	23.4	Romane playes,	22.6
Pentathlon.	5.6	Rofaria:	30.6
Perduellionis crime	2.4	Rofcia Law:	10.6
Periodicall diſeaſes	17.4	Roftra:	20.4
Phaeton and his fabulous hitorie,	25.6	Rutuli or Rufuli,	1.6
Phaleræ,	31.4		
Phelants why called Phafiani:	26.4	S	
φλαυρος.	136.6	Sabbats:	16.6
φωβολία.	36.4	Sagatio:	34.4
De. Plano.	23.4	Saliæres Epulæ:	28.6
Pleiſtobolinda,	31.4	Salinator whereof he tooke that name:	21.6
Pluto,	32.4	Sardina, a peſtilent place:	23.4
Polemones, Kings of Pentus,	30.4	Saturnalia.	36.6
Polycrates glutton with proſperity,	18.6	How and when celebrated,	25.6
Polyphagus and Phagon.	31.4	Scalz Gemoniz,	23.6
Pontificalis cænæ.	13.4	Scarua delicate fiſh.	35.6
Pontificum cænæ	28.6	Scatinia Law.	13.4
Populares who they are.	2.4.6	Scelerata porta and Sceleratus vicus:	28.4
Popularia, what place in the Theatre,	28.4	Sciatica:	17.4
Pound Romane	33.6	Scutarij, what Soldiers.	14.6
Prætexta what Robe.	2.6	Scale of Rome,	18.6
Prætextata verba.	36.6	Seſſiones et Sutura.	35.4
Prætorian foldiours:	22.4	Secular Games.	12.6
Principia, what place in the Camp,	34.4	Selena:	26.6
Proſani.	31.4	Senatours badges,	13.4
Province what it ſignifieth,	3.4	Septemvirs,	19.6
Provinciæ Caſare.	13.6	Septizonium,	37.4
		Sifter.	

TO THE ANNOTATIONS.

Sæſtertius what place,	33.6	Tollendum.	10.6
Sordidati,	21.6	Tribes Urbane and Ruſtique:	2.6
Speculatores and Spiculatores,	33.6, 36.6	Tribunes of the commons Inviolable:	2.4
Sphinx.	14.4	Tribunes Militarie:	1.6
Spongia,	18.4	Triumphalis cænæ:	13.4
Sportulæ,	29.6	Triumphal ornaments:	13.6, 22.4
Stature of men. See Heighth.		Triumvirate:	10.4
Stæchades what Ilands,	28.4	Troic Turnament:	5.6
Strangurie,	17.4	Troica:	32.4
Subegit, in a duple ſence.	6.6	Tropæe, what it was:	33.4
Sudamina.	24.4	Tunicati:	27.6
Sulla proſcribeth the Marian Faction,	2.4	Turdus See Blackebird:	
Sumptuariæ Lawes,	6.4, 13.4		
Suovetaurilia, what ſacrifice,	19.4	Vallare Coronets:	12.4
Supplication: what it is,	4.4	Varro.	6.4
Suſtulit in a duple ſenſe	31.6	Venus what chance:	16.4
Swimming commended	15.4	Venus Genitrix:	7.4
Syracufa	16.4	Veraculi or vericuli:	35.6
		Veratrices:	ib.
		Veſtal virgins peacemakers:	1.4
		Veſtal Nuns conuiſted of Incontinencie	
		in what fort buried quicke,	38.4
		Veteres,	20.4
		Viaticum, what it is:	7.4
		Victorie her Image.	33.4
		Vindex.	32.6
		Vinlerobe,	10.4
		Viſire what it is.	28.6
		Voconia Law.	20.6
		Vomiting much.	35.6
		Vowes. 19.4. The forme thereof:	22.6
		Vxorij.	35.4
		VV	
		ars, whereof they take name.	11.6
		Water-snake.	28.6
		X	
		Xyſtici what ſpectacles.	13.6
		Z	
		Zenodorus an Architeſt	36.6
		Zopyrus a Phyſiognomer,	37.4

FINIS.

Faults escaped in the Historie and Marginall Glosse.

Page, 1, Line, 33. Fault. for Mysterics, read Mysteries. l. 35. leave out. That is, pa. 10 l. 47. for, who wel, read who had deserved well. p. 15, l. 9, in the ma. for Venus, Venice. p. 17, l. 3, in the Mar. Calendis Iannarijs novis. p. 18, l. 9, for trial, r. traine. l. 34, in the m. for with, r. both. p. 22, l. 27. of Legions of, r. of 10 Legions; of p. 27, l. 33, gate, r. guard; for port, r. fort; l. 34, before, r. battailar, before Maf filia, p. 30, l. 17, in the Marg. forme, r. Forum; p. 32, l. 3, loyned, r. loved, l. 23, Decius, r. Decimus Calpurnia, r. Calpurnia; l. 19, Decius, r. Decimus; l. 24, the r. his; p. 33, the r. and the l. 26 Beaufull, r. bountifull; l. 29 Alvernus, r. Avernus; l. 31 bare, r. bearing; for Aegypt where, r. Aegypt. Where l. 22 in r. into l. 40 in the Marg. mungrel, r. Libertine; p. 48, l. 29 with a r. with as p. 50, l. 41 Palatinus, r. Palatium; l. 19 in the Marg. Prætorial, r. Prætorial; 17 spaces, r. ipouies; p. 58, l. 32 devour, r. devour; p. 59, l. 1, IVIVS, l. 1, IVIVS, p. 60, l. 11 pleasure, r. his pleasure; for contentment, r. contentment wherein, p. 62, l. 11 hands, r. hands and p. 64, l. 4 opened, r. opened; l. 12 leise, r. leise, and of p. 65, l. 13 withes, r. offes; p. 66, l. 39 in the Marg. Lotapas, r. Totapas; p. 68, l. 44 then to be any, r. than any; l. 39 in the marg. Terentia, r. Terentia. p. 70, l. 4 adulterium, r. adulterium; p. 71, l. 1 Senio, r. Senio; l. 41 not with, r. notie much with; l. 46 in the mar. Ecuuar, r. Belluarum. Whales within pooles, r. Whales, whirpooles; p. 72, l. 16 in the marg. or in l. 37 in the marg. Baffors, Buffors. p. 74, l. 16 in the marg. Cafan, r. Cafaubon; l. 36 in the marg. charli, r. r. l. 40 in the marg. veneres, r. delicias; p. 76, l. 13 or lesser, r. more or lesser; l. 49 in the marg. (sweet) balmes, p. 81, l. 1 by the r. about the l. 40 in the marg. or rare; l. 46 in the marg. infugured, r. prafugured; p. 82, l. 29 like enced, r. like end; enue, p. 89, l. 26 Senatours, r. Senones; l. 45 opened, r. opened; l. 23 and alio, r. and all; p. 96, l. 13 in the ma. ofa, r. yeres; of two yeres. p. 102, l. 12 what, in r. what; and in p. 103, l. 9 both when, r. both. When p. 109, l. 16 lateft, r. later; p. 110, l. 43 in the marg. Latuniam, p. 115, l. 34 Jemoniz, r. Gemoniz; l. 61, 18 carnager, Carnage; p. 119, l. 11 or had, r. or fence; l. 28 cheere, r. you; frowning, r. chere; you frowning; p. 127, l. 29 difguifement, r. defignment; p. 128, l. 2 pitchers with, r. pitchers. And with p. 130, l. 4 - fargner, r. targner; p. 132, l. 13 in the marg. his owner, his owne; l. 33 in the marg. deftrugion, r. diftinction; p. 139, l. 45 impuaity, r. impuaity; p. 140, l. 29 barnes, r. baines. p. 148, l. 33 hanibors, r. hantbois; p. 149, l. 18 in the marg. incitato, cuius equi, r. incitato, equo, cuius caufa; p. 151, l. 8 in the marg. Nero his mother, r. tonne; Nero, his mothers husband; l. 35 ftould pick, r. ftould not pick; p. 168, l. 15 and children; r. and freed-men; p. 174, l. 29 father, quoth he, had, r. father had; p. 183, l. 15 or moff, r. a moff; p. 187, l. 13 flippid, r. flippid; l. 37 in the mar. wings, r. rings; p. 190, l. 45 tabels, r. labels; p. 193, l. 36 granings, r. granges; l. 38 alwaies, r. all was; l. 24 Foller, r. foist; p. 197, l. 129 That all, r. that when; all p. 200, l. 10 in the ma. left out Camelodunū, et Londinium coloniz & c. Tacitus. i. Maldon & London; i. Colonies; & together with them, Verulamium a Burrough free town, (in the ruines whereof S. Albanes now standeth in which places 7000 (by report) were slain of Citizens & Allies. p. 201, l. 47 in the ma. r. Citharadam a finger to the Harp; p. 201, l. 16 fo plainly, r. fo painfully; p. 204, l. 15 graver, r. brave; p. 209, l. 17 in the marg. Alpenas, r. Alprenas; l. 14 from the r. by the l. 16 the had, r. he had; p. 215, l. 14 them likewifer, r. then likewise; p. 216, l. 13 in the mar. omittent, r. amittent; i. to loofe; l. 45 in the mar. or this one, r. or thus, one; p. 229, l. 3 now flart, r. new flart; p. 230, l. 14 games, r. gaines; p. 231, l. 27 divided repaft, r. divided his repaft; p. 236, l. 1 As Vfurcs, r. Of Vfurcs; l. 15 in the mar. image, r. huge; p. 246, l. 12 in the marg. words, r. records; l. 35 Gods, r. goods; p. 250, l. 44 placed, r. played; p. 251, l. 32 in the mar. to grow, r. grow; l. 43 in the ma. order, r. ordure; p. 257, l. 16 in the marg. Eufes, r. Eufeb; p. 268, l. 17 in the marg. Lacinthus, r. Latine; thus p. 270, l. 24 his owne, r. the owne; p. 271, l. 19 mirabler, r. notable; line 28 for Matium, read Maunus.



THE HISTORIE OF Caius Iulius Cesar Dictator,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tranquil-*
lus.



CÆSAR in the sixteenth yeare of his age, lost his (a) Father: and in the * yeare following, being elected (b) *Flamen Dialis*, he cast off *Cossutia* (a Gentlewoman borne but very weal-
thie) affianced unto him during his childhood; and espoused *Cornelia* the daughter of *Cinna* foure times Consul: who bare vnto him soone after, his daughter *Iulia*: neither could he by any meanes be forced by *Sylla* the Dictatour, to (c) put her away: Whereupon, deprived of his sacerdotall dignitie, loosing the dowrie in the right of his wife, and forfeiting all his heritages (d) descended unto him from his linage and name, hee was reputed one of the * contrarie Faction. In so much as he was constrain'd to * hide his head; and (albeit the quartaine Ague hung fore upon him) to change almost every night his starting holes wherein hee lurked; yea, and to redeeme himselfe with a (e) peece of money out of the Inquisitours hands that made search for him: untill such time, as by the mediation of the re-
ligious

CHAP. I.
A.V.C. 670.
* *Sequentibus*
Coss. For at
Rome they re-
ckoned the
yeares accor-
ding to their
Consuls: whose
office ordina-
rily continued
one yeare, and
began with the
yeare, upon the
first day of Ia-
nuarie.
* *Of Diuerse*
* *Of Marins*
* *To the in-
the Sabins*
Country.

ligious (f) vestall virgines, by the meanes also of MAMERCVS AEMILIVS and AVRELIVS COTTA, his neere * kinsfolke and allied vnto him, hee obtained pardon. Certaine it is, that SVLLA, when he had denied a good while the request of those right worshipfull persons, and his singular good friends intreating in his behalfe, and yet they persisted earnest suiters still for him, being thus importuned and at length overcome, brake forth aloud into these words, either in a Divine prescience, or some pregnant coniecture, Goeto (quoth hee) my M^r: Take him to you, since yee will needes have it so: but know this withall; that he whose life and safety yee so much desire, will one day be the overthrow of the Nobles, whose side yee have maintained with mee: For in this CÆSAR there be many MARI.

2.

* M. Murena
Thermus.

THE first time that CÆSAR served in the Warres, was in *Asia*, and that in the (a) domesticall retinue of * M. THERMVS the Pretour: By whom being sent into *Bithynia* for to levie a Fleet, he made his abode with K. NICOMEDES: not without a foule rumour raised, that he prostituted his bodie to be abused by the King. which rumour he augmented himselfe, by comming againe into *Bithynia* within fewe dayes, vnder a colour of calling for certaine money, which should be due to a (b) Libertine and (c) Client of his. The rest of his soulderie he caried with better fame and reputation: and at the winning of MITYLENÆ, THERMVS honored him with a (d) Civike guirland.

3.

A.V.C 676.
* Surnamed so
of the people
in Cilicia
named Tauri,
whom he sub-
dued.

* So variable
and indifferet

HE was a Souldiour also vnder SERVILIUS ISAVRICVS in *Cilicia*, but it was not long: For vpon certaine intelligence given of SVLLA his death, and the hope withall of the new diffention that was stirred & set on foote by M. (a) LEPIDVS, he returned in all hast to *Rome*. And notwithstanding hee was mightily solicited by many large offers and faire promises, yet forbore he to ioyne in societie with LEPIDVS, partly distrusting his * nature, and in part doubting the present oportunitie, which he found nothing answerable to his expectation.

4.

* Whiles hee
gouverned his
Province,
* For calling
into question
so honorable a
person.

* Molon, not
Molon, as P.
Paterus taketh it,
that is, the son
of Molon.

* He becom men-
phus, that is, in
the Winter
months which
were Decemb;
Januar. Febr;
* Some read
d gnatione in a
divers sense.

* Medice, vel
amice, that is, a
friend.

* On the rest of
his compani-
ons & servants,
* To the Ci-
ties of Asia a Province adioyning.

HOWEVERT when that ciuill discord and sedition was (a) appeased, hee iudicially accused for * extortion CORNELIVS DOLOBELLA, a man who had beene Consull, and triumphed. But seeing that the Defendant was found vnguiltie and acquit, hee determined to retire himselfe vnto the Citie of *Rhodes*, as well to decline the * hatred of the world, as by occasion of that leasure and repose to learne the Art of Oratorie vnder APOLLONIUS * MOLON a most renowned Rhetorician in those daies. As he crossed the Seas thitherward * (being now Winter time) his fortune was about the Isle *Pharmacusa* to be taken by Rovers, and with them he remained in custodie (not without * exceeding indignation) for the space well neere of xl. dayes, accompanied with one * Physician and two Groomes of his chamber. For, * his * companions and the rest of his servants belonging to his traine, he had sent * away immediatly at the very first, to procure him money with all speed for his ranfome. After this vpon the payment vnto them of L. talents being set a shoare, he delayed no time, but presently put his Fleet to Sea againe, embarked, and never gave over pursuing the said Pirates, vntill he had over-taken them: and no sooner were they within his power, but as hee often times had threatened in mirth, hee put them all to death. Now whiles MITHRIDATES wasted the Countries next adioyning, because he would not be thought to sit still & doo nothing in this dangerous & doubtful state of confederate Nations and Allies to the Romaines, he left *Rhodes* whether he

he had directly bent his course, gathered a power of Auxiliarie Souldiers, expelled the Governour under the King out of the Province, and so kept the Cities and States in their alleageance, which were wavering and at the point to revolt.

IN his Militarie (a) tribuneship, which was the first dignitie after his returne to *Rome*, that befell vnto him by the voyces and election of the people, hee assisted with all his might * those Patrones of the Commons, who stood out for the restitution of their Tribunes authoritie; the force and strength whereof SVLLA had abated. Hee effected moreover thus much, by verue of an Act proposed by * PLOTIVS, that L. CINNA his wiues brother, that they, who together with him in the time of the ciuill discord aboute-faide, tooke part with LEPIDVS, and after the * Consuls death, fled vnto *Sertorius*, might returne safely into the Citie, and enjoy their freedome. As touching which matter, himselfe made an Oration before the body of the people.

BEING * Questour hee made as the auncient manner was Funerall Orations out of the publique Pulpit called *Rostra*, in the praise of IVLIA his Aunt by the Fathers side, and of his wife CORNELIA, both late deceased. And in the commendation verily of his said Aunt, speaking of the pedigree and descent by both sides, namely of herselfe, and also of her Father, hee maketh report in these termes: *My Aunt IVLIA (quoth he) by her Mother is lineally descended from Kings, and by her Father united with the race of the immortall Gods: For, from Ancus Marcius are derriued the Marcij surnamed Reges, id est Kings, which name my Mother was siled with: and from VENVS the Iulij draw their originall, of which house and name is our familie. So then, in this flock there concur and meete together, as well the sanctitie and sacred Maestie of Kings, who among men are most powerfull, as the religious Ceremonies and seruice of the Gods, in whole power Kings themselves are.* In the place of CORNELIA departed, hee wedded POMPEIA, daughter of Q. POMPEIVS, and Neeceto L. SVLLA. But her afterward hee divorced, suspecting that she had beene naught with P. CLODIVS, of whom there went so constant a report abroad, how at the celebration of certaine publique Divine ceremonies, he being disguised in womans aparel had accessse secretly unto her, that the Senare by Decree directed a Commission to Iustices Inquisitours, for to sit upon the pollution of those sacred Rites and * Misteries.

DURING his Questureship, it fell vnto him by lot to execute his Office in the * farther Province of *Spain*: where, when as by the commaundement of the * Lord Pretour, he rode his circuit to keepe the * Assises, and came to *Gades*, beholding advisedly the Image or pourtraicture of K. ALEXANDER the Great in the Temple of HERCVLES there: at the sight thereof hee fetched a deepe sigh, yea, and as one displeased and yrked with his owne sloathfulness, in that hee had performed yet no memorable Act at those * yeeres, wherein ALEXANDER had conquered the whole world, hee presently made earnest suite for his discharge and licence to depart, thereby to take the first oportunitie of all occasions to compasse greater enterprizes at home within the Citie: and being moreover much disquieted and dismayed with a dreame the night before (for he imagined in his sleepe that he had carnall company with his owne Mother) the Divinours and Wizards incited him to the hopes of most glorious achievements, making this exposition of his dreame, that thereby was portended vnto him the Sove-

5.

* C. Cotta, M.
Craffis, & C.
Pamphili, who
were the chiefe.
* A Tribune
of the Com-
mons.

* Lepidus.

6.

* Treasures.

* Of the God-
desse Bona
which we ce-
lebrated in Ca-
esar's house, be-
ing the Pontifi-
cal.

7.

A.V.C 687.
* Calice de la
ca.

* A list of the
Towns which
were called
Civitates, Pl.
* Tharis, 33.
C. Phisop. 5.

raightie of the whole world, considering that his Mother whom hee saw under him betokened nought else but the subjection of the earth, which is counted the Mother of all things.

8. DEPARTING therefore thence before his time was fully expired, hee went unto the (a) Latine Colonies, which were now devising and in counsell to sue for the freedome of the Citie of *Rome*, and no doubt had solicited and excited them to attempt some tumult and trouble in the State, but that the Consuls for the avoiding of this very danger, kept back the Legions for a while which were enrolled for to be sent into *Cilicia*.

9. AND yet for all that, soone after he projected greater designs within the Citie. For, not many daies before he entred upon his Aedileship, suspected he was to have conspired with M. CRASSVS (* a man of Consular degree) with P. SVLLA likewise and * P. ANTONIVS, (who after they were Consuls elect stode condemned for suing indirectly and by corruption for that place) to set upon the body of the Senate in the beginning of their yeare; and that after they had massacred whom it pleased them, M. CRASSVS should usurpe the Dictatorship; himselfe be chosen by him Master of the Horsemen: and so when they had settled the State at their pleasure, SVLLA and ANTONIVS should be restored againe unto their Consulship. Of this conspiracie, TANVSIVS GEMINVS maketh mention in his *Storie*, M. BIVLVIS in his *Edicts* and C. CVRIO the Father in his *Orations*. CICERO likewise seemeth to signifie as much in a certaine Epistle unto AXIVS wherein hee reporteth that CÆSAR established in his Consulship that Kingdome and roiall government, which he plotted and thought upon when hee was Aedile. TANVSIVS writeth farther, that CRASSVS either repenting himselfe, or else upon feare, was not present nor kept the day appointed for the said massacre: and therefore CÆSAR neither gave that signall which by agreement hee should have given. Now agreed it was as CVRIO saith, that he should let his gowne fall from his shoulders. The same CVRIO yea and M. ARTORIVS NASO doo write, that he conspired also with CN. PISO a noble young Gentleman, who being in suspicion for a conspiracie within the Citie, had the Province of *Spain* extraordinarily and without his owne suite bestowed upon him: and complotted it was, that both hee in forraigne parts abroad and himselfe also at *Rome* should at once make an insurrection for to alter the State; and that, by the occasion and meanes of the * Lambranes and inhabitants beyond the Po. That is, But the designement both of the one and the other was defeated and frustrate by reason of PISO his death.

* So called of a river, neere into which they dwelt beyond the Po.
* Who was slain: by Spanish Horsemen, of whom hee had the conduct.

10
A.V.C. 689.

WHEN he was Aedile, besides the (a) Comitium, the Market-place, and stately Hall of Iustice, hee beautified the Capitoll also with faire open Galleries built for the present occasion to stand onely during the publique shewes and plaies: wherein if the number of Images, Statues, and painted Tables fell out to be greater than was needefull, part of that furniture and provision might be set forth to the view of all men. As for the chasing and baiting of wilde beasts, the Stage plaies & solemne fights, he exhibited the both jointly with his companion in Office, and also severally by himselfe. Whereby it came to passe, that howsoever the charges of these Solemnities were borne in commune by them both, yet he alone went away with all the honour and thanke thereof: Neither did M. BIVLVIS his Colleague dissimule the matter, but utter as much, when he

he said that the same befell unto him which unto POLLVX: For like as (quoth he) the Temple erected in the Common Market place of *Rome* unto * both the Twin-brethren, beareth the name of CASTOR alone: even so my munificence in expence and CÆSARS together in setting out these games and plaies, goeth under the name of CÆSAR onely. CÆSAR over and above, did exhibite another shew of Sword-fight even at the sharpe: but hee brought into the place * fewer couples of champions by a good many than he purposed: For, buying up (as he did) such a sort of Fencers from all parts out of every Schoole, and putting his adversaries of the other faction in great affright thereby, hee gave occasion unto the State to provide by a speciall Act in that behalfe, For a certaine set number of Sworde-plaies, above which no man might retaine anie at *Rome*.

* Geminis fratribus, that is, Castor and Pollux, who commonly be called Geminifratres.
* And yet hee exhibited 320. pairs, as Plutarch writeth.
* That hee might governe it and place the King againe in his roiall Seate.

11 THUS when he had gained the hearts & favour of the people, he gave the attempt by some of the * Tribunes, and sued to have the Province of *Egypt* by an Act of the Commons conferred upon him: taking occasion to make suite for this extraordinarie Governement, For that the *Alexandrines* had driven their * King out of his Roialme, whom the Senate had stiled with the title of Allie and Friend, An Act of theirs generally disliked. Howbeit hee could not carie it, by reason that the faction of the Nobles crossed him. Whole authority because hee would by way of quittance infringe and impair by all meanes possible; the Tropæes and victorious Monuments of C. MARIVS for subduing K. IVGVRTHA, the *Cimbrians* and the *Teutons*, which before time had beene demolished * and cast downe by SVLLA, he erected and set up againe: * Also in sitting upon a Commission for the examination of * murderers, hee reckoned those in the number of them, who in the time of the Proscription, had received money out of the publique Treasurie for bringing in (a) the heads of Romaine Citizens, notwithstanding they were excepted by vertue of the Lawes * CORNELIVS.

* Plutarchus. After the Father of Cleopatra, who many yeares after by Geminus was restored to his Kingdome.
A.V.C. 690.
* As Torrensius saith.
* This is by the figure Proiectus to be understood of Cæsar when hee was Traitor of the Citie: as who favoured the Faction of Marius both then and before, howsoever it may seem that Suetonius speaketh of him being Aedile, or presently after his Aedileship: which by Torrensius leave, may well stand with the truth.

12 MOREOVER, he suborned one (a) and set him on, to endite C. RABIRIVS of high treason, by whose helpe especially some yeares before the Senate had repressed and restrained the seditious Tribuneship of L. SATVRNINVS: and being by lot chosen a * Iudge Delegate to passe sentence of the prisoner, so willing he was to condemne him, that when RABIRIVS appealed unto the people, nothing did him so much good as the rigour of the * Iudge.

may well stand with the truth.
* In place of the Treason.
* Cæsar.
A.V.C. 691.
* That is, Equit and the restoring of the King aforesaid.
* Which were 35.

13 HAVING laied a side all hope of the foresaid Province, he stood to be the Highest Priest, not without excessive and most lavish largesse. Wherein, considering how deeply hee engaged himselfe in debt, the same morning that hee was to goe unto the assemblie for the Election, when his Mother * kissed him he told her (by report) afore-hand, that he would never returne home but *Portense*. And so farre overweighed he (a) two most mightie Competitours, who otherwise for age and dignitie much outwent him, that in their owne Tribes hee alone caried more voices, than both of them in all * throughout.

BEING * created Pretour, when as the Conspiracie of CATILINE was detected, and all the Senate generally awarded no lighter punishment than * death, for as many as were parties and accessarie in that Action; hee onely gave his sentence, That their goods should be confiscate, and themselves put into se-

14
* But not entered yet into the Office.
* Plutarchus, lxxij. verall p. ciium.

verall free Cities and Burrowghes under the people of *Rome*, and there to bee kept in ward: and furthermore hee put them in so great a fright that gave sharper censure (intimating eft-soones and setting before their eyes the exceeding great hatred of the *Romaine* Communalitie, which in time to come they should incurre) that *DRCIMVS SILANVS* Consul elect was not abashed nor unwilling to mollifie his owne *award, with a gentle exposition (because it had been a shame to alter it and eate his owne words) as if it had beene taken and construed in an harder sence, than hee meant it. And verily prevailed hee had, and gone cleare away with it (for many there were a readie drawne to his side, and among the rest, **CICERO* *the Consuls brother) but that a speech made by *M. CATO* emboldened the whole house, and confirmed all the Senatours in their former sentence, who now were at the point to yeeld unto him. And yet for all this, he ceased not to hinder their proceedings, untill such time as a troupe of *Romaine* Knights, who stood round about the place in Armes for *guard and defence, threatened to dispatch him out of the way, in case hee continued still in his obstinate contumacie, holding and shaking their drawne Swords so neere unto him, as that his next fellowes forsooke him as he sate with them, and very few taking him in their armes and putting their *Gownes betweene, hardly and with much a doo saved him from violence. Then was hee scared in deede, in so much as hee not onely condiscended unto them, but also for the rest of that *yeare forbore to come into the Senate house.

15

A.V.C.692.

THE very first day of his Pretourship, he convented *Q. CATVLVS* before the body of the people to receive their order upon (a) a matter to be diseussed by them, as touching reedification of the Capitoll, having withall promulged a Lawe, by vertue whereof hee transferred the charge of that worke unto *another. But not able to match the Nobles and better sort, nor to make his part good with them drawing in one line, as they did, whom hee sawe in great frequentencie to runne by heapes together, so fully bent to make resistance, that presently they left their officious attendance upon the new Consuls, hee gave over this action.

16

* Surnamed
Nepos, as *P. Silius*
was witnesseth
for his riotous
life and beha-
viour.

BUT, whereas *CECILIVS METELLVS* *a Tribune of the Commons, proposed most turbulent and seditious Lawes, malgre his Colleagues with all their opposition, he shewed himselfe a stout abbetter and maintainer of him: most stiffly bearing him out in the cause, so long untill both of them were by an injunction and decree of the Senatours removed from the administration of the Common wealth. Howbeit presuming neverthelesse to continue in his magistracie, and to execute his jurisdiction, when he understood once that some were ready to prohibite him by force and Armes, hee sent away his Serjeants, cast off his (e) embroidered purple Robe, and retired privily to his owne house, minding there to keepe himselfe quiet in regard of the troublesome time. And when two daies after, the multitude flocked unto him willingly and of their owne accord, promising after a very tumultuous manner their helpe and assistance in the recoverie of his former place and dignitie, he repressed them. Which thing happening thus beyond all expectation, The Senate which was hastily met together about that riot and uprore, gave him hartie thanks; and that by the principall and noblest personages among them, sent for him into the (f) *Curia*, and after

* As if he ment
by *placitum* *sup-*
placitum, *impr-*
sonment or
some lesse pu-
nishment then
death.

* *Quintus Ci-*
cero
* *M. Cicero*.

* Of Consul
and Senate

* *Plutarch* na-
meth *Curia* for
one of them
* Of *M. T. Ci-*
cero the Consul
his yeere which
now drew to an
end.

* That is, to
Ca. Pompeius.

after they had in most honourable termes commended him, they restored him fully to his Office, and reversed their former Decree.

HE fell againe into another new trouble and danger, being called into question as one of *CATILINES* conspiracie, both before the Questor *NOVIVS NIGER* in his house, and that by *L. VETTIVS* * who appeached him; and also in the Senate, by *P. CVRIVS*: unto whom for that he detected first, the plots & designments of the Conspiratours, were rewards appointed by the State. *CVRIVS* depofed that he knew so much by *CATILINE*: and *VETTIVS* promised to bring forth even his owne hand-writing which he gave unto *CATILINE*: But this was such an indignitie as *CÆSAR* in no wise thought tollerable; whereupon, craving the testimonie of *CICERO* by which he proved, that himselfe merely of his owne accord had given some information unto him of the said Conspiracie, he prevailed so much that *CVRIVS* went without those rewards. As for *VETTIVS*, after his goods were arrested and stresses taken, his household-stuffe rifled, himselfe evill entreated, beaten, and in the open assemblie of the multitude even before the *ROSTRA* wel-neere pulled in peeces, him he clapt up in prison. After the same sort he served *NOVIVS* the Questour, because hee suffered him, (g) a superiour Magistrate of State, to be accused and defamed in his house.

AFTER this Pretourship of his, having the Government of the farther Province in *Spain* allotted unto him, hee tooke order with his Creditours (that were in hand to stay him) by the meanes of certaine (a) sureties who came in and undertooke for him: and before the Governours of the Provinces were disposed of by the State, with Commissions sealed for their jurisdiction and other affaires, with allowance and furniture also set out for them accordingly, he contrarie to all right and custome put himselfe in his journey: were it for feare of some judiciall proceeding intended against him whiles he was a private person, or because he might more speedily succour the Allies of the *Romans*, who craved helpe, it is uncertaine. Well, when he had seiled the Province in peace, he made as great hast to be gone, and not expecting a Successour hee departed, as well to ride in Triumph as to take upon him the Consulship. But after the Writs and Proclamations were out for the great Assemblie to Election (of Consuls) when he might not be pricked nor propounded (Confull) unlesse hee entred the Citie in qualitie of a private Citizen, and * many withstood him labouring as hee did to be dispensed-with for the Lawes, forced he was for feare of being put by the Consulship to forgoe (b) his triumph.

OF the two Competitours with him for the Consulship, to wit, *L. LVCIVS* and *M. BIBVLVS*, hee made choise of *LVCIVS* to be his Companion in Office; vpon this compact and condition, That since hee was a man not so gracious, but better monied than himselfe, he should of his owne purse pronounce in the name of both, & promise to deale monies among the Centuries. Which devise being knowne, the * Nobles and great men who were afraide, that being once a souldaigne * Magistrate, & having a colleague ready at his beck to agree & consent with him, he wou'd both dare & do any thing; perswaded with *BIBVLVS* to make promise of as great a Donation as the other did: and the most part of them contributed their monies thereunto. Yea, *CATO* himselfe verily was not against it, but saide, This *Largeesse* floodeth with the good of the weale

B 4

publique.

* *Indice*, some
reade *Indice*,
that is, as if
index were his
surname.

A.V.C.693.
* *Expretura*
whereby it ap-
peareth he was
Prætor *Piscennus*.

A.V.C.695.
* *Cato*, and his
followers.

* *Optimates*,
* *Consul*.

publique. Heereupon created Consul hee was with BIBVLVS. For the same cause, the saide Nobles and principall persons of the Citie gaue order, that the Consuls for this yeere following, should haue (b) the Prouinces and Commissions of least affaire and importance, to wit, the looking vnto Forreits & Woods, vnto Lanes and Pathes. CÆSAR taking this wrong and disgrace most to the heart, made court all that euer he could vnto CN. POMPEIVS, who had taken offence against the Senatours, for that hauing vanquished K. MITHRIDATES, his Acts and Decrees were no sooner ratified and confirmed. Here reconciled also vnto POMPEIVS, M. CRASSVS, an olde enemie ever since that Consulship, which they bare together with exceeding much jarring and disagreement: Hee entred likewise into a Societie with them both, vpon this contract, That nothing should be done or passe in the administration of the Common-weale, that displeased any of them three.

20
A.V.C. 695.

WHEN he was entred into this Honourable place of Consulship; hee (first of all that ever were) ordained, That all Acts, as well of Senate as People should day by day as they (a) were concluded, be recorded also and published. Hee brought in likewise the ancient custome againe, that in what (b) moneth hee had not the Knitches of rods with Axes borne before him, a publique Officer called ACCENSVS should huiſner him before, and the Serjeants or Licitors follow after behinde. Hauing promulged the Lawe *Agraria*, as touching the division of Lands among the Commons, when his fellowe Consul withstoode and resisted his proceedings, hee drave him out of the Common-place, by violence and force of Armes. The morrow after, when the saide BIBVLVS had made his complaint in the Senate of this outrage, and there would not one be found that durst move the house about so great a garboile and hurliburly as that was, nor give his censure thereof (as often times in lighter tumults and stirres there had passed many Decrees) hee drave him to such a desperate feare, that untill hee went quite out of his magistracie, hee kept close within house and never prohibited * any proceedings else, but by way of * Edict. From that time forward, CÆSAR alone managed all the affaires of State, even as hee would himselfe: in so much as diuers Citizens pleasantly conceited, when so euer they signed, subscribed, or dated any writings to stand vpon record, would merily put it downe thus, *Such a thing was done, not when CÆSAR and BIBVLVS, but when IVLIVS and CÆSAR were Consuls*: setting downe one and the same man twice, by his name and surname: yea, and soone after, these verses were commonly currant abroad,

*Non Bibulo, quidquam nuper, sed Cesare, factum est:
Nam Bibulo fieri Consul, nil memini.*

CÆSAR of late did many things, but BIBVLVS not one:
For nought by Consul BIBVLVS, can I remember done.

* At the difference of ex. men
d. pured Com
missioners for
that purpose

The Stellat champion fields held consecrated & religious by our Auncestors, together with the Campanie territorie referred to yeeld rent and pay tribute for a Subsidie to the Common-weale, hee divided without casting * lots, among

twentie

twentie thousand Citizens who could shew three children or more. The Publicanes making request for some * easement hee relieued, by striking of a third part of their rents, and warned them openly, that in the setting and letting of the new commodities and reuenues of the Citie, they should not bid and offer too much. All other things likewise he gaue and graunted, according as euery mans mind and desire stood thereto, and no man gaue said him: but, went any about to thwart him, he was soone frightened away. M. CATO, when hee seemed to interrupt and stop his proceedings, hee caused to be haied violently out of the Senate house by an Officer, and committed to prison. As L. LVCVLVS stoutly withstood his doings, he put him into so great a feare of sundry Actions and criminations, that hee was glad to come and fall downe before him at his knees. When CICERO pleading vpon a time in Court, had lamented the wofull state of those times: the very same day, at the * ninth houre thereof, hee brought P. CLODIVS his enemie to be adopted into the house and name of a Commo-ner; one who long before had laboured in vaine to goe from the Nobles, and be incorporate among the Commons. Last of all, it is credibly reported, that he induced by rewards, against all those in generall of the contrary faction, * an appeacher, to professe that he was solicited by some for to murder POMPEIVS; who being produced forth by him before the body of the people, nominated (as he had instructions, and as it was agreed betwene them afore) those that set him a worke: but when one or two of them were named to no purpose, nor without pregnant suspicion of some fraudulent practise; he despairing the good successe of so rash and inconsiderate a project, poysoned the * partie whom he had thus suborned, and made him away for telling any more tales.

ABOVT the same time, hee tooke to wife CALPURNIA the daughter of L. PISO, who was to succede him in the Consulate; and affianced his owne daughter IVLIA vnto CN. POMPEIVS, rejecting and casting off her former spouse * SERVILIUS CÆPIO, by whose helpe especially a little before, he had impugned BIBVLVS. After this new contracted affinitie, hee began (in Counsell) to aske (a) POMPEIVS opinion first; whereas before, hee was wont to begin with CRASSVS; notwithstanding also the custome was, that the Consul should observe that order all the yeere following, in asking the Senatours sentences, which he began with, the first day of Ianuarie.

BEING backed therefore by the fauour and assistance of his wives * Father and * Sonne in Law, out of all that choice of Provinces hee chose especially the * Pijor Gaules, the wealth and commoditie whereof might fit his hand, and minister matter sufficient of (a) triumphs. And verily at the first by vertue of the Law (b) VATINIA hee tooke vpon him the government of (c) GALLIA CISALPINA together with ILLYRICVM. Soone after by the means of the Senate, that also which was called (d) COMATA: For, the nobilitie feared, least if they had denied him it, the people would have bestowed the same also vpon him. With joy whereof he grew so haughtie and proud, that he could not hold and temper himselfe, but after some fewe daies make his boast in a frequent Senate house, that he had gotten now what he desired in despite of his aduersaries, and full force against their wills: and therefore from that time forward, would (e) insult vpon all their heads: whereupon, when one by way of reproach denied that and said, That it was no easie matter for a woman so to doo: he answered againe, as

* For that they
had take things
at too high a
rate.

* Three a
clock in the
after-noon.

* Indict, others
read Iudic m
id est Petrus
Iudic.

* L. Petrus ac-
cording to Dio
and epian.
* Id est Petrus
Iudic afore-
said: For, dead
hee was found
in prison by
night.

21.

* Whom hee
promised in
marriage the
daughter of
Ca. Pompeius.

22.

* Pijor
* Ca. Pompeius.

it were alluding merily to another fence, That, euen in *Assyria* there some time raigned Queene SEMIRAMIS: and that the women named (*the Amazones*) held in times past a great part of *Asia* in subjection.

23

W^HEN hee had borne his Consulship, C. MEMMIUS and L. DOMITIUS Pretours for the time being*, put to question his Acts passed the former yeere: wherevpon hee referred the examination and censure thereof unto the body of the Senate but seeing they would not undertake the thing, after three daies spent to no purpose in vaine brables and altercations, he departed into his Province. And immediatly his *Questour (a) for to prejudice him, was drawne into trouble & indited upon certaine crimes. Within a while himselfe also was brought judicially to his triall, and accused by L. ANTIUSTIUS a Tribune of the Commons: but by appealing unto the Colledge of the Tribunes, hee prevailed through their favour thus much (in regard of his absence about the affaires of Common-weale) that he should not be liable to the accusation. For his better securitie therefore against future times, he travailed much to oblige and make beholden unto him the Magistrates every yeare: and of those Competitours who sued for any honourable Office, to helpe or suffer none other to come unto the place, but such as covenanted with him, and undertooke to defend & maintaine * him in his absence. For assurance of which their covenant, he stuck not to require of some an oath, yea, and a bill of their owne hands.

* For that hee was extraordinarily absent longer than the Law Sempronius did permit.

24.

A.V.C. 698.

B^UT when L. DOMITIUS a (4) Candidate for the Consulship threatned openly, that were he once Consul, he would effect that which he could not while he was Pretour, yea, and take from him his Armies, hee made meanes to draw CRASSVS and POMPEIUS unto *Luca* a Citie within his Province: with whom hee dealt effectually, that for to give DOMITIUS the repulse, they should both sue for themselves to be Consuls the second time, and also labour that his government might be prorogued or continued for five yeares longer; and he effected both. Vpon this confidence hee presumed to assume unto those Legions which hee had received from the State, others beside, maintained partly at the Cities charges, and in part with his owne private purse. And one Legion above the rest, enrolled from out of the Countries beyond the Alpes, hee termed by a French word, For named it was * *Alauda*. Which, being trained in militarie discipline, armed also and set out after the Romaine fashon, hee afterwards enfranchized throughout and made free of *Rome*. Neither from this time forward forbore he any occasion of warre, were it never so unjust or dangerous: picking quarrels as well with confederate Nations, as those that were enemies, savage and barbarous; whom he provoked to take Armes: in so much as the Senate one time decreed, to send certaine Embassadors for to survey & visite the state of the Gauls: yea, and some * were of opinion, that he should be delivered unto the enemies hands. But by reason that his affaires sped well and had good success, hee obtained in regard thereof solemne Supplications both oftner, and to hold more daies than ever any man did (before himselfe.)

* The bird *Galerita* or *Cassia*, so called of a crest upon the head. This Legion it should seeme were Pumes of feathers in their crests of Helmetts, whereupon it tooke that name.

* Namely *Cato*, *Plutarch*.

25.

D^URING the time of his (provinciall) government, which continued nine yeares space, these, in manner, were the Acts which hee performed. All that part of *Gaul*, which from the Forrest and Mountaine *Pyrenaus*, the Alpes, and the hill *Gebena*, is enclosed within the Rivers *Rhene* and *Rhofne*, containing in circuit 3200. miles, not accounting the associate Cities and States who

well of the people of *Rome*, hee reduced into the forme of a Province, and imposed upon them a payment of tribute veerely. The Germanes inhabiting beyond the *Rhene*, he of all the Romaines first assailed by meanes of a bridge which he built over the said River, and those he grievously plagued and gave them manie great overthrowes. He set upon the Brittaines also, a people before time unknowne, whom hee vanquished and compelled both to pay money, and also to deliver hostages. In so many prosperous battailes and fortunate exploits, he tasted of aduerse fortune thrice onely & no more: once in *Britaine*, when his Fleete had like to have beene lost and cast away in a violent tempest: a second time in *Gaul*, where a Legion of his was discomfited and put to flight, neare unto *Gergovia*: and last of all, in the marches of *Germanie*, when TITURIUS and AVRUNCULIVS his Lieutenants were forlayed by an ambush and put to the sword.

W^ITHIN the compasse of which very same time, hee lost by death, first, his * Mother, then his daughter (IVLIA) and not long after his * Neece by the said daughter. And in this meane while, the Common wealth being much troubled and astomied at the murder of CLODIVS, * when the Senate thought good there should be but one Consul created, namely C. POMPEIUS, hee dealt with the Tribunes of the Commons (who intended that hee should be the Colleague in Office with POMPEIUS) to propose this rather unto the People, That they would grant leave unto him in his absence, whensoever the terme of his government drew toward an end, to sue for his second Consulship: because he might not be constrained upon that occasion, and whiles the warre was yet unfinished, to depart out of his Province. Which when he had once obtained at their hands, reaching now at higher matters, and full of hopes, there was no kind of largesse, no manner of dutifull Office either in publique to the whole Citie, or privately unto any person that he omitted and left undone. His FORTHMORE stately Hall he began to build with the money raised of the spoiles gotten in warres: the very plot of ground whereon it should stand, cost him * *Milliessestertium* and above. He pronounced also a solemne Sword-sight and Feast unto the people, in the honour and memoriall of his Daughter, a thing that never any man did before him. And to cause an expectation of these solemnities in the highest degree, the viands & whatsoever pertained unto the feast, albeit he had agreed with Butchers and Victualers for the same at a certaine price, he provided nevertheless by his * household-servants. All the notable and well knowne sword players, when and wheresoever they fought so, as upon the dislike and displeasure of the beholders they were in danger to be killed in the place at their commandement, he tooke order and charged they should be had away by force and reserved for himselfe. As for new-Fencers and young beginners, hee trained them neither in any publique Schoole, nor under professed M^{rs}: of that Facultie, but at home in private houses, by Gentlemen of *Rome*, yea, and Senatours also, such as were skilful in their weapon and in seates of Armes, praying and beseeching them earnestly (as appeareth in his Epistles unto them) to take the charge of every one severally, and to have a speciall care to instruct each one, and give them rules in their exercises. The legionarie Souldiours pay in money he doubled for ever. And so often as there was plenty of corne, hee gave them their allowance of it without stint and measure and other-while he bestowed upon every one a slave or bond-servant, yea and possessions by the poll.

26

A.V.C. 700.

* Aurelia a Dame of singular chastitie
* Neptem, a Nephew.

* By *Julius*

* That is, a hundred millions of Sesterces, and 20, as *Pline* writeth, lib. 36. *Cæsar* if *Caesar* readeth truly, *Julius* authentically.
* *Domestici* tim.

27.

*So, Lee was
great Vnkle
unto her, like as
he was to *Ottavia*
the Emperour.

MOREOVER, to retaine still the bond of acquaintance, affinitie, and good will of POMPEIUS, OCTAVIA his sisters *Neece wedded unto C. MARCELLUS, hee affianced and made sure unto him: but withall, he craved his daughter to wife, promised in marriage before unto FAUSTUS SULLA. Having this obliged and brought to his devotion all those about him, yea, & the greater number of Senatours, by crediting out his money unto them, either *gratis*, or vpon a slight consideration: those also of other sorts & degrees, either invited kindly by himselfe, or resorting unto him of their owne accord, hee gratified with a most magnificent and bounteous (4) congiarie. The freed men besides, yea, and the Servants and Pages belonging to every one, according as any of them were in favour with their *Lord and Maister, tasted of his liberality. Moreover, there was not a man sued in Court judicially and in danger of the Law; there was not any deeply engaged and indebted unto their Creditours; there were no prodigall young spend-thrifts, but he was their onely supporter, and most readie at all assaies to helpe them: unlesse they were those that either had committed such grievous crimes, or were so low brought, or had been so excessive in riot, as that they could not possibly be relieved by him. *For such as these*, hee would say in plaine termes and openly, *there was no other remedie but civil warre.*

28

No lesse carefull and studious was he to allure unto him the hearts of Kings, yea, and whole Provinces throughout the world: unto some, offering in free gift the deliverie of Captives and prisoners by thousands at a time: unto others, sending aide secretly and under-hand without authoritie or commission of Senate and people, whether and as often as they would: and more than this, adorning with goodly building and excellent peeces of work the mightiest Cities of *Italie, Gaule, Spaine*, yea, and of *Asia* and *Greece*. This he did so long, untill all men now were astonied thereat: and when they cast with themselves whereto this might tend, at last M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS the Consul, after a preface and preamble made to his Edict, namely, That he would speake as touching the maine point of the Common-weale, proposed unto the Senate, That for as much as the warre was now ended, and peace abroad established, there might be one sent to succede him, before his time was fully expired; also, That the victorious Armie ought of right to bee dismissed and have their discharge from warfare: Item, that in the High Court and assembly for the Consuls election his name should not bee propounded, considering POMPEIUS afterward had annuled * that Act of the people (by vertue whereof it was graunted that he might be chosen Consul in his absence.) Now it had fallen out so, that hee making a Law as touching the right of Magistrates, in that Chapter and branch thereof, wherein he disabled those who were absent for being capable of honours and dignities, forgot to except CÆSAR: and soone after, when the said Law was once engroffed and engraven in brasse, & so laid up in the Treasurie, corrected his error and oversight. Neither was MARCELLUS content to deprive CÆSAR of his Provinces, and to put him by the privilege of a former Act passed in especiall favour of him, but he made a motion moreover, that those inhabitants, whom by the Law *Vatinia* CÆSAR had planted in the Colonie of *Novocomum*, should leese the freedome which they had, as Citizens of *Rome*: For that this prerogative of theirs had been graunted by ambitious meanes, and beyond that prescript number which was appointed and warranted by the Decree in that behalfe.

CÆSAR

29

CÆSAR highly displeased and troubled at these proceedings, and judging it, (as he was heard by report many times to give out) an harder matter for him a principall man of the Citie, to be deposed and thrust downe from the highest and first place of degree into the second, than from the second into the lowest and last of all) withstood him with all his might and power, partly by the opposition and negative voice of the Tribunes, and in part by SERVILIUS SULPICIUS the other Consull. Also in the yeare following when C. MARCELLUS who succeeded his cousin GERMAIN by the fathers side MARCUS, in the cōsulship, assaied to bring the same about, he bribed & made sure vnto him, with a mightie summe of mony, AEMILIUS PAULUS, companion with him in office, and C. CURIO a most violent Tribune, to sticke unto him, & defend his honor. But seeing all things carried still against him more obstinately than before, & the new Consuls elect take the contrarie side & bent another way, he wrote unto the Senate, and by his letters humbly besought them, not to suffer the benefit granted unto him by the people to be taken from him: or if they did, yet to giue order that other Generals likewise as well as hee, might leave their Armies: presuming confidently, as men thinke, vpon this, himselfe should be able wheloeuer he pleased to assemble together his souldiers more easily the POMPEIUS to levy new. But with his aduersaries he wold haue treated by way of Capitulation in these termes, that after he had discharged and sent away 8. Legions, and giuen over the prouince of *Gaule* beyond the Alpes, he might be allowed 2. legions with the prouince on this side the Alpes: or if not so, yet at least one, together with ILLYRICUM, vntil such time as he were created cōsul.

But perceiving that the Senate came not betweene nor interposed their authoritie to stop the course intended against him, & his aduersaries denied flatly to admit all manner of capitulating & composition concerning the commonwealth, he passed into the hither part of *Gaule*, & having kept the Assizes there and executed his provinciall iurisdiction stayed at *Ravenna*, with full resolution to be reuenged by open warre, in case there had passed from the Senat, any sharp and cruell decree, touching the Tribunes of the Commons opposing theselues in his behalfe, & quarrell: And verily this was the colour and occasion which he pretended of civil warre: yet men thinke there were some other causes & motives thereto. Cn. POMPEIUS was wont to giue out that for as much as CÆSAR was not able of himselfe and with his owne priuate wealth, either to consummate and finish those stately workes & edifices which he had begun, or to satisfie the expectation of the people which he had raised & wrought of his comming, therefore he intended to trouble the state and set all on a garboyle. Others say, that he feared least he should be compelled to giue an account of those things which in his first Consulship he had done against the sacred Auspices, the lawes, and prohibitions of the Tribunes (in the name of the people) considering that M. CATO had threatned and professed estfoones, & not without an oath, that no sooner should he and his armie be parted, but he would judicially call his name in question & bring him to his answer: Also for that it was commonly spoken abroad that if he returned ones in qualitie of a priuate person, he should after the example of M. IULO plead before the iudges, with a guard of armed men about the Court and Tribunall. And this seemeth to bee more probable by that which A. SEXTIUS POLLIO writeth, who reporteth, that in the battaile of Pharsalia, whē he beheld his aduersaries before his face, slaine

C

and

and put to flight, he vttered this speech word for word. *Let, this was their own doing: this would they neede haue.* And I CAIVS CRASAR after so many worthie exploits achieved should haue bene a condemned man had I not craued helpe of mine armie. Some are of opinion, that being so long inured & acquainted with soueraigne command, & weighing his owne puillance & the power of his enemies in ballace one against the other, took the occasion & opportunitie to usurpe that absolute dominion, which in the uerie prime of his years he aspired unto; and of this mind, it seemeth CICERO was, who in his 3. booke of duties writeth, that CRASAR had alwaies in his mouth, these verses of EURIPIDES

*Εἴμυ γὰρ, ἀδελφεὲν γὰρ, ὑποπαιδὸς οὐκ οἶμι
Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφεῖς, τίλλω δ' ἴσους ἐν γένει*

Which CICERO himselfe translated thus.

Nam si violandum est ius, imperij gratia

Violandum est, alijs rebus pietatem colas.

For if thou must do wrong by breach,

Of lawes, of right and equitie,

Tis best thereby a Crowne to reach,

In all things els keepe piety.

When word therefore was brought unto him, that the Tribunes inhibiti-
on & negative voice was put down, and themselves departed out of the Citie:
31
A.V.C.705, hauing immediatly sent before certaine Cohorts priuily, because no suspition
might arise, he dissimuled the matter, & was present in person to behold a pub-
like Game, viewed, and considered the plot forme according to which he was
about to build a Schoole of swordfencers, and according to his usuall manner
gaue himselfe to feast & banquet often. After this presently vpon the Sun set-
ting, he tooke vp certaine Males from the next Bakersmil-house; set the in their
geires to his wagon, and as closely as possibly he could with a small retinewe
and companie about him put himselfe in his Iournie: and when by reason that
the lights were gone out, he had lost his way, after he had wandred a long time,
at the length meeting with a guide by that time it was day, he passed on foote
through most narrow crosse lanes and by-pathes untill he recovered the right
way againe. Now when he had ones ouertaken his Cohorts, at the riuer *Rubi-*
con, which was the utmost bound of his province, he rested & stode still a little
while: the casting in his mind, how great an enterprize he went in hand with, he
turned vnto them that were next unto him and said. As yet my maisters wee
may well returne backe; but passe we once ouer this little bridge, there will be
no dealing but by force of armes and dint of sword.

As he thus staied, and stood doubtfull what to doe, a strang sight he chanced to see in
this manner. All of a suddaine their appeared vnto him a certaine man of an extraordi-
nary stature & shape withall, sitting hard by, & piping with a reed. Now when besides
the shepheards & herdmen many soldiours also from their standing wards ran for to
heare him, & among them the Trumpeters likewise, he caught from on of the a Trum-
pet, leapt forth to the riuer, & begining with a mightie blast to found the battaile, kept
on his pace to the very bancke, on the other side. Then CRASAR, Let vs march on
quothe he & goe whether the tokes of the Gods & the iniurious dealings of our enemies
call vs. The dice be throwne: I haue set vp my rest. Come what will of it.

And thus hauing conueyed his armie ouer the riuer, he ioyned with the Tribunes of
the commons, who vpo their expulsion out of the Citie were come vnto him, & in a full
32
& frequēt assemblie, with shedding teares & reting his garmēt down the brest, besought
the faithfull helpe & assistance of his soldiers. It is supposed also that he promised unto
every on of the a knights liuing, which happened vpo a vain & false perfwasio, for whe
in his speech & exhortatiō unto the, he shewed euer & a non the (ring) finger of his left
hand, & therewith auouched & promised for the satisfaction & contentmēt of al those
by whose meanes he should maintaine his honour & dignitie, that he would willingly
(b) plucke the ring from off his owne finger: those that stood him most in the assem-
bly,

bly, who might better see than heare him speak, took that for spoken which they
imagined by bare sight, and so the speech went for currant, That hee promised
them the dignity of wearing the ring (of gold) together with 400000 (sesterces.)

THE order, proceeding a final complement of those Acts, which from thence
forth he archieued, summarily goeth in this maner. He seized into his hands and
held PICENUM, VMERIA, & HETRURIA. L. DOMITIUS, who in a factious tu-
mult was nominated to be his successor, & kept CORFINIUM with a garison, he
subdued & forced to yeeld: and when he had dismissed him, hee marched along
the coast of the *Adriatick* sea, to *Brundis*, whether the Consuls & POMPEIUS
were fled, intending with all speed to crosse the narrow Seas: whose passage af-
ter he had assaid by all manner of lets to hinder & stop (but in vaine) he turned
his journey and took the way directly to *Rome*. And when he had curteously mo-
ved the Senatours to give him meeting in the Senate house, there to treat & con-
sult as touching the State of the Common-weale, he set upon the most puissant
forces of POMPEIUS, which were in *Spain* under the conduct of three Lieute-
nants, M. PETREIUS L. AFFRANIUS & M. VARRO: hauing given out before
among his friends and openly professed, that he was going to an Armie without
a (a) Captaine; and would returne from thence to a (b) Captaine without an Ar-
mie. And albeit the besieging of *Musilla*, which Citie in his journey forward, had
shut the gates against him, & exceeding scarcity of corn & victuals was some im-
peachment & stay unto him, yet within a short time he overcame & subdued all.

FROM hence hauing returned to the City (of *Rome*) againe, & passed over into
Macedonie, after he had held POMPEIUS besieged for the space wel-neare of 4.
moneths, & that within most mighty trenches & strong rampiers, he discomfi-
red at the last in the *Pharsalian* battel & put him to flight: and following him hot-
ly in chase as he fled to *Alexandria*, so loone as he understood that he was slaine,
and perceived likewise that King PTOLOMEVS laid wait for his owne person
also, he warred upon him which, to say a truth, was a most difficult & dangerous
peece of worke, by reason that he managed it, neither in place indifferent, nor
time convenient, but in the very Winter season, and within the walls of a most
wealthy & politick enemy, being himselfe in distresse & want of all things, and
unprovided besides to fight. Having archieued the victory, he graunted the king-
dome of *Egypt* unto CLEOPATRA & her younger brother, fearing to reduce it
into the forme of a Province, least at any time, being governed under some L.
President of a more stirring spirit & violent nature than others, it might give oc-
casion & yeeld matter of rebellion. From *Alexandria* he went over into *Syria*, &
so from thence into *Pontus*, upon the urgent newes as touching PHARNACES;
Whom, notwithstanding he was the sonne of that great MITHRIDATES, & ta-
king the opportunitie of the troubles & ciuill warre among the Romanes, made
warre, yea, and now bare himselfe presumptuous and overbold for his manifold
victories & great successe, yet within 5 dayes after his arrivall thither, & 4. houres
after he came into sight of the enemy, he vanquished and subdued in one onely
battaile: eft-soones & oftentimes recounting the felicity of POMPEIUS, whose
hap it was, to win his principall name for warfare, of so cowardly a kinde of ene-
mies. After this, he defeated SCIRO and IVBA, repairing the reliques of that
side in *Africk*, and the children of POMPEIUS in *Spain*.

IN all the ciuill warres, hee sustained no losse or overthrow but by his owne
Lieutenants: of whom, C. CVRIVS was slaine in *Africk*: C. ANTONIUS yeel-
ded

ded himselfe into the hands of his enemies in *Illyricum*: P. DOLABELLA in the same *Illyricum* lost his fleet, and C. N. DOMITIUS his armie in *Pontus*. Himselfe fought his battailes alwaies most fortunatly, and never was so much as in any hazard, save only twice: once before *Dyrrachium*, where being discomfited and put to flight, when he saw that POMPEIUS followed not on in chase, he said of him, *That hee knew not how to use a victorie*. A second time, in *Spaine*, at the last battaile that ever he fought, what time, being in great despaire, hee was of mind even to have killed himselfe.

37
A.V.C. 708.
709.
HAVING finished all his warres, he rode in 5. triumphs: to wit, when he had vanquished SCIPIO, 4. times in one and the same moneth, but certaine daies betwene: and once againe, after hee had overcome the children of POMPEIUS. The first and most excellent triumph that hee solemnized, was that over Gaule: then followed the *Alexandrine*; after it the *Pontick*; next thereunto the *African*: and last of all the *Spanish*: every one set out diversly, with variety of Ordinance, provision and furniture. On the day of his Gaules triumph, as he rode along the * *Velabrum*, he had like to have beene shaken out of his Chariot, by reason that the Axel-tree brake. Hee mounted up into the Capitoll by torch-light, having xl. Elephants on his right hand & left, bearing (a) branches and candlesticks. In his Pontick triumph, among the Pageants and shewes of that pomp, he caused to be caried before him the title & superscription of these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici* I came, I saw, I conquered: signifying, not the acts atchieved by warre, as other Conquerours, but noting his expedition in despatching the warre.

38
* Or rather
* *cen*, that is,
20000.
* Rather *qua-*
* *dragen*, that is
40000.
* By which
reckoning the
proportion ro
horsemen was
double.
* That is, for
bearing so
long.
* *Picratione*:
which as some
thinke *Perfu-*
callen *apru-*
and is ex-
pounded
upon the *Gen-*
of such mer-
iments, is na-
med *Exomol-*
A.V.C. 708.
* To graue
all strangers
that conflowed
to Rome.
THROUGHOUT the Legions of old Souldiers, he gave in the name of pillage, unto every footman (over and above the (a) 2000. *sestertij*, which he had paid at the beginning of the civill tumult) (b) * 4000. *sestertij*: and to the horse-men (c) * 24000. a peece. He assigned lands also unto the, but not lying all together, because none of the owners should be thrust out (of their livings.) Among the people (of Rome) beside x. *modij* of corne, & as many pints of oyle, he distributed & dealt 300 Sesterces also by the poll, which hee had in times past promised, with an over-deale of 100. a peece to boote, * for time. Hee remitted moreover one yeeres house rent, unto all tenants in Rome, if it amounted to 2000. Sestertij and not above: but to those in *Italie*, if the said rent exceeded not 500. Furthermore, hee made them a generall great feast, & distributed a dole of raw flesh: yea, and after his victorie in *Spaine* he gave them 2. dinners: For, deeming the former of them to have beene made niggardly and not befitting his liberality, he bestowed upon them 5. daies after, another, and in most large and plenteous manner.

39 He exhibited shewes of sundry sorts (as namely) a sword-fight of Fencers at sharpe: hee set forth Stage Plaies likewise in severall quarters and (a) Regions of the Citie throughout, and those verily acted by * Plaiers in all languages: Semblably, the solemne games (b) *Circenses*, hee shewed; and brought forth Champions also to performe their devoir, and represented a naval fight. At the saide solemnity of sword-plaiers, there fought to the uttrance in the Market place of Rome, FURIVS LEBTIVS, descended from the race of Pretours, and A. CALPENVIS, one who had beene sometime a Senatour, and a pleader of causes at the barre. There daunced the (c) *Pyrrhick* warlike daunce, the children of the Princes and Potentates of *Asia* and *Bithynia*. During the Stage plaies aforesaid (d) D. L. ABERIVS a Gentleman of Rome acted his owne Poem or Enterlude: For which, being rewarded with 500. thousand Sesterces, and a ring of

of gold, he passed directly fro the Stage by the (e) *Orchestra*, to take up his place among the Knights in the 14. foremost seates. At the Games *Circenses*, against which the Cirque was enlarged on both sides and moved round about, there drave the Steedes drawing Chariots foure and two together, yea and mounted the vaunting Horses from one to another, the greatest gallants & bravest young Gentlemen of the Nobilitie. The (f) warlike Trojan Game was performed by a two-fold troupe of greater boyes and lesse. The hunting or baiting of wilde beasts was presented five daies together. And the last day of all, there was a fight betwene two battailes of 500. footmen, 20. Elephants, and 30. horsemen on a side, put to skirmish one against the other. For, to the end that they might have more scope to bicker together, the (g) goales were taken up and removed: but in steed of them were pitched two * Campes confronting one another. As for the (h) Champions above-said, they having a place for to exercise their feats of Activitie set out and built for the present time, strove for the prize or best Game three daies together in the Region of *Mars* field. To set out the *Naumachie* or naval battaile, there was a place digged for a great poole, in the lesse (i) *Coſeta*; wherein certaine gallies as well with two ranks of Oares as with three; the ships of *Tyros* also & of *Egypt* encountered, being manned with a great number of fighting men. To behold these fights and shewes, such a number of people resorted from all parts, as most of the strangers either within the streetes of the Citie or in the high waies without, were faine to abide within booths pitched of purpose: yea, and often-times very many were in the presse crowded and crushed to death; among whom were two Senatours.

TURNING after this to set the State of the Common-weale in good order, he reformed the Kalender, which long since through the Prelates default, by their liberty of interlacing (moneths and daies) at their pleasure, was so confused, that neither the feastivall holidais of harvest fell out in Sommer, nor those of the vintage in Autumne. And he framed the whole yeare just unto the courtie of the Sunne, that it should containe 365. daies; and by abolishing the leape moneth, one (a) day every fourth yeare might be inserted betwene.

Now to the end that the computation of the times to come, might from the * new Kalends of Ianuarie agree the better, betwene November and Decem- * *Calen* is *Jan-*
ber, he put two other moneths. So as, that yeare wherein all this was ordained, had 15. moneths, reckoning the ordinarie interlaced moneth, which by countie and custome fell just upon the said yeare.

He made up the full (a) number of the Senatours, and chose unto that place * new (b) *Patritij*. The number of Pretours, *Ædiles*, *Quæstors*, and of other (c) * According
inferiour Magistrates hee augmented. Such as were displaced and put downe to the Law
by vertue of the Censors Office, or otherwise by sentence of the Iudges condemned for unlawfull briberie, and suing indirectly for any Office, hee restored to their former roomes. In the election of Magistrates he parted with the people thus farre forth; as (excepting the Competitors of the Consulship) for all the number besides of Candidates, the one halfe should be declared those whom the People were disposed to propound, the other halfe, such as himselfe would nominate. Which nomination passed by certaine bills sent about unto the Tribes, in a briefe kind of Writ after this manner: CÆSAR DICTATOR unto this or that Tribe (greeting) I commend unto yov, such an one

* Contrary to the Law *Cornelia*.

* Disabled the for being Judges.

* As who best knew the number of their tenants and inhabitants in their houses.

42

and such an one, that by vertue of your voices and suffrages they may have and hold the dignitie they sue for. He admitted unto honorable places the children * of those who had been proscribed and outlawed. He reduced all Judgements unto two sorts of Judges, namely of the Knights degree and the Senatours: As for the Tribunes of the Treasure or chamber of the Citie, which had been the third, he utterly * abolished. The generall survey and numbering of the people he held, neither after the accustomed (a) manner, nor in the usuall place, but streete by streete, and that by the * Land-lords & owners of messuages and tenements standing together: and whereas 3020000 Citizens (e) received allowance of corne from the State, he brought and reduced them to the number of one hundred & fiftie thousand. And to the end that no new conventicles & riots at any time might arise about this review, he ordained, That every yeare, in the place of those that were deceased, the Pretour should make a new supply and choise by casting lots, out of such as had not bene reckoned and enrolled in the former survey.

MOREOVER, when as to the number of 80000. (Romaine) Citizens were bestowed in sundry Colonies beyond the Sea; hee made a Law for the more frequent inhabiting of the Citie (of *Rome*) thus exhausted and dispeopled; That no Citizen above 20. yeares of age, and under 40. (unlesse he were a sworne (f) souldiour to the State, and so bound by his oath) should remaine out of *Italie* above 3. yeares together: Item, That no Senatours sonne, except hee lodged within the house or Pavilion, or belonged to the (g) familiar hall of a chiefe Magistrate, should travaile (forth of *Italie*.) Item, That no Grasters should keep and receive fewer than a third part of free borne young men, among the keepers of their cattell. All professours of physick at *Rome*, and teachers of the liberall Arts, he enfranchized Citizens: that both they themselves might more willingly dwell in the Citie, & others beside desire there to inhabite. As touching money lent out; when he had quite put down the expectation of (b) cancelling debts, (a thing that was often * moved) hee decreed at length; That all debtours should satisfie their Creditours in this manner: Namely by an estimate made of their possessions, according to the worth and value as they purchased them before the civill warre, deducting out of the principall whatsoever had bene paid or set downe in the Obligations for the use: by which condition, the third part wel-neare of the money credited forth, was lost. All the Societies and Colledges, saving those that were of ancient foundation, he dissolved. The penalties of heinous crimes he augmented: And whereas the rich & wealthier sort fell to wickednes so much the sooner, because they went * into banishment, and saved their whole patrimonies and estates: (i) parricides therefore and wilfull murderers (as *CICERO* writeth) hee deprived of all their goods; other manslaughters besides he fined with the losse of one halfe.

43

He ministred Justice and decided matters in Law, most painfully and with passing great severitie. Such as were attaint and convict of (a) extortion, hee removed even from their Senatours place and degree. He brake the marriage of a man that had bene Pretour, marrying a wife presently after two daies that she was divorced and went from a former husband, albeit there was no suspicion at all of adulterie and naughtinesse. Hee ordained customs and imposts of forraigne merchandize. The use of Licters, likewise the wearing of purple * cloathes and of pearle he tooke away, saving onely in certaine persons and ages, and upon special daies. The Law *Sumptuaria*, (b) to repress excessive cost in fare, he executed most of any other: And for this purpose, he set certaine Watchmen and Warders in sundry places about the shambles and markets where victuals were sold, to lay hold upon all carres and viands contrarie to the prescript rule of the Law in that behalfe, and to bring the same unto him. Otherwhiles also, he sent secretly his owne Officers & Souldiours, to fetch away such meates out of the very dining Parlors and banquetting roomes, even when they were set upon the bord, if happily they had any way escaped the hands of the foresaid warders.

44

FOR, as concerning his purpose to adorne and beautifie the Citie of *Rome* with gallant works, as also to maintaine & amplifie the Empire, hee had more matters in his head and greater every day than other. Principally his intent and meaning was, to build so fastely a temple in the honour of *Mars*, as the like was no where to be scene; having filled up and laid levell that huge pit, wherein he had exhibited the shew of a Naval battell: & also to erect

* Or scarlet in grain.

an exceeding great Theater, fast adjoyning to the Mount *Tarpeius*. Itē, to reduce the whole corps of the civill Law to a certaine meane and mediocrity: and out of that huge and diffused number of Lawes, to choose out the best and necessarie points, and those to bring into as few volumes as possibly might be. Item, to erect publicly the greatest Libraries that he could, as wel of Greeke as Latine Authors: committing unto (a) M. VARRO the charge, both to provide the said books, and also to digest & place them in order. Item to lay the Meerés & Fennie Plashes *POMPTINÆ* drie: to draw & let forth the lake *Fucinus*: to make a cawfie or high-way, from the Adriatick Sea, by the ridge or side of the Apennine hill, as farre as to the river *Tibris*, & to digge through the (b) *Isthmus*. Moreover, to bridle the Dakes who had invaded *Pontus* and *Thracia*: and soone after, to make warre upon the Parthians by the way of *Armenia* the lesse: but not to give them battell before he had made (c) triall of them. Amid these purposes and designs, death prevented him. Concerning which, before I enter into speech, it shall not be impertinent to deliver summarily those points which concerne the shape, feature, and proportion of his body: his habite & apparell: his fashions and behaviour: and withall, what may touch both his civil and also his martiall affaires.

OF stature he is reported to have bene tall; of complexion white & cleare; with limbs well trussed and in good plight; somewhat full faced; his eyes black, lively, and quick; also very healthfull, saving that in his latter daies he was given to faint and twoune sodainly; yea, and as he dreamed, to start and be affrighted: twice also in the midst of his martiall * affaires, he was surprized with the (a) falling sicknes. About the trimming of his body, he was * over-curious: so as he would not onely be nortted & shaven very precisely, but also have his haire plucked, in so much as some cast it in his teeth, and twitted him therewith. Moreover, finding by experience, that the deformity of his bald head was oftentimes subject to the scoffes and scornes of back-biters and slanderers, hee tooke the same exceedingly to the heart: and therefore he both had usually drawne downe his haire that grew but thin, from the crowne toward his forehead: and also of all honours decreed unto him from the Senate and People, he neither received nor used any more willingly, than the priviledge to weare continually the triumphant Lawrel guirland. Men say also that in his apparel he was noted * for singularity, as who used to goe in his Senatours purple studded robe, trimmed with a jagge or frindge at the sleeve hand: and the same so, as hee never was but girt over it, and that very slack and loose: whereupon, arose (for certaine) that saying of *SVELLA*, who admonished the Nobles oftentimes, *To beware of the boy that went girted so dissolutely.*

He dwelt at first in the * *Suburra*; but after he was high priest, in the streete *Sacra*, in an edifice of the Cities. Many have written, that he was exceedingly addicted to neatnesse in his house, and sumptuous fare at his Table. The Mannor house which he founded out of the very ground, & with great charges finished in the territorie *Aemorenfis*, because it was not wholly answerable to his minde, he demolished and pulled quite downe: although as yet he was but of meane estate and deeply endebted. Finally, this speech goeth of him, That in his expeditions he carried about with him * pavements of checker worke made of quarels square cut, so as they might be taken asunder, and set againe together.

He made a voyage (as they say) into *Britaine*, in hope of pearles: and

C 4

other.

45

* *Interregnum* or *interregnum*, that is, from the death of a King to the death of a new King.

* His attire different from others, or of a new fashion which the Greekes call *Stola*.

46

* A Streete in Rome much frequented.

* The paving tiles of marble &c. whereof such floors are made.

47

* *Incessu*, in his gang or manner of going.

and also in * gate: And M. ANTONIVS avouched unto the Senate, that by the same resemblance he knew him to be his sonne: averring withall, That C. MATIVS, CAIVS OPPIVS & the rest of CÆSARS friends knew as much. Of who, C. OPPIVS (as if the thing were so pregnant, that it required some Apologie & defence) put forth a book entituled thus: TAAT HE WAS NOT CÆSARS SONNE, WHOM CLEOPATRA FATHERED Vpon HIM. HELVIUS CINNA, a Tribune of the Com. confessed unto many persons, That hee had a Law drawne out in writing & in readines, which CÆSAR being absent himselfe commaunded him to propose, to this effect, *That it might be lawfull for him to marrie what wives and as many as he would for to get children upon.* And that no man need at all to doubt how infamous he was, both for (b) uncleannesse of body against kinde, and also for adulteries, CVRIO the Father in a certaine Oration calleth him *a woman for all men, and a man for all women.*

53.

THAT he was a most sparie drinker of wine, his very enemies would never denie. Whereupon arose this Apophthegm of M. CATO, *That of all that ever were, CÆSAR alone came sober to the overthrow of the State.* For, about his foode and diet C. OPPIVS sheweth hee was so indifferent & without curiosity, that when upon a time his Host set before him upon the bordolde ranke oile in steed of greene, (sweet, & fresh, so that other guests refused it, he onely by his saying) fell to it & eate thereof the more liberally; because he would not be thought to blame his * Host either for negligence or rusticitie.

54

FROM other mens goods he held not his hands, neither when he had the command of Armies abroad, nor when he was in place of magistracie at home: For, in *Spaine* (as some have recorded) he took money of the * Proconsul, & the Allies there, and that by way of begging, to help him out of debt: and certaine townes of the * *Lusitanes*, he sacked in hostile manner, albeit they denied not to do whatsoever he commanded them; and besides, did set open their gates for him against his comming: In *Gaul* he robbed & spoiled the Chappels & * Temples of the Gods, full of rich gifts & oblations. As for Cities, he put them to the sack, more often for bootie sake and pillage, than for any trespass committed. Whereupon it came to passe, that he got abundance of gold, so as of it which he had to spare and did set to sale, * he sold throughout *Italy* and in the Provinces after (4) 3000 sesterces of silver the pound weight. In his first Consulship, when he had stolen out of the Capitoll three thousand pound waight of gold, hee bestowed in the place thereof as much brasse guilt. The privilegedes of Societie and alliance with the Romanes, as also Kings Titles he gave for summes of money: as who (for example) from * PROLOMEVS that was but one, tooke away wel-neere 6000 * talents, in the name of himselfe & POMPEIVS: But afterwards by most open piling, poling, and sacriledges, he maintained the charges both of civill warres, and also of his triumphes and * solemne shewes exhibited to the people.

IN eloquence and warlike feares together, he either equalled or excelled the glory of the very best. After his accusation of DOLOBELLA, he was no doubt ranged in the ranke of the principall Advocates at Law. Certes, CICERO in his Catalogue of Oratours to BRVTVS, sayeth; *He cannot see any one, unto whom CÆSAR might give place; affirming withall, That hee holdeth an elegant and gay, a flatly also, and in some sort a generous and Gentlemanlike kind of pleading:* And unto CORNELIVS NEPOS, thus wrote he of the same CÆSAR. *What should a man*

say

say more? which of all these Oratours that practised nothing else but Oratorie, will you preferre before this CÆSAR? who is there in sentences either quicker or comming thicker? who for words, yielded more gallant or more elegant? Hæc seemeth whiles he was yet but young, to have followed that forme of eloquence onely, which STRABO CÆSAR professed: out of whose Oration also intituled, *Pro Sardinia*, he transferred some sentences, worde for word, into his owne, called *Divinatione*. It is said, that in his * Pronunciation, he used an high and shrill voyce; an ardent motion; and earnest gesture, not without a lovely grace. Some Orations he left behind him (in writing.) Among which certaine goe under his name, but vntuely as namely that *pro*, 2. METELLO: which AVGVSTVS deemeth (and not without good cause) to to have beene written rather by Notaries, who either tooke not his words aright, or wrote not so fast, as he deliuered them, than penned by himselfe. For in certaine copies I find that it had not so much as this Inscription, *Pro METELLO*: but * *quam scripsit METELLO*: being (as it is indeede) a speech comming from the person of CÆSAR, clearing METELLVS and himselfe, against the criminations and slanders of common backbiters to them both. The Oration likewise, * *Ad MILITES in Spaine*, the same AUGUSTUS hardly thinketh to be his: And yet there be 2. of them extant: the one, was pronounced at the former battaile: the other, at the latter: when, by the report of ASINIVS POLLIO, he had not so much as any time to make a speech; the enemies ran upon him & charged so suddainly.

He left Commentaries also of his *owne Acts*, to wit, as touching the *Gaulle warre*, and the *Civill warre* with POMPEIVS. For, of the ALEXANDRINE, AFRICAN, and *Spanish warres*, who was the writer it is uncertaine: Whilest some thinke it was OPPIVS; others, HIRTVS; who also made up and finished the last of the *Gaulle war*, which was unperfect. As concerning those Commentaries aforesaid of CÆSAR, CICERO in the * same booke, writeth thus: *Hee wrote Commentaries exceeding well, I assure you, to be liked: (marked they be, straight and upright, yea and lovely too, being dewessed, as it were, of all ornaments & trimme attire of Style) but while his mind was that others disposed to write a complet historie, should furnish and serve themselves with matter there ready to their hands, happilie to some foolish folke he did some pleasure, who are willing to curle and frizle the same with their crisping pins, but surely the wiser sort he stared altogether from writing.* Of the same Commentaries, HIRTVS giueth this report, They are quoth he, in the iudgement of all men so approved, that it seemes he hath prevented writers, and not given them any helpe. And yet, our admiration of this matter is more than all mens beside. For, whereas others doe know onely how well and purely they were penned, wee note also with what facilitie & expedition he wrote them. POLLIO ASINIUS thinketh they were compiled with smal care & diligence: with as little regard also of sound truth: seeing that CÆSAR received hand over head, & beleaved most things lightly: namely such as were by others atchieued; and even those *Acts* which himselfe exploited either of purpose or for default of memorie hee put downe wrong: He supposeth also that he meant to have writt the same a new & corrected the. He left moreover ij. books, *de Analogia*: & as many * *Anticatores*

besides

* Take it god really for the whole Action

* Which he wrote for, says Metellus.

* One, says Milites.

* Ad Bruttum.

* Asinius Pollio.

* Against Cicero in the dispraise of Cæsar's Friends in whole commendation Cicero had written before.

* Quæ et quæ, ducere v. l. i. even an Alien. * For other wife, *et alia* was unlawfull. And *Antimus* was the first Romaine that had two wives at once.

* Cond. tum o. leum penult. cor. or condit. m. product. et m. unguentum, an ointment. * Or friend.

* Tabero.

* That is, in Portugale. * *Epilaps deoris*, &c. or temple: *deorum*, &c. the temples, full of rich gifts and oblations to the Gods. * *Divenderet*, some reade *di. v. deret*, hee distributed and dealt away. * *Auletes*, Set of silver in ter 80 pound weight the talent. * *Munus*, * *Eloquens*, *militarique re*, after *Lipius*.

55

64

At *Alexandria* being busie about the assault and winning of a bridge where by a sodaine fallie of the enemies he was driven, to take a boat, & many besides made hast to get into the same, he lept into the sea, and by swimming almost a quarter of a mile recovered cleare the next ship: bearing up his left hand all the while, for feare the writings which he held therein should take wet, and drawing his rich coate (a) armour after him by the teeth, because the enemy should not have it as a spoyle.

65

This seemeth
strange and con-
trary to the
Romane disci-
pline.
* *Alexander*,
* *Antony*,
others read a
form, a beauti-
ty, a colour and
feature of body

His soldiers hee allowed for good, in regard neither of *manners and behauour, nor of *welch and outward estate, but onely of bodily strength: & he used them all with like severitie, with like indulgence also and sufferance. For he awed and chastised them not in all places nor at all times: but only when the enemy was very neere at hand: and then especially was he most severe, and precise in exacting and executing of discipline: in so much, as hee would not give the warning of the time; either of journey or of battaile, but kept the readie, intente & prest to be led forth vpon a suddaine, everie minute of an houre, whether hee would; this did he also many times without any cause, especially vpon rainie daies & festivals. And admonishing his soldiers ever & among, to obserue and haue an ey unto him, he would suddainely in the day-time or by night, withdraw himselfe out of the way, yea & stretch out his journey more the ordinarie; even to tyre them out who were late in following after.

66

* *Mimandre* or
* *inhibendo* a
Supplieing
which might
seeme good
pollicie.

As for his soldiers that were terrified with the rumor of their enemies, his manner was to animate and encourage them, not by denying or *diminishing, but by augmenting the same to the highest degree, even above the truth. And thus upon a time, when the expectation of *Iuba* his coming was terrible, he called his soldiers together: and in a publike speech unto them. Be it knowne unto you all, quoth he, *That within these very fewe dayes the King will bee here with a power of *Legions of 30000. men of armes: an hundred thousand light *armours and three hundred Elephants. Forbear therefore some of you to enquire or imagine further of the matter: but give credite unto me, that know this for a truth: Or else verely I will imbarque you in the Oldest ship, I can get, & cause you to be carried away with any winde, into what Landes and Countries it shall be your fortunes to fall upon.*

* *Fortemen*
heavily armed.
+ *Fortemen*
highly armed.

67

* *Pro modo*, or
* *pro more*, after
the manner of
militarie dis-
cipline.

As touching his soldiers trespasses and delinquencies, he neither obserued and tooke knowledge of them all, nor yet punished them fully to the *proportion. But as he made streight inquisition after those who trayterously forsooke their colours, and were mutinous, and proceeded against them with rigour: so, at others he would winke. Sometimes also, after a great battaile and victorie obtained, he released them all of militarie duties; permitting them in all licentiousnesse to roist and royt wantonly here and there: beeing wont to giue it out, *That his soldiers (perfumed though they were with Odours: and besmeared with sweete oyles) could fight valiantly.* Neither called he them in his publike oration, plaine soldiours, but by a more pleasing name, *Fellow-soldiers.* Furthermore he maintained them so trim and braue, that he stucke not to set them out in polished armour, damasked with siluer and gold: as well for goodly shewe, as because they should in battaile take better hold and keepe the same more surely for feare of damage and losse. Moreouer he loued them so affectionately, that when he heard of **Titrivs* his ouerthrow, he

* *Andronicus* Le-
gatus in his
A.V.C. 700.

suffered

suffered the haire of his head and beard to growe long, and would not cut the same before he had reuenged their death. By which meanes, he both had his soldiers most devoted unto him, and also made them right valorous,

When he was entred into the Ciuill warre, the Centurions of euerie Legion presented vnto him one horseman a peece, provided out of their owne (a) priuate stocke; and generally all his soldiers offered their seruice freely, with out allowance of come or wages out of his purse: considering that the welthier sort had taken vpon them the finding and maintenance of the poorer. Neither all that long time of soderie, was their any of them that once revolted from him; and verie many being taken prisoners (by the enemies) & hauing life granted vnto them upon cōdition, they would serue as soldiers against him, refused it. Hunger and other extremities which necessarily follow warre, not onely whilst they were besieged, but also when themselves beleagured others; they indured so resolutely, that during their strong sledge and fortification against *Dyrachium*, *Pompey*, when he saw what kinde of bread made of a certaine (b) Herbe they liued upon, said, *He had to deale with wild beasts.* commanding withall, the same quickly to be had away, and not snewed to any one: For feare, leaſt his owne soldiers hearts should be utterly daunted, seeing once the patience and constancie of their enemies. And how valiantly they bare themselves in fight, this on thing may testifie that hauing taken one foyle in a battaile before *Dyrachium*, they volūtarily offered to be (c) executed therfore; in so much as their Generall was more troubled about comforting then punishing the. In all other battailes, they fewer in number by many parts, easily vanquished, infinit forces of their enemies. To conclude, one (d) cohort & no more of the 6. Legion, which had the keeping of a *skonce, made good the place & held out for certaine houres against foure of *Pompey's* Legions: and were in manner all of the throughout shot into their bodies with a multitude of their arrows: of which were found one hundred & thirtie thousand within their trench and rampires. And no mervaile, if a man cōsider their feneal facts singly by the selues, either of *Cassius Scæva* a Centurion, or of *C. Acilius* a cōmon soldier: to say nothing of many more. *Scæva*, when his eie was smittē out, his thigh & shoulder shot through, and his buckler perced likewise with the shot of *120. arrowes yet defended the gate of the porte cōmitted to his charge, & kept it still. *Acilius* in a fight at sea before *Massilia*, after his right hand was quite cut off, wherwith he had caught the Poop of his enemies ship, following herein that memorable example of *Cynecirus* among the *Greekes*, leapt notwithstanding into the saide shippe, shouing and driuing before him with the bosse and pike of his buckler those that he met in his way.

* Or fort, at
the Siege of
Dyrachium.

* *Plutarch* 30.

In ten yeeres space during the *Gaulle warre*, they neuer so much as once mutined: In the Ciuill warres sometimes they did: yet so, as they were soone reclaimed and came againe into order: not so much by the remisse indulgence as the authoritie of their Captaine: For, neuer would he yeeld one jot unto them in these their seditious tumults: nay, hee alwaies withstood and crossed them: And verily the 9. Legion at *Placentia*, notwithstanding *Pompey* yet was in armes with his power in the field) he cashiered ful and wholly & sent away with shame: yea & after many humble prayers & supplications with much ado restored he the to their places again, & not before executiō done vpon the offenders.

69

70

As for the soldiers of the tent Legion, when as in *Rome* they earnestly called for their discharge from warfare, & required their rewards even with mightie threats, & that to the exceeding danger of the whole Citie at what time also, the war was verie hote in *Africke*, he neither would admit them into his presence, nor yet dismiss the albeit his friends seemed to scare him from taking that course: but with one onely word, whereby he named them (a) *Quirites*, instead of *Milites*, he did so gently turne and winde, yea and bring them to his bent, that forthwith they made answer. *They would be his souldiers still*: and so of their owne accord followed him into *Africk*, notwithstanding he refused their service, And yet for all this, he amerced and fined the most mutinous sort of them with the losse of a third part, both of the pillage and also of the Lands appointed for them.

In affectionate love and faithfull protection of his dependants, he was not wanting in his verie youth. When he had upon a time defended MASINTHA a noble young Gentleman against King *HIEMPSAL, so earnestly, that in the debate & altercatiō between them he flew upon IVE the Kings sonne & caught him by the (a) beard: after that the said MASINTHA was pronounced definitive ly the Kings* Tributarie: he forthwith both rescued him out of their hands that would have haled him away: and also kept him close a long time in his owne Lodging; & soone after his Pretorship there expired, when he went into *Spaine*, tooke the young gentleman away with him in his own litter among others his followers; and fauorites, and those officers that attended upon him with their knitches of rods.

72

His friends he used at all times with so great curtesie and tender respect, that when C. O P P I U S who accompanied him in his journey through a wild forest fell suddainely sicke, he gaue him rowme in the onely Inne, that was, while him selfe lay all night* upon the ground* without doores. Moreouer, being now become Emperour & Lord of all: some of them he aduanced euen frō the lowest degree unto the highest place of honour. And when he was blamed & reprov'd therefore, he profess'd openly. *That if he had used the helpe of robbers by the highway side of cutters and wasbucklers in maintaining of his owne dignitie, he would not faile but requite them and be thankfull euen to such.*

73

He never entertained malice & hatred against any man so deeply but willing he was to lay downe the same upon occasion offered. Norwithstanding, C. MEMMIUS had made most bitter invectives against him, and hee againe written unto him as bitterly, yet soone after when the said MEMMIUS stood for the Consulship, hee friended him all that he could with his good word and procured him voyces. When C. CALVUS after certaine Libels and defamatorie Epigrams against him, dealt by the mediation of friends for a reconciliation, he of his owne accord wrote first unto him. As for VALERIUS CATULLUS (by whose verses concerning MAMURRA he could not chuse but take knowledge that he was noted and branded with perpetuall infamie when he excused himselfe unto him and was readie to make satisfaction, he bad him to supper that verie day : & as he used before time, so he continued still to make his fathers house his lodging.

Moreover, in his reuengements hee was by nature most milde. Those ro-
uers by whome he was taken prisoner, after he had forced to yeeld, because
hee

he had sworne before that he would hang them vpon a crosse, he commanded that their throats should be first cut, and then to be crucified. CORNELIUS PHAGITA, whose for-laying him by night, he lying sicke, & LATITANT hard ly had escaped. (although he gaue him a good reward*) but had like to haue beene brought unto SVLLA, he neuer could find in his heart to hurt. PHIL- MON a seruant and secretarie of his, who had promised his enemies to take his life away by poyson, he punished onely by simple death, without any other torment. Being cited and called much vpon to beare witnessse against P CLO- DIUS, for being naught with his wife POMPEIA, who was accused besides for the same cause to haue polluted the sacred Ceremonies, he denied that he euer knew any thing of the matter, or was able to bring in euidence. albeit both his mother AVRELLA, & IULIA his sister, had simply related all vpon their cre- dices euen before the same Iurie and Iudges. And being demanded therevpon, wherefore then he had put away his wife? Because I deeme, quoth he, that those of my house ought to be cleere as well of suspicion as of crime:

The moderatiō & clemencie which he shewed as well in the menaging of the ciuil war, as in his victorie, was admirable: Vñ P O M P E I U S denounced in minatory terms, that he would reckon him for an enemy, whoſoever he was, that failed to maintaine the Cōmon wealtb: He for his part pronounced openly, That he would make ſure account of them to be his, who ſtoode indifferent betwene and were Neuters. And ſo many, as upon the commendation of P O M P E I U S beforetime, he had giue any charge or place of cōmand unto, in his armie under him, he granted the all free leave and libertie to depart unto him. Vpon Articles and conditions of yeelding moved and propounded to P O M P E I U S at *Merda*, whiles between both parts there paſſed reciprocall dealing & commerce continually: when A F R A N I U S and P E T R I U S had taken within their Campe certaine of C E A S A R S ſoldiers, & (which they repented ſoone after) put them to the ſword, he would in no wiſe imitate the ſame perfidiouſ treachery of theirs practiſed againſt him. At the battaile of *Pharfalia* he cryed out, ſpare all Citizens; & afterwards granted unto everie one of his owne ſoldiers (none excepted) this fauour to ſave each of the one of the aduerſe part, whom he would: neither were any found or knowne ſlaine but in the uerie medly, except A F R A N I U S, F A U S T U S, & L. C E A S A R the younger: and even theſe uerely, men thinke, were not with his good will put to death. Of whom notwithstanding: both the former, to wit, A F R A N I U S & F A U S T U S, after pardō obtained had rebelled and entred into armes againe & L. C E A S A R for his part, when in cruell manner by fire & ſword he had made hauock of his freed men & bondſervants, ſpitefully flew the verie wild-beaſts alſo which C E A S A R had provided againſt the ſolemnitie of a publike ſhew to be exhibited before the people. To cōclude, in his very latter daies he permitted al thoſe alſo whom beforetime he had not pardoned to return into *Italy*, to gouern as magiſtrates in the Citie, & to cōmand as generals in the field. Yea the very Statues of L. S V L L A & P O M P E I U S which the cōmons had overthrowen & caſt up & down, he erected again in their due places. And if after this, there was any plot intended or word ſpoken againſt him by his aduerſaries to his hurt, he choſe rather to reſſeſſe than to revenge the ſame. And ſo, diuerſe conſpiracies detected and night conuenticles; hee found fault with no farther then thus, by giuing notice in ſome edict and proclamation.

That he had intelligence therof. And as for such as gaue out bitter speeches of him, he thought it sufficient in an open assemblie to give them an Admonition, not to persist therein. Finally, when in a most slanderous booke written by A. CÆCINA, and certaine verses as rayling and reprochfull as it; devised by PITHOLAUS, his credite and reputation was much cracked and empaired he tooke the matter no more to the heart, than * one Citizen would haue done at an others hand:

Howbeit, the rest of his deedes and words ouerweigh and depresse his good parts downe so as he might be thought both to haue abused his souerainie, and worthily to haue bene murdered. For, he not only tooke upon him excessive honours, to wit, continued Consulship, perpetuall Dictature, & * *Presidency of Muneris*; and more than so, the forename of * *Empireur*, the Surname *Father of his Countrey*. His statue among the Kings, an eminent *case of Estate* raised above the rest in the Orchestra, among the Senators: but hee suffered also more stately dignities than becoming the condition of a mortall wight to bee decreed and ordained for him: namely, a golden Throne in the Curia, and before the * *Tribunal*: a sacred (a) Chariot & therein a frame carrying an * Image, at the solemne pomp of his Games *Circenses*: Temples, Altars, his owne Images placed neere unto the Gods: a sacred Bed-loft for such Images to be bestowed upon: a flamin, (c) certaine * *Luperci* (d); and the denomination of one (e) moneth after his owne name. Besides, no honourable offices there were but he tooke and gaue at his owne pleasure. His third and fourth Consulship in name onely and title he bare: cōtending himselfe with the absolute power of Dictatourship decreed unto him with his Cōsulares all at one time: & in both yeeres, he substituted two Consuls under him for the three last moneths: so as, in the meane time, he held no Election but of *Tribunes* and *Aediles* of the Commons. In steed of Pretours he ordained Provofts, who should administer the affaires of the Citie even * whiles he was present. And upon the very last day of the yeare to wit next before * the Kalends of Ianuarie, the place of a Consulship being vacant by the suddaine death of a Consul he conferred upon one (f) that made suite to enioy the same but a few houres. With semblable licentiousnesse despising the custome of his Countrey, he ordained maiestrates to continue in office many yeares together. To x. men of Pretours degree he graunted the Consulare Ornaments. Such as were but enfranchized Citizens, and diuers mungrell *Gauls* no better then halfe *Barbarians*, he admitted *Senators*. Furthermore, ouer the Mint and receipt of the City-renewes, he set certaine peculiar seruants of his owne to be rulers. The charge and command of three Legions which he left in ALEXANDRIA, he committed wholly to a sonne of RUFINUS his freed man, a stale youth and Catnate of his owne.

Neither did some words of his which he openly deliuered, bewraie lesse presumptuous Lordlines, as T. A. M. P. I. U. S. writeth. For example, *That the Commonwealth was now no more any (a) real thing, but a name onely, without forme & shape: That SYLLA was altogether unlettered and no (b) * Grammarian. in giving over his Dictature. That men ought now to speake with him more considerately. and to hold every word that is said for a Law.* Nay he proceeded to this point of Arrogancie, that when upon a time in a certaine Sacrifice, the South-sayer brought him

* *Civilis animi*
twist.

76

* *i. Consulship*
indeed though
not in name:
* *Imperatoris*
Souveraine and
absolute com-
mand.

* In the figure
* *Ornamenta*
as a God,
* *Ministri*

* *Estiam pro-*
fate for some
read absence
re: cleane
contrarie:
* The last of
December;
A. V. C. 709.

* Made free
Citizens of
Rome.

77

* *Non Gram-*
maticus, & *Orator*
re.

word of unlucky Inwards in the beast; and such as had no heart at all, he made answer and said, *That those which were to follow afterwards should prove more ioyfull and fortunate if it pleased him: neither was it to be taken for a prodigious and strange token, if a beast wanted an heart.*

But the greatest envie and inexpressible hatred he drew upon himselfe by this occasion most of all. What time as all the Senators in general came unto him with many and those most honourable decrees, he receiued them sitting * still before the Temple of *Venus Genetrix*. Some thinke, that when he was about to rise up, CORNELIVS BALBUS stayed and held him backe: others are of the mind, that he never went about it. But when C. TREBATIVS aduertised him to arise unto them, he looked backe upon him with a strang kind of looke: Which deede of his was thought so much the more intollerable, for that himselfe, when PONTIVS AQUILA en of the (a) Colledge of Tribunes, stood not up nor did reuerence to him as he rode in *Triumph* and passed by the *Trybunes Rues*, tooke such snuffe and indignation therat, that he brake out aloud into these words: *well done Tribunes Aquila, Recover thou; when the common wealth out of my hands:* and for certaine dayes together, neuer promised ought vnto any man without this *Proviso* and *Exception*, (b) *If PONTIVS AQUILA will giue me leave:*

To this CONTVMELIOUS and notorious * behaiour of his toward the Senate thus despised, he adioyned a deede much more arrogant: For when as in his returne from the solemne Sacrifice of the Latine Holie dayes, among other immoderate and new acclamations of the people, one out of the multitude had leaped upon his Statue; a Coronet of Laurell tied about with a white * band; and EPIDIUS MARULLUS a *Tribune* of the Cōmons together with his colleagues CRASIVS FLAVUS cōmanded the said band to be plucked off, & the man to be had away to prison, he taking it to heart, either that this overture to a kingdome sped no better, or, (as he made semblance & pretended himselfe) that he was put by the glorie of refusing it, sharply rebuked the Tribunes, & deprived them both of their authoritie. Neither for all this, was he willing afterwards to put away the infamous note of affecting and seeking after the title of a King: albeit he both made answer unto a (a) Commoner saluting him by the name of a King, *That he was CÆSAR and no King*: and also at the *Lupercalia*, when ANTONIVS the Consul imposed the *Diademe* oftentimes vpon his head before the ROSIA, did put it backe againe, and send it into the Capitoll to (b) *Impiter Optimus Maximus*. Moreover sundrie rumours ran rise abroad, that he would depart (for euer) to ALEXANDRIA or to (d) *Ilium*, hauing at once translated and remooued thither the puissance and wealth of the Empire: dispeopled *Italie* with mustring of soldiers; and withall betaken the administration of Rome-Citie unto his friends: As also, that in the next Session of the Senate, L. COTTION of the (e) *Quindecimvirs* would move the house to this effect, *That for as much as it was contained in the Farall bookes of SYBILLA, that the Parthians could not possible be vanquished but by a King, therefore CÆSAR should be stiled King.*

This gave occasion to the Conspiratours for to hasten the execution of their designe, least of necessitie they should be driuen to assent thereto. Their counsels therefore and conferences about this matter, which before time they

* Should signify better for-
tune.

78
* In exprobrum
or exstabilium. I
deadly, & that
which brought
him to mis-
chance.
* Not so much
as rising up
vnto them.
* Saying with
all, what Sir.
Remember
you are Cæsar.

79
* Or gesture.

* Resembling
a *Diademe*.

80

held dispersed here and there, and proiected oftentimes by two & three in a companie, they now complotted al together, for that by this time the very people joyed not in the present state, seeing how things went; but both in secret and openly also distasted such foueraintie, and called earnestly for protectors and maintainers of their liberties. Vpon the admission of Aliens into the order of Senatours, there was * a Libell propofed in this form (a) *Bonum Factum Est. That no man would shew the Senate-house to any new Senatours*. And these verses were commonly chaunted.

*Or rather, Idem in curiam, for the same Caesar brought them into the Senate.

*Bras, or brouses, of Bras, some take them for man's robe.

*Postremo de Postremo at last *M. Brutus.

*Some vpon the bridge others under it.

*In which Caesar dwelt after he had bene high Priest, *Is of March in honour of Anna Perenna.

And because the place were exhibited in the Theatre. Therefore the Senate met at this place. *Which him self promulgated.

*Gallus CAESAR in Triumphum ducit. * Idem in Curia*

*Gallis * Bracas deposuerunt, latum clauum sumperunt.*

The French in triumph CAESAR leads, In Senate they anon No sooner laid their * Breeches of, but purpled robes put on.

As Q. Maximus substituted (by CAESAR) to be a Consul for 3. Moneths entred the Theater, and the * Sergeant commanded (as the manner was) that the people should obserue and regard him according to his place, they all with one accord cryed out, *That he was an Consul*: After that CAESAR and MARULLUS the Tribunes aforesaid, were removed out of their office. at the next Solemne assembly, held for Election, verie many voices were found declaring them ij. Consuls. Some there were who subscribed under the Statue of L. BRUTUS these words, (a) *Would God thou were alive*. Likewise under the Statue of CAESAR himselfe.

(e) BRUTUS for expelling the Kings, was created Consul the first.

This man for expelling the Consuls is become King, * the last.

There conspired against him more than three-score the heads of which conspiracie were C. CASSIUS, * MARCUS and DECIVS BRUTUS; who hauing made doubt at first whether by * diuiding themselves into partes, they should cast him downe the (f) bridge, as he called the Tribes to giue their voices at the Election in Mars field, and so take him when hee was downe and kill him right out: or set vpon him in the high streete called * *Sacra via*: or else in the very entrance to the Theater? after that the Senate had summons to meete in Counsell within the Court of POMPEIUS vpon the * Ides of March, they soone agreed of this time and place before all others.

81 But CAESAR surely had faire warning of his death before it came, by many euident prodigies and strang foretokens. Some few moneths before, when certaine new inhabitants, brought by vertue of the Law * IULIA to dwell in the Colonie *Capua*, ouerthrew molt auncient Sepulchers for to builde them houses to their landes; and did the same so much the more diligently and with better will, for that in searching they light vpon manufactures and vessels good store of Antique worke: there was found in that verie monument, wherein by report, CAPYS the founder of *Capua* lay buried, a brassen Table with a writing vpon it in Greeke words and Greeke letters to this effect: *When the bones and reliques of CAPYS shall be discovered, it shall come to passe, that one descended from IULIUS shall be murdered by the hands of his neere kinfolke, and his death soone after revenged with the great calamities and miseries of all Italie*: And least any man should thinke this to be a fabulous tale and forged matter, know he that CORNELIUS BALBUS a verie inward and familiar friend of CAESAR is

is the author thereof: And the uerie day next preceeding his death, those troupes of horses which in his passage ouer the Riuer *Rubicon* hee had consecrate and let go loose ranging here and there without a keeper, (as he understood for certaine) forbare their meat and would not to die for it, touch any, yea, and shed teares abundantly. Also, as he offered sacrifice, the Soothsayer SPURINA warned him to take heede of danger toward him, and which would not be differed after the Ides of *March*. Now; the verie day before the said Ides, it fortuned that as the birde (a) * *Regaliolus*, was flying with a little branch of Lawrell, into the Court of POMPEIUS, a sort of other birdes of diuerse kindes from out of the grove hard by, pursued after and there pulled it in peeces: But that night next before the day of his murder, both himselfe dreamed as he lay a sleepe, one while, that he was flying aboue the clouds: another while, that Jupiter and he shooke hands: and also his wife CALPVRINA, imagined, that the Finiall of his house fell downe, and that her husband was stabbed in her verie bosome: and sodainely withall the chamber doore of it selfe flew open. Hereupon, as also by reason of sickelnesse, he doubted a good while whether he should keepe at home and put off those matters which he had purposed to debate before the Senate, or no? At the last, being counselled and perswaded by DECIVS BRUTUS, not to disappoint the Senatours who were now in frequencie assembled and stayed for his comming long since; he went forth when it was well neere eleuen of the clocke. And when * one met him by the way, & offered him a written pamphlet, which layd open the conspiracie, and who they were that sought his life, he shuffled the same among other skroes and writings which he held in his left hand as if he would haue red it anone. After this when he had killed many beasts for sacrifices & could speede of the Gods fauour in none, he entred the * *Curia* in contempt of all Religion; and there with laughed SPURINA to scorne: charging him to bee a false Prophet, for that the Ides of *March* were come: and yet noe harme befell vnto him; albeit hee answered, *That come indeede they were, but not yet past*.

82 When they * saw once that he had taken his place, and was set, they stood round about him as serviceable attendants readie to do him honor: and then immediatly * C. IMBER TULLVS who had undertaken to begin first, stepped neerer unto him, as though he would have made some request. When CAESAR seemed to mislike and put him backe, yea and by his gesture to post him of unto another time, he caught hold of his gowne at both shoulers: whereupon as he cried out, *This is violence*, * CASSIUS came in 2. full a front & wounded him a litle beneth the * throat. Then CAESAR catching CASSIUS by the arme thrust it through with his stile or writing punches; and with that being about to leape forward he was met with another wound and stayed. Now when he perceived himselfe beset on everie side and assailed with drawne daggers he wrapped and covered his head with his gowne: but withall let downe the large * lap with his left hand to his legges beneath, hiding thereby the inferiour part also of his bodie, that he might fall (d) more decently: and so, with 3. and 20. wounds he was stabbed: during which time he gave but one grone, without any worde uttered, and that was at the first thrust; although some have written, that as M. BRUTUS came running vpon him he said, *Kill out rather I: (e) And thou my sonne*.

* Or Regaliolus, iuxta quasi totum avium.

* Ab Obris quod dicitur, vel Obris, i. one Obris.

* Of Pompeius

A. V. C. 710, * Conspirati, or conspirati: the conspirators stood round about him.

* Who before had bene his great friend & sided with him * Alter Cassius or alter e Cassius one of the Cassii, vel alter, Cassia.

* Ingulum, or the chancell bone.

* Out of his chaire, * Which they were wont to cast over their shoulders. Seneca de beneficiis. Or tucke up slack above the waist.

Some read: Kai

When

*Some expound

this of the
lister as if one
corner thereof
hung downe,
carried as it
was by three.
*Whereby it
seemeth he
had one given
him in his neck
before which
the Author
hath omitted.
*13. of Sep-
tember.
*So hee was
there great
vntice.
*Afterwards
Augustus sonne
of this Iulius
Caesars sisters
daughter.
*As Pompeius
borne after
his death.
*Of Rome.
*4. to do ob-
sequies.
*His owne
daughter, wife
to Pompey who
died of child-
birth, and by
special priu-
ledge, was enter-
red in Mars
field.
*Or Herse.
*Or Biere.
*Athen, a pole.
*Which was,
That the ma-
gistrates and
Scoutours
should go before
without their
badges & robes
of dignitie: he
knights and
gentlemen fol-
low in mourning
weed: then the
soldiers carry-
ing the heade,
or points of
their weapons
downward:
last of all the
common peo-
ple marshalled
according to
their Tribes.
*Or Athens, who
wrote a Trage-
die bearing the
same title.
*Or Biere.
*Deliberant.

When all others fled sundrie waies, there lay he a good while dead, untill three of his owne pages bestowed him in a lister: and so with one * arme hanging downe, carried him home. Neither in so many wounds, was there, as ANTI-
TIVS his Physitian deemed, any one found mortall, but that which he receiued
* second, in his breast. The conspiratours were minded to haue dragged
his Corps, after hee was thus slaine, into the Riuer *Tiberis*; confisca-
ted his goods, and repealed all his acts: but for feare of M. ANTONIVS
the Consul and LEPIDVS. Maister of the *Horsemen*, they held their hands
and gaue ouer those courses.

83 At the demand therefore of L. PISO whose daughter he married, his
last wil and Testament was opened and red in the house of ANTONIVS: which
will, upon the * Ides of September next before, he had made in his own house
at *Lauium* & comitted to the keeping of the chiefe (a) vestal Virgin, Q. *Tubero*
writeth, that from his first Consulship unto the beginning of the Ciuil war,
he was euer wont to write downe for his heire, CN. POMPEIVS, and to reade
the saide will unto his soldiers in their publike assemblie. But in this last Te-
stament of his, he ordained three Coheires, the nephewes all * of his sisters.
To wit * C. OCTAVIVS, of three fourth parts, L. PINARIUS, and Q. PEDI-
us of one fourth part remaining. In the latter end and bottome of this Testa-
mentarie Instrumēt, he adopted also C. OCTAVIVS into his house & name;
and many of those that afterwards murdered him, he nominated for guardiers
to his * sonne, if it fortunēd he had any borne. Yea and DECIMVS BRVTUS
to be one of his second heires in remainder. Hee bequeathed in his legacies
unto the * people his hortyards about *Tiberis* to ly common; & three * hundred
Sesterces to them by the *Poll*.

84 The solemnitie of his Buriall being proclaimed, there was a pile of wood
for his funerall fire reared in *Mars* field, neere unto the Tombe of * IVLIA.
Before the *Rostra* was placed a * chappell all guilt resembling the Temple of
Venus Genetrix and within it * a Bedstead of *Iuorie*, richly spred with cloth of
gold and purple, and at the head thereof a * *Trope* supporting the Robe
wherein he was slaine. Now because it was thought, that those should not
have day enough who came to his offerings and brought their oblations,
commandement was giuen, that without obseruing the * strict order, euery
man might bring which way & by what streete of the Cittie he would, his gift
into *Mars* field above said. During the Games and playes then exhibited there
were chaunted certaine verses fitly applied as well to mooue pittie as hatred
withall of his death, and namely out of the Tragedie of *Pacuvius*, entituled,
(4) The Iudgement of Armour, *Men Men seruasse, ut essent qui me perde-
rent*. Alas the while, that I these men should saue: By bloody death, to bring
me to my grave: As also another out of that of *Accius* to the same sence. In-
stead of a laudatorie oration, ANTONIVS the Consul pronounced by the pub-
like Crier, that Act of the Senate, wherein they decreede for him *all honour,*
both diuine and humane: likewise the solemne oth wherewith they all obli-
ged themselves to defend the life and person of him and none but him: where-
unto he added some few words of his owne. The fore saide * Bed, the Magi-
strates for the time being, and such as had borne office of State already, had
* conueied into the forum before the *Rostra*: which when some intended

to

to burn within the cell of IVPITER CAPITOLINVS, others in the * Court of
POMPEIVS: all of a sodaine there were ij. fellows with swords girt to their
sides: and carrying ij. lavelins, who with light burning Tapers, set it on fire:
and with that immediately the multitude that stood round about gat drie sticks
together and heaped them thereupon, with the Tribunall seats and other ptes,
* of inferiour Magistrats, & whatsoeuer beside was readie & (c) next at hand. * Or Benches.
After them, the Minstrels and stage players disrobed themselves of those vesti-
ments which out of the furniture of his Tryumphs they had put on for the
present use and occasion, rent the same in peeces and flung all into the fla-
ming fire. The olde Legionarie soldiers also did the like by their armour,
wherein they brauely went to solemnize his funerall, Yea and most of the
Cittie Dames did no lesse by their Jewels and Ornaments which they
had about them: Their childrens pendant brooches also and rich coats
embrodred and bordred with purple. In this exceeding sorrow and publike
mourning, a number there were besides from forraigne Nations: who euery
one after their Countrie manner, lamented round one after another, by com-
panies in their turnes: but above all other the * *Jewes*. who also for many
nights together frequented the place of his sepulture and where his bodie was
burnt.

The common people streight after his funerall obsequies went with burning
fire-brands and torches to the dwelling houses of BRVTUS and CASSIVS:
From whence being hardly repelled, they meeting with HELVIUS CINNA
by the way, and mistaking his name, as if he had beene CORNELIVS CINNA
(one who the day before had made a bitter inuective as touching CAESAR
and whom they sought for) him they slew: set his head vpon a speare, and so
carried it about with them. After this they erected in the Forum a solide * Co-
lumne almost 20. foote high of Numidian Marble: with this title graven there-
upon; PARENTI PATRIÆ. *To the father of his Countrie*. At which
piller for a long time they used still to sacrifice, to make vowes and prayers, to
determine and end certaine controversies interposing alwaies their oth by the
name of CAESAR.

CAESAR left behind him in the minds of certaine friends about him, a suf-
ficion, that he was neither wil ing to haue lived any longer, nor cared at all
for life: because he stood not well to health, but was euer more crasie: & there-
upon neglected as well all religious warnings from the Gods, as also what re-
ports soeuer his friends presented unto him. There be that thinke, howe tru-
sting upon that last Act of the Senate, and there oth aforesaid, he discharged
the Guard of Spaniards from about him, who armed with swordes, gaue at-
tendance * upon his person. Others contrariwise are of opinion; that seeing
as he did how he was forelaied on euery side, and confessing, it were better
once for all to undergoe those imminent daungers, than alwaies to stand in
feare thereof, he was wont to say: *It concerned not himselfe so much as it did
the state, that hee should liue and bee safe: As for him, he had gotten long since
power and glorie enough: marie the Common-wealth (if ought but well came to him)
should not bee at quiet, but incurre the troubles of Ciuill warre. the issue whereof
would be farre worse then euery it had beene.*

This one thing verily, all men well neere are agreed upon, *That such a
death*

*Where he
was murdered.

*Or Benches.

*They affected
as if they should
seem to weep; and
or many bene-
fits, and name-
ly for bringing
Pompeie to
conclusion who
had forced their
chiefe Cittie.

8;

*Or Pillar.

86

*Instantium.

87

death befell unto him as himselfe in manner wished. For not onely upon a time when he had read in *XENOPHON, how CYRUS beeing at the point of death gaue some order for his funerall, hee setting light by so lingering and slow a kind of death, had wished to die quickly and of a suddaine; but also the verie daie before he was killed, in a certaine discourse mooued at supper in MARCUS LEPIDUS house upon this point, What was the best ende of a mans life? preferred that which was sodaine and unlooked for.

88

*In the 8, Septemane.

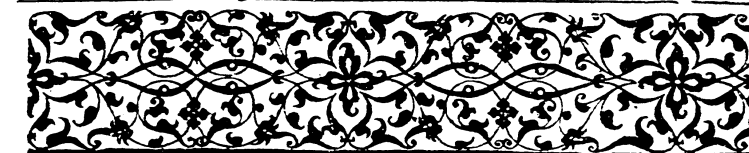
He died in the * 56. yeare of his age and was canonized among the Gods, not onely by their voice who decreed such honour unto him, but also by the perswasion of the common people. For at those Games and playes which were the first that AUGUSTVS his heire exhibited for him thus *deified, there shone a blazing starre for seuen dayes together, arising about the eleuenth houre of the day; and beleevd it was to be the soule of CÆSAR received up into heaven. For this cause also upon his Image there is a starre set to the verie Crowne of his head. Thought good it was to damme vp (b) the Court where in hee was mured: to name the *Ides of March (c) Parricidium*, and that the Senate should neuer meete in Counsell upon that day.

89

*Cassius: as Plutarch reporteth, and Brutus according to Dion, and then, Calpurnius. A notable iudgement of Almightie God upon the unnatural murderers of their Soueraigne.

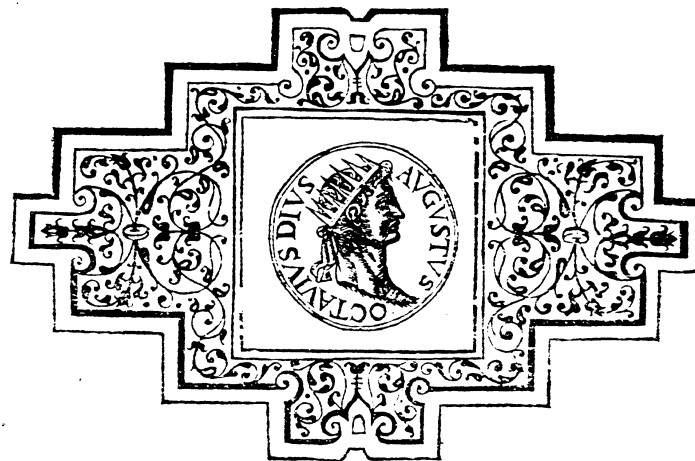
Of these murderers, there was not one in manner that either survived him about three yeares, or died of his naturall death. All stood condemned: and by one mishap or other perished: some by ship-wracke, others in battaile: and * and some againe, shortened their own daies, with the verie same dagger, where with they had wounded

CÆSAR.



THE HISTORIE OF Octavius Cæsar Augustus,

written by Caius Suetonius Tran-
quillus.



That the principall name & linage of the OCTAVI, dwelt in times past at *Velitra*, there be many evidences to shewe: For, both a street in the most frequented place of the said towne long since carried the name OCTAVIUS, and also there was to be seene an Altar there consecrated* by one OCTAVIUS, who being Generall of the field in a warre against the borderers, where he happened to be sacrificing to Mars upon newes brought that the enemy gave a suddaine charge, caught the Inwards of the beast sacrificed halfe raw as they were, out of the * fire; cut and offered them accordingly: & so entred into battaile and returned with victorie. There is beside, a publike Act extant upon record, wherein decreed and provided it was, that everie yeare after, the inwards in like manner should be presented

*Or to Octavianus: as the inscription saith.

*where they were a boyling or roasting.

E.

presented

presented unto *Mars*, and the rest of the sacrifice remaining, carried backe unto the *Churche*.

2 * These *Churche*, being by *K. TARQVINIVS PRISCVS* naturalized Romaines soone after translated and admitted by *SERVIVS TULLVS*, into the Senate among the Patritians, & Nobles, in proceſſe of time ranged themſelves with the commons, and with much adoe at length, by the meanes of *IVLVVS* of ſacred *Memrie* returned to the Patritian degree again: The first of these that by the peoples election bare any *Magistracie*, was *C. RVFVS*: who having beene *Questor* beate *Cn. and C. FRO* the descended two families of the *OCTAVII*, and those for their estate of life farre different. For *Cn.* and all the rest from him one after another, attained to places of highest honour but *CAIVS* and his posteritie everie one eve unto the father of *AVGVSTVS*, (such was either their fortune or their will,) staid in the order and degree of gentlemen, and rose no higher. The great Grandfather of *AVGVSTVS*, in the second **Punicke* war, served in qualitic of a Militar ** Tribune*, in Sicilie, under *ÆMILIUS PAPVS* Lord general. His father contenting himselfe with bearing office like another Burgesse in his owne Bourrough, being left welthie by his father, grew to a good estate, and lived to be an olde man, in much peace and tranquillitie. But of these matters let others make report. *AVGVSTVS* himselfe writeth noe more but thus. That the house from whence he came, was of *Romaine Gentlemen*, welthie and ancient withall, wherein the first that ever came to be Senatour was his father. *M. ANTONIVS* hirteth him in the teeth with his great Grandfather: saying he was but a *Libertine* borne, and by occupation a ** roper*, & come out of a Village of the *Thurines*: also that his Grandfather was no better then a verie **banquer*. Neither have I founde any more, as touching the Aunccestours of *AVGVSTVS* by the Fathers side:

* Against *Antony* and *the* *Carthaginians*:
* Colonel of
1000 footmen

* A seller of
ropes: *refractive*,
not *Refinement*
with a Capitall
R as if it were a
proper name.
* A *renewall* in
an exchanger
of monie for
gaine.

3 OCTAVIUS his father, from the verie beginning of his age, was of great welth and reputation; so that I cannot but marvelle, that hee also hath beene reported by some a banquer or monie changer: yea and one of the *(a)* dealers of monie and servitours employed in *CAMPVS MARTIVS*, by those that stand for offices: For having beene from his verie cradle brought vppe in wealth highly and plentifully; he both attained unto honorable dignities with facilitie, and administred the same with credite and reputation. Presently uppon his Pretourshippe, the province of *Macedonie* fell unto his lot. And in his journey thither, the fugitives, to wit the reliques of *SPARTACVS* and *CAELINES* forces, who then helde the *Thurine* territorie hee defeated; having commission extraordinarily given unto him in the senate so to doe: This province hee governed with noe lesse iustice then fortitude. For having discomfited in a great battaile the *Bessi* and the *Thracians*, he dealt so well with the *Allies* and confederats of that Kingdom: that there be certaine letters of *M. TULLIVS CICERO* extant, wherein he exhorteth and admonisheth his brother *QVINTVS*, (who at the same time, little to his credite & good name, administred the procōsulship of *Asia*) for to imitate his neighbour OCTAVIUS, in doing well by the *Allies*, and winning their love thereby.

4 As he departed out of *Macedonie* before that he could professe himselfe to be a suiter for the Consulship, he died a suddaine death: leaving these children behind

behind him alive, namely two daughters OCTAVIA the elder, which hee had by ANCHARIA: OCTAVIA the younger, and AVGVSTVS likewise, by ATIA. This ATIA was the daughter of *M. ATIVS BALBVS*, and IVLIA the sister of *C. CÆSAR. BALBVS* by his fathers side was an *ARICINE*, a man that shewed Senatours Images and armes in his house: by his mother linked to *MAGNVS POMPEIVS* in the neereſt degree of consanguinitie. And having borne the office of Pretorship he among the *xx. Commissioners* devided by vertue of the Law *IVLIA*, the lands in the territory of *CAPVA* among the Commons. But *M. ANTONIVS*, despising the parentage and peregree of *AVGVSTVS* by the mother side also, twitteth him and layeth in his dish, that his great Grandfire was an *African* borne. saying on while, that he kept a shop of sweete oyles, Ointments and perfumes; another while, that he was a baker in *Aricia*. *CASSIVS* verily of *PARMA*, in a certaine Epistle: taxeth *AVGVSTVS* as being the Nephew not of a Baker onely, but also of a banker, in these termes. *Thou hast meale for thy mother. And then comes a banker of Nerulone, who out of a most painefull backehouse in Aricia kneadeth and mooldeth it with his hands sullied by telling & exchanging monie.*

* All this is spoken allegorically of his base parentage.

AVGVSTVS was borne, when *M. TULLIVS CICERO* and *ANTONIVS* were Consuls, the **ninth* day before the Calends of October, a little before the Sun rising, in the *(a)* palatine quarter of the Citie, at a place: called **CAPITABVIVLA*: where now it hath a sacred Chappel, built and erected a little after he departed out of this world: For, as it is found in the records of the Senate, when *C. LEBTORIVS* a yong gentleman of the Patritian order, pleaded to have some easier punishment for the adulterie, & alledged, over and besides his yong yeares & paréage, this also in his plea, before the Senatours, that he was the possessor and as it were, the warden & Sextaine of that ground or soyle, which *AVGVSTVS* of happy memorie touched *(b)* first, & requested that it might be given & granted unto the said *AVGVSTVS* as to his domestical and peculiar god: decreed it was that the same part of the house should be consecrated to that holy use. There is yet to be seene the place of his nurcery, within a suburban house belonging to his Aunccesters, neere unto *Velitra*: a very little Cabin, about the bignes of a Larder or Pantry: the neighbours are possessed with a certaine conceit, as if he had been there also borne. To enter into this rowme unlesse it be of necessitie & with devout chaitie, men make it scrupulous & are affraide: upon an old conceived opinion, as if unto as many as came thether rashly and inconsiderately, a certaine horror and fearefulness were presented. And verily, this was soone after confirmed by this occasion: For when the new Land lord & possessor of that farme house, either by chance & at unwares, or els to try some experiment, went into it, there to take up his lodging, it happened that in the night within verie fewe houres after, being driven out from thence by some sodaine violence, (he knoweth not how,) he was found in manner halfe dead, together with bed and all, before the dore.

Being yet an infant, surnamed he was *THVRINVS*, in memorial of the beginning of his Aunccestours: or else because in the countrie about *Thurij*, when hee was newly borne, his father OCTAVIUS fought a battaile against the *Fugitives*. That he was surnamed *THVRINVS*, my selfe am able to report by a god and sufficient evidence, as having gotten an olde little counterfeit in
E 2
brasse

5
A.V.C. 691.
* 13. Of September.
* Orer Bull heads.

6

7

brasse representing him being a child: which had in yron letters and those almost worne out, this name engraven: This said counterfeit, being given by me unto the * Prince, is now devoutely kept and worshipped among other his bed chamber Images. Moreover called he is oftentimes in taunting wise by M^r ANTONIVS in his Epistles; THVRINVS: and himsele writeth unto him backe againe as touching that point, nothing but this: That he marvaileth why that former name of his should be objected unto him as a reproach. Afterwardes, he assumed the surname of C. CÆSAR: and after it of AVGVSTVS: the one by the last will of his great Vncle, by the mother side, the other by the uertue of M^r VNATVS PLANCVS his sentence: For when some gave their opinion, that he ought to be stiled ROMVLVS, as if he also had beene A Founder of the Cittie, PLANCVS preuailed, that he should be called rather AVGVSTVS: not onely for that it was a new Surname, but also greater and more honourable, because Religions and holy places, wherein also any thing is consecrated by bird flight, and feeding of them be called AVGVSTA, *ab auctu. i. of growing, or else ab avium gestu q̄st̄ue: i. Of birds gesture and feeding.* Like as ENNIVS also teacheth writing in this manner.

Auguste Augurio postquam inc̄pta condita Romae f̄t.

After that Noble Rome was built by sacred flight of Birds.

8 He was 4. yeares old when his father died: and in the xij. yeare of his age he praised in a publike assemblie, his Grand-mother LVLIA deceased. Foure yeeres after hauing put on his virill robe, he had (a) militarie (b) gifts bestowed upon him at the African triumph of CÆSAR, albeit by reason of his young yeares he had not once serued in the warres: Soone after, when his Vnkle (CÆSAR) was gone into Spaine against Cn. POMPEIVS children, he followed with in a while, (being as yet not well recovered out of a greuous sickenesse,) euen through waies infested by enemies, with verie few in his traine to accompany him, and hauing suffred shipwracke besides: whereby he mightily won his Vnckles love, who quickly approved his towardly behauiour and disposition, over and above his diligence in trauaile. Whē CÆSAR, after he had recovered Spaine and brought it to his subiection, intended a voiage against the * Daci, and from thence against the Parthians, he being sent afore to Apollonia, became a Student there and followed his booke. And so soone as he had certaine intelligence that CÆSAR was slaine, and himsele made his heire: standing in doubt and suspence a long time, whether he should implore the helpe of the Legions or no: at length he gave over that course verily, as too hastie & untimely, but whē he was returned againe to Rome, he entred upon his inheritance, not withstanding his mother made some doubt thereof & his father in law MARTIVS * PHILIPPVS a man of Consular degree much dissuaded him therefro. And from that time hauing levied & assembled his forces, he governed the cōmon welth first iointly with (c) M. ANTONIVS and M. LEPIDVS for the space almost of 12. yeeres; and at the last for xliij. yeares by himsele alone.

9 Having thus laid open the very sum as it were, of his life, I will goe through the parts thereof in particular: not by the times but by the seuerall kinds thereof. to the end the same may be shewed and knowne more distinctly: Five civill warres he made to wit, at *Mutina*, *Philippi*, *Perusium* in *Sicilie*, and at *Actium*. Of which the first & last were against M. ANTONIVS: the second against BRVTVS

* Hadrian the Emperour:

* Motherwife called Gize.

* His mothers husband.

and CASSIUS the third against L. ANTONIVS brother to the *Triumvir*, the 4. against Sex. POMPEIVS, Cn. POMPEIVS his sonne. Of all these warres he rooke the occasion and quarrell from hence, namely, reputing and iudging in his mind nothing more meet and conuenient than the revenge of his unckles death and the maintenance of his acts and proceedings.

No sooner was he returned from *Apollonia*, but he purposed to set upon BRVTUS and CASSIUS at unwares: and (because upon foresight of daunger they were fled secretly out of the way) to take the course of law, and in their absence to endite them of murder. As for the Plaies and games for CÆSARS victory because they durst not exhibit them, whose lot and office it was so to do, himsele set them forth. And to the end that he might go through all other matters also more resolutely, he professed himsele to labour for the * Tribune ship in the rowme of one who fortunated to die: albeit he was one of the Nobility, though not of the Senate. But seeing that M. ANTONIVS the Consul withstood his attempts, where as he hoped he would have beene his principall friend in that suit: and vouchsafed not unto him so much as the assistance of his owne publicke authority, or helpe procured from others in any thing, without he agreed and covenanted to yeeld unto him some exceeding consideration: he betooke himsele unto the protection of those Nobles & chiefe Senatours unto whom he perceived that ANTONIVS was odious: in this regard especially, that * he besieged at *Mutina*, out of that province which by CÆSAR was granted and by the Senate confirmed unto him. And thereupon by the aduice and perswasion of some he set certaine persons priuily in hand to murder ANTONIVS; which perilous practise of his being detected, and fearing still the like danger to himsele, he waged the old soldiers with as beautiful a larges as possible he could, for the defence as well of his owne person as of the state. And being appointed to lead this armie thus levied, in qualitie of propretour & together with HIRTIUS and PANSA, who had entred upon the Consulship, to aide D. BRVTUS, he made an end of this warre committed unto him within three moneths, in two fought fieldes. In the former of which, ANTONIVS writeth that he fled, and without coat armour or horse appeared at length after two dayes and shewed himsele. But in the battaile next following, well knowne it is, that he performed the part not onely of a Captaine but also of a soldier: and in the very heat and midst of the medly, by occasion that the Stander bearer of his owne Legion was grievously hurt, he supported the Aegle with his owne shoulders* and so carried it a good while.

During this warre, when HIRTIUS had lost his life in the conflict, and PANSA soone after of his wound, it was bruited risely abroad, that both of them were by his meanes slaine: to the end that having defaited ANTONIVS, and the Common-wealth beeing bereift of both Consuls, he alone might seize upon the victorious armies. And verily the death of PANSA was so deeply suspected that GLYCO the Physitian was committed to ward and durance, as if he had put poyson into his wound. AQUILLIVS NIGER addeth moreover and saith, that the one of the Consuls, to wit, HIRTIUS, was in the verie confused medly of the battaile killed by AVGVSTVS himsele.

IO
A.V.C 710:

* Of the com̄
mons.

* Antonius.

A.V.C. 711:

* As massive
heavie as it
was.

II

But so soone as he understood that ANTONIE after his flight was intertained by M. LEPIDVS: that other Capitaines also and armies consented to take part with * the side: he forsooke without all delaies the cause of the Nobles and principall Senatours: and for the better pretence of this change and alteration of his minde, craftily and uniuersally alleadged the words and deedes of certaine of them: as if (a) some had given it out of him: *That he was a boy, (b) Others, that he was to be * adorned, and * honoured: That neither himselfe nor the olde beaten soldiers might be rewarded according to their deserts.* And the better to approve his repentance of the former side and faction that he tooke: He fined the *Nursines*, in a great summe of monie, and more than they were able to pay: For that upon the Monuments or Tombe of those Citizens that were slaine in the battaile at *Matina* (which at their common charges was reared) they wrote this Title, *That they died for the Libertie and Free-dome of their Citty.*

13
A.V.C 712.

Being entred into Societie with ANTONIE and LEPIDVS, hee finished the Philippian warre also. (although he was but weake and sickely,) and that with two battailes. in the former being discompe and driven out of the field, hardly hee escaped by flight and recovered the *Regiment* or wing of ANTONIUS. Neither used he moderately the successe of his victorie, but when hee had sent the head of BRVTUS to Rome for to bee bestowed under the Statue of CÆSAR, he dealt cruelly with the Noblest and most honourable prisoners, and not without reproachfull words: so farre forth verily, that to one of them, making humble suite and prayer for his Sepulture, he answered, (by report) in this wise. *That it would be none, at the dispose of the fowles of the Aire:* and when others, to wit, the (a) Father, and sonne together intreated for their lives; he commanded them either to cast lots or trie by combate whether of them should have life granted: and so beheld them both as they dyed, whilest the father who offered himselfe to die was slaine, and the sonne voluntarily take his death. Whereupon the rest, & amongst them M. FAVONIUS that worthie follower of CATO, when they were brought forth with their yrons and chaynes to execution, after they had in honorable termes saluted ANTONIUS by the name of * Emperour, openly reviled and let flie at him most foule and rayling words. Having parted betweene them their charges & offices after this victorie, whē ANTONIUS undertook to settle the *East* in good order, and himselfe to bring the olde Soldiers backe into *Italie*, & to placethem there, in the lands & territories belonging to the free *Townes* and *Burroughes*, he kept himselfe in favour neither with the said old soldiers, nor the former possessors of those lands: whilest the one fort complained, that they were disseized: and the other, that they were not well entreated according to their hope, for so good deserts.

14
A.V.C. 713.

At which verie time, he forced L. ANTONIUS (who confidently presuming upon the Consulship which he then bare, & his brothers power withall, went about to make an insurrection and alteration in the state) to flie unto PERVISA, and there for verie hunger compelled him to yeeld: but yet not without great jeopardie of his owne person, both before and after the warre: for whē at a certaine solemne fight of stage plaies: he had commanded an ordinarie and comon soldier who was set within the (a) 14. ranks, to be raised by an officer, & thereupon

thereupon a rumor was carried and spread by his malicious ill willers and backbiters, as if presently after torture he had put the same soldier to death. There lacked verie little, but that in the concourse and indignation of the militarre multitude, he had come to a mischief and beene murdered. This onely saved his life: that the man for a while missed, sodainly was to be seene againe alive and safe without any harme done unto him. About the walls of *Perusia*, as hee sacrificed, he had like to have been intercepted by a strong companie of sword fencers that sallied out of the Towne.

After he had forced PERVISA; he proceeded to the execution of verie many, & ever as any went about either to crave pardon or to excuse themselves, with this on word he stopped their mouthes, *Die ye must.* Some write, that iiij. hundred of both degrees (to wit Senatours and Knights) chosen out of them who had yeelded, were killed * as sacrifices upon the * Ides of *March*, at the Alter built in the honor of IULIUS (CÆSAR) of famous memorie. There have been others who wrote, that of verie purpose he tooke armes and made this warre to the end that his close aduersaries and those who rather for feare, then of good will held in, upon occasion given and opportunitie by L. ANTONIUS there leader, might be detected: that having once vanquished them and confiscated their goods, the rewards promised unto the olde soldiers he might the better performe.

The warre in SICILIE he began betimes and with the first, but drewe it out along time; as being often intermitted: one while, for the repairing and rigging of his fleet which by two ship-wracks in tempest. (and that * in summer time) he had lost: another while, by occasion of peace made at the earnest cry of the people, for the provision of their victuales cut off and kept from them: and the famine thereby dayly growing: untill such time as having built newe ships, manumised and set free xx. thousand slaues, and those put to the ore for to learne to row gallies, he made the Haven *Iulius* at *Baiz* by letting the sea into the Lakes, LVCRIIVS and ALHERNVS. In which when he had trained and exercised his sea forces whole winters, he overcame POMPEIUS betweene * *Mile* and * *Naulochus*: at the verie houre and instant time of which Naual battaile, he was suddenly surprized with such a found sleepe, that his friends were faine to waken him and raise him out of bed for to give the signall. Whereupon occasion and matter was ministred (as I thinke) to * ANTONIUS, for to cast this in his teeth, that he could not so much as with his eyes open see directly before him the battaile set in ray, but lay like a sencelesse blocke on his backe, looking onely into the * skie aloft: nor once arose and came in sight of his soldiours, before that M. AGRIPPA had put his enemies 12 ships to flight. Others blame and charge him both for a speeche and deedes also of his: as if he should cry out and say, *That seeing his owne regiment of ships were cast away by tempests, he would even against the will of NEPTVNE obtaine victorie.* And verily the next day of the (a) *Circensian Games*, he tooke out of the solemne pompe there shewed, the *Image* of the said God: Neither in any other warre lightly was hee in more and greater dangers For hauing transported one armie into *Sicilie*, when he sailed backe againe for to waite ouer the rest of his forces from the continent and firme * land, he was at unwaies overtaken and surprised by DEMOCHARIS and APOLLOPHANES the Lieutenants and Admirals of POMPEIUS.

12
* Propertius: of Pompeius and the common wealth, if you read pro patribus i. with the Nobilitie
* Et tollendum.

* Sovereine commander

15
A.V.C. 714.

* Brained with an axe: and no beheaded
* On which day Julius Cæsar was murdered.

16

* When commonly it is calme in those Seas.

A.V.C. 717.

* A port town in Sicilie,
* An habour nere Messanah.
A.V.C. 718.
* Marcus, the Triumvir.

* For Gods help.

* Of Italie.

POMPEIUS, but at the length with uerie much ado, he escaped with one onely barke In like manner as he trauielled by land unto (b) *Regium neere Locree*, kenning a farre of * POMPEIUS gallies sayling along the coasts, and weening them to be his owne, he went downe to the shore, and had like to have bene caught and taken by them. And even then as he made shift to flic and escape through by-waies and blind-lanes: a bond-seruant of AEMILIUS PAVLUS a companion of his, taking it to the heart that his Maisters father PAVLUS, was in times past by him proscribed and outlawed, and imbracing, as it were, the good occasion and opportunitie of revenge now offered, gave the attempt to kill him. After the flight of * POMPEIUS, when M. LEPIDUS one of his * Collegues, whome hee had called forth of *Africa* to his aide, bare himselfe proude upon the confidence of xx. Legions, challenged a souerainetie over the * rest, and that, with terrour and menaces: hee stript him of all his armie, and upon his humble submission and supplication, pardoned his life, but confined him for ever to *Cireij*. * The Societie of M. ANTONIUS wauering alwaies in doubtfull tearmes and uncertaine, and notwithstanding many and sundrie reconciliations, not well knit and confirmed, he brake of quite in the ende: and the better to prooue and make good that he (c) had degenerated from the ciuill behauiour and modestie of a (*Romaine*) Citizen, he caused the last will and testamēt of the said ANTONIE, which he had left at (d) *Rome*, and therein nominated even the Children of CLEOPATRA among his heires to be opened and red in a publike assemble. Howbeit when hee was judged by the State an enemy, hee sent backe unto him those of his neereft acquaintance and inward friendes and among other C. SOSTIUS, (e) and T. * DOMITIUS, being Consuls at that time still. The *Bononians* also, for that of olde they were dependantes of the *Antonij* and in there retinue and protection, hee by a publike Act acquit and pardoned for not entering into a contederace with all *Italie*, (f) on his side. Not long after, he vanquished him in a Nauall battaile before (g) *Actium*, what time by reason that the fight continued untill it was late in the euening hee was forced to lodge all night conqueror as he was, on ship board.

17

When he had retired himselfe from *Actium* into the Iland *Samos* for his winter harbour, being disquieted with the newes of his soldiers mutinie demanding rewardes and discharge from service; those Iuncane, whom after the victorie atcheived hee had from out of the whole number sent before to *Brindis*, he went againe into *Italie*: but in crossing the Seas thither, twice was he tossed and troubled with Tempests: first betweene the promontories or Capes of *Poloponensius* and *Actolia*: againe, about the Mountaines or Clifffes *Ceraunij*. In both which places, part of his pinnaces were cast away and drowned: and with all, the verie takling of that shippe wherein he embarked was rent and forme a sunder: yea, and the rudder thereof quite broken. Neither staid he at *Brindis* above 27. daies, that is to say untill hee had seiled his soldiers and contented them in their desires and requests: but fetching a compasse about *Asia*, and *Siria*, sailed into *Aegypt* where after hee had laied seige unto ALEXANDRIA, whether ANTONIE and CLEOPATRA were together dead: He soone became Maist. of that Citie. And as for ANTONIE, who

*Sext.

*Sext.
A.V.C. 718.
*In the Tri-
umvirate,
*M. Antonius
and O. Tullius
Augustus,
*Some Crit-
tikes begin
here a newe
Chapter.

*Cn. Domitius
A.V.C. 722.

A.V.C. 723:

A.V.C. 724

who now (all to late) made meanes for conditions of peace hee enforced to make himselfe away, and * saw him dead. And to CLEOPATRA whom most gladly he would have saved alive for to beautifie his triumph hee set the (a) P. SYLLI to sucke out the venime & poyson within her bodie: for that supposed it was she died with the sting of the Serpent (b) *Aspis*: This honour he did unto them both, namely to burie them in one sepulcher: and the Tombe by them begun, he commanded to be finished. Young ANTONIE the elder of those twaine whom he had by FVLVIA, he caused to be violently haled from the Statue of IVLIVS CÆSAR of famous memorie, unto which, after many prayers but all in vaine; he was fled as to sanctuarie, and so killed him. Likewise CÆSARIO, when CLEOPATRA gave out openly that she had conceiued by his * father CÆSAR, he fetcht backe againe from the place whither he was fled, and put him to death. The rest of the Children of ANTONIE and the Queene together, he both faued (no lesse than if they had bene linked in neere Alliance unto himselfe), and also according to the itate of euerie one of them, he maintained and cherished respectiue.

About the same time, when he beheld the Tombe together with the corps of ALEXANDER the great, taken newly forth of the vauce or secret Chappell where it was bestowed; he set upon it a coronet of gold: and strewing flowers thereupon worshipped it: And being asked the question, whether hee would looke upō the P. TOLOMES also: he answered that he was desirous indeed to see a King but not the (d) dead. When he had reduced *Egypt* in the forme of a province, to the end that he might make it more fruitfull and fit to yeeld come and victuals for the Citie of *Rome*, he skowred and cleaned by helpe of soldiers, all those ditches whete into *Nilus* overfloweth, which by long time had been choaked with mud. And that the memorie of his *Actiacke* victorie might be more renowned among posteritie, he built the Citie *Nicopolis* over against *Actium*, and ordained certaine games and plaies there, euerie 5. yeeres: and hauing enlarged the old * Temple of *Apollo*: and the place wherein he had encamped: he beautified with *Nauall* spoiles and then consecrated it to *Neptune* and *Mars*.

After this, sundry tumults and the verie beginnings of commotions and insurrections, many conspiracies also detected before they grew to any head, he suppressed: and those, some at one time and some at another. Namely first one of LEPIDVS the younger: then, another of VARRO MURENA, and FANNIUS CAPIO: soone after that, of M. * GENATIUS: and so forward of PLAVIUS RVFVS and L. PAVLVS, his neeces husband: and besides all these, that of L. AVDASIVS accused of forgerie, and counterfeit seales: a man neither for yeares able nor bodie sound: Likewise of ASIMIVS EPICADVS descended from the *Parthyne* Nations (a) * *Mungrell*: and last of all, of TELEPHVS, a base * *Nomenclator*, seruant to a woman: For free was not AVGVSTVS from the conspiracie and daunger, no not of the most abieft sort of people. As for AVDASIVS and EPICADVS, they had entended to carrie away IVLIA his daughter and AGRYPPA, his Nephew (out of those Ilands wherein they abode confined) unto the armies: and TELEPHVS purposed upon a deepe conceite that the soveraintie of dominion was by the *Destinies* and will of *God* due unto him, even to lay upon him and the Senate violent hands. And more then that,

*Videtur mor-
tuum: In some
copies we read
thus: Videtur
mortuum Cleo-
patram, i. e.
And he saw
Cleopatra dead:
For he heard
onely of Anto-
nies death and
saw the sword
wherewith hee
wounded him-
selfe.
*His great
Vnkle indeede
but father by
adoption

*Or Ptolema-
i. the bodie
Tombe of the
Ptolemaei, if
you read Ptole-
maei, it is
meant of Legua-

*Which stood
upon the side
promontorie
actium.

*Or Egnatius,
*Begotten be-
tweene a bond
slave and a
mungrel:
*Or Prompter
of names, em-
ployed in telling
of their names
who came to
salute and bid
good morrow,
and placing al-
so of guests at
the Table, and
in no better
one service:

one time there was taken neere vnto his bed-chamber by night, a camp-flave belonging to the ILLYRIAN armie, who had deceiued the porters and gotten thither with a wood knife at his side, but whether he were out of his wits, or feigned himselfe mad, it was uncertaine: for nothing could bee wrung out of him by examination upon the racke and torture.

20 Foraine warres he made in his owne person ij. in all and no more: that is to say, the (a) Dalmatian, when he was yet a verie youth: and the Cantabrian, after he had defeated ANTONIUS. In the Dalmatian warre, he was wounded also: for in one battaile he gat a blow upon his right knee with a stone: and in another, not his leg onely, but also both his armes were hurt with the fall from a (b) bridge. The rest of his warres he managed by his Lieftennants: yet so as that in some of them namely the Pannonian and the Germane; hee would either come betwene times, or else remaine not farre of: making his progresse from the Cittie of Rome, as farre as to Rauenna, or Millaine or to Aquileia.

*Or turret of
woode.

21 He subdued partly by his owne conduct in proper person, and in part by his Lieftenants hauing comission immediatly from him & directed by his auspices Cantabria, Aquitaine, Pannonia and Dalmatia together with all Illyricum, Rhatia likewise, the Vindeliciis, the Salustians and the Nations inhabiting the Alpes. He repressed also the Incursions of the Daks, hauing slaine three of their Generals with a great number of them besides. And the Germanes he remooved and set further of; even beyond the riuer Albis. Howbeit, of these the Sueuians and the Sicambrians, because they yielded themselves, he brought over into Gaule, and placed them in the lands next unto Rhene. Other Nations being mal-content, he reduced unto his obedience. Neither made hee warre upon any people without iust and necessarie causes; and so farre was he from desire of enlarging his Empire, or aduancing his martiall glorie, that he compelled certaine princes and potentates of the Barbarians, to take an oath in the Temple of Mars (a) the Revenger for to continue in their allegiance, & in the protection and peace which they sued for: yea and from some of them he asaiued to exact anew kind of Hostages, even *women, for that he perceived, that they neglected the pledges of the males. And yet he gave the libertie, as oft as they would, to receiue their hostages againe. Neither proceeded he at any time against those, who either usually or trecherously above the rest tooke armes & rebelled, to any punishment more greivous then this, euen to sell the as captives: with this condition, that they shold not serve in any neighbour Country, nor be manumised and made free within the space of *30. yeares. By which fame of vertue and moderation that went of him, he induced and drew the very Indians and Scythians, Nations known by report and heere say onely, to make suite of their owne accord by Embassadors, for amitie of him and the people of Rome. The Parthians also, when as he laied claime unto Armenia, yielded soone unto him: and those militarie Ensignes which they had taken from M. CRASSVS & M. ANTONIVS, they delivered unto him againe at his demaund: and moreover, offred hostages unto him. And finally when there were many Competitours together at one time claiming a title to the Kingdome, they would not allow of any, but one by him elected.

*Vnusall in
those daies.

*Or so, rather

22 The temple of Ianus Quirinus, which from the foundation of the City before his daies had once and twice bene shut, he in a farre shorter space of time hauing

(having peace both by sea and land) shut a third time. Twice he red on hisse-^{*Tertio, or 10. d.} backe (b) ouant into the City: once presently upon the Philippiian warre; and againe, after the Sicilian. He kept three Triumphes riding in his chariot: to wit, the Dalmatian, the Actiak, and the Alexandrian, and these continued all for three dayes together.

Of shamefull foiles and grievous overthrowes, he received but two in all: and those in no place else but in Germanie; namely when LOLLIVS and *VARS were defeated. That of LOLLIVS, was a matter of dishonour more than losse and damage; but the other of VARS, drew with it in manner utter destruction: as wherein three Legions with their Generall, the Lieutenants and (a) Auxiliaries, all were slaine. Vpon the newes of this Infortunity, he proclaimed a set watch both day and night through the City of Rome; for feare of some tumult and uprore: and the commissions of Presidents and Deputies o-^{A.V.C. 738} ver Provinces, he renewed and enlarged their time of government: to the end, that the Allies of the people of Rome might bee kept in a leageance by gover-<sup>*St. Res. in me-
liorem statum
reverti.</sup> nours, such as were both skillfull and also acquainted with them. Hee vowed also the Great Romaine Games and Playes to the honour of IVPITER OPT. *VVhich al-<sup>so was called
Bellum sociale,
wherein the
Associate nati-
ons in Italy re-
belled: of
which Rebelli-
on the Authors
were the Marsk.</sup> Max. If *the Commonwealth turned to better State. This happened, during the time of the Cimbrian and *Marsian warre. For, therewith (by report) hee was so troubled and astonied, that for certaine moneths together hee let the haire of beard and head grow still and wore it long, yea and other whiles would<sup>*Vpon an opi-
nion of the
Pamini, that if
they did jeyne
to their owne
bodies they
should sooner
pacifie the
Gods.</sup> raine his *head against the doores, crying out, QUINTILLVS VARS, *Te-^{ver up thy Legions againe.} And the very (b) day of this infortunate calamity he kept every yeere mournfull, with sorow and lamentation.

24 In warfare & feates of armes, he both altered and also instituted many points: yea and some he reduced to the auncient manner. (a) Militarie discipline he exercised most severely. He permitted not so much as any of his Lieutenants, but with much adoe and discontentment, to visite other-whiles their wives; and never but in the (b) winter moneths. A Romaine Knight, for cutting off the (c) thombs of two young men his sonnes, to avoid the militarie oath and warre service, he set in open post sale, himselfe (I say) and all his goods. Whom notwithstanding, because he saw the (d) Publicanes about to buy, and bid very well for him, he appointed and delivered to his owne Freed man; that being confined and sent away unto his living & lands in the Country, he might permit him to live as Free. The tenth Legion, for being stubborne and unwilling to obey, he dismissed all and whole with ignominie. Other legions likewise, requiring malapertly their discharge he cased without allowance of rewards due for their service. Whole bands or cohorts, if any of them gave ground and reculed, he tithed, that is to say, executed every tenth man of them: and the rest, he allowed barly in steed of wheat to feede upon. Those centurions who forsooke their Stations, he punished with death, even as well as the common soldiours of their bands: and for other kinds of Delinquencie he put them to shame sundry waies, as commanding them to stand all the day long before the Prætorium sometimes in their single *coates and ungirt; other-whiles with ten *foote perches in their hands; or else carying turfes of earth.

After the civile warres, he called none of his soldiours either in any publike speech, or by way of edict or proclamation, by the name of (a) Fellow soldiours,

23

*VARS

A.V.C. 738
762

*St. Res. in me-
liorem statum
reverti.

so was called
Bellum sociale,
wherein the
Associate nati-
ons in Italy re-
belled: of
which Rebelli-
on the Authors
were the Marsk.

*Vpon an opi-
nion of the
Pamini, that if
they did jeyne
to their owne
bodies they
should sooner
pacifie the
Gods.

*The Generals
Pavilions.

*Or wast
coates, without
their Segs.

*Or mee-
ting poles,
in token of Re-
gradation or
putting downe
to a lower
place.

25

but

but plaine *Souldiours*. Nay hee would not suffer them otherwise to be termed so much as by his sonnes, or his wives sonnes: thinking it was a more affected manner of Appellation than stood either with martial Law, or the (a) quietnes of those times, or the maiestie of himselfe and his house: (b) Libertines he employed in soulderie unlesse it were at *Rome* about skarfires by night, (not withstanding there was feared some tumult and uprore by occasion of great dearth and scarcity) but twice onely: once in garizon for defence of those *Colonies* which bounded fast upon *Illyricum*; a second time for keeping the banks of the riuer of *Rhene*. And those, being as yet bond, imposed upon men and women of the wealthier sort for to set out, but without delay manumised, he kept with him to serve under one of the formost *banners in the vanguard; neither intermingled with such as were Free borne, nor in the same manner armed. As for militarie gifts hee gave unto his souldiours trappers collars and *whatsoever stood upon gold or silver, much sooner than (c) *Vallar* or *Mural* coronets which were more honourable. These he bestowed most sparily; and when he did, it was without suit made therefore: and many times upon the common (d) and base souldiers. He gave unto M. AGRIPPA after a nauale victory in *Cilicia* a blew streamer. Those Captaines onely who had triumphed, albeit they were both companions with him in his expeditions, and also partakers of his victories, he thought not meete to be rewarded with any gifts at all: because they also had power to bestow the same upon whom they would. Moreover he deemed nothing lesse becomming a perfit and accomplished Captaine, than hast-making and rashnesse. And therefore, these mots and sentences were rise in his mouth. *Σπουδαίως βραδέως,*

As also, Sat celeriter fieri, quicquid fiat satis bene.

His saying was, That neither battaile nor warre was once to be under taken, unlesse there might be evidently seeme more hope of gaine than feare of damage: for such as fought after the smallest commodities not with a little danger, he likened unto those, that angl: or fish with a golden hooke: for the losse whereof, if it happened to be knapt or broken off, no draught of fish whatsoeuer, was able to make amends.

26 He managed magistracies and honorable places of government before due * time; some of them also of a * new kinde; and others in * perpetuity. The Consulship hee usurped and entred upon in the twentieth (a) yeere of his age, presenting forcibly and in hostile manner his legions before the City, sending some of purpose to demaund it, euen in the name of the Armie for him. What time verily, when the Senate made some doubt and stay of the matter, CORNELIUS a Centurion and the chiefe man of that message, casting * of his souldiours lacket and shewing his swords hilt, stucke not to say thus openly in the Senate house, *This here shall doe the deede, if yee will not.* His second Consulship hee bare nine yeares after: the third, but one yeare betweene: the rest ensuing hee continued one after an other unto the eleuenth. Afterwardes hauing refused many Consulships when they were offered unto him; his twelfth Consulship a greater while after, even 17 yeares, himselfe made suite for: so did hee againe, two yeares after it, for his thirteenth: to the ende that being himselfe in place of the Soueraigne and highest Maistrate, hee might bring honorably into the Common Hall. C. and L. his (adopted)

* Sub primore vexillo or sub proprio vexillo: under his owne banner.
* Quicquid auro argentique conflare: or rather, quicquid auro et argenteque conflare. Albeit they were made of gold and silver.

* By the lawes Annuar. or Annales.
* As the Triumvirate:
* As the Tribunes authoritie and Centurionship.
* Or casting it behind him.
* resilio sagulo.

adopted) * sonnes; each of them to Commence and performe their first pleadings at their * due time in virile gownes. The five middle Consulships betweene, to wit from the sixth to the eleventh he helde the whole yeeres thorough: the other, for the space of fixe, or nine, foure, or three moneths: but the second, very fewe howers: for upon the very Calends * of Ianuarie, when hee had sitten a while upon his curule chaire of estate before the temple of *Iupiter Capitolinus*; hee resigned up the Office, and substituted another in his place. Neither entred hee upon all his Consulships at *Rome*: but the fourth in *Asia*; the fifth, in the Iland *Samos*; the eighth and ninth at *Tarracoma*.

* The naturall sonnes of his daughter *Julia* and *C. Agrippa*.
* The elder in his twelfth, the younger in his thirteenth Consulate.
* The first of Ianuarie or New yeeres day.

27

The Triumvirate for * setting of the Common-wealth, hee administred for the space of tenne yeeres: Wherein verily, hee stood against his colleagues proceedings for a good while, That there might be no proscription: but when it was once on foote, hee executed it more sharply than they both. For, whereas they were exorable and would bee oftentimes intreated by fauour and prayer, to respect the persons of many; hee alone was very earnest, that none might bee spared: among the rest, hee proscribed C. TORANIUS also, his owne Tutor and guardian, yea and the companion in the Office of Aedileship with his father OCTAVIUS. IUNIUS SATURNINUS writeth moreover, that after the proscription was ended, when M. LEPIDUS had in the Senate house excused all that was past and given good hope of clemencie for the time to come, because there had beene execution enough done already: he on the contrarie side professed openly, That hee had determined no other end of the saide proscription, but that hee might have liberty still to proceede in all things as he would. Howbeit, in testimonie of repentance for this rigour and obstinacie of his, hee honoured afterward with the dignitie of Knighthood * T. IUNIUS PHILOPOMEN, for that hee was reputed to have in times past hid his owne Patron, that was proscribed. In the same Triumvirate, hee incurred many waies the ill will and heart-burning of the people: for he commaunded that PINARIUS a Gentleman of *Rome*, (what time as hee himselfe made a publike speech in an assembly whereunto hee had admitted a multitude of Paganes, that is to say, such as were no souldiours, and espied him there to take notes of something that he delivered before the souldiours, supposing him to be over busie and a spie,) should be stabbed to death even in his sight: yea, and hee terrified T. DIUS APER, Consull elect, (because hee had maliciously in some spitefull termes depraved something that he had done) with so great menaces, that in a melancholy hee cast himselfe headlong and brake his owne necke. Likewise, as Q. GALLIUS the Pretour held under his robe a paire of duple writing tables, when hee came of course to doe his duty and salute him; he suspecting, that he had a (short) sword hidden underneath, and not daring straight waies to search him farther, for feare something else than a sword should bee found about him; within a little while after caused him to be haled out of the Tribunall seate of Iudgement, by the handes of certaine Centurions of Souldiours, and put to torture like a bondslave; yea & seeing he would confesse nothing, commanded him to be killed; having first

* That was the colour & pretence of it.

* Or Pinus, for so was his Patrone named.

F

with

with his owne hands plucked his eies out of his head. Howbeit AVGVSTVS writeth, that the said GALLVS by pretending to parle secretly with him, laid waite for his life; whereupon hee committed him to prison, and afterwards dismissed and enlarged him onely to dwell in *Rome*: and that in the end hee perished either by shipwracke, or else by the hands of theeves who forlayed him. Hee received and held the *Tribunate* in perpetuity. Therein, once or twice, he chose and assumed unto him a colleague, for severall * *Lustra*. Hee tooke upon him likewise the government of manners and Lawes as a perpetuall Censour: In full right whereof, although hee had not the honourable title of Censureship, yet hee helde a survey and nombring of the people thrice: the first and third with a companion in office; the middle by himselfe alone.

28

Twice hee was in minde, to have resigned up his absolute government: First, immediatly upon the suppressing of ANTHONIE, mindfull of that which oftentimes * hee had objected against him, namely, as if it had beene long of * him, that it was not resigned, and the Common-wealth brought to a free state againe: and secondly, by reason that hee was weary of a long and lingering sicknesse, what time he sent also for all the Magistrates * and the Senate, home to his house; and delivered up an Account-booke or Register of the * whole Empire. But considering better with himselfe, that were he once a private person, he could not live without danger; and withall, that it would greatly hazard the Common wealth, to be put into the hands and dispose of many; he continued in the holding thereof still. And whether the event ensuing, or his will heerein were better, it is hard to say. Which will of his, as hee pretended oftentimes when he sate in place, so hee testified also by a certaine edict in these wordes: *O that I might establish the Common wealth safe and sound in her owne proper seats, and thereof reape that fruite which I desire: even that I may be reported the Author of an excellent estate, and carie with mee when I die this hope, that the ground worke and the foundations of the Common-wealth which I shall lay, may continue and abide stedfast in their place.* And verily what hee wished, * himselfe effected and brought to passe, having endeavoured and done his best every way, that no man might repent of this newe estate. For the Citie beeing not adourned according to the maiestie of such an Empire and Subiect to the casualties of Deluges and fires, hee beautified and set out so, as iustly he made his boast, that where he found it built of bricke, hee left it all of marble. And for the safety thereof, hee performed as much for future posterity as could be fore-seene and provided for by mans wit and reason.

29

Publike works he built very many whereof the chiefe and principal was his *Forum* or *stately Hall of Iustice*, together with the temple of *Mars* the *Revenger*: The temple of *APOLLO* in *Palatinus*; The temple likewise of *IUPITER* the *Thunderer*, in the *Capitol*. The reason why hee built the said *Forū*, was the multitude of men & their suites: which because, (a) it would not suffice, seemed to have need of a third also. And therefore with great speed erected it was for that publike use, even before the temple of *Mars* was finished. And expressly provided it was by

by law, that in it publike causes should be determined apart, and choosung of Iudges (or Iuries) by it selfe. The temple of *Mars* hee had vowed unto him, in the *Philippian* warre which hee tooke in hand for the revenge of his fathers death. He ordained therefore by an Act, that heere the Senate should be consulted with, as touching warres & triumphs: that from hence those Pretours or Governours who were to goe into their provinces should be honorably attended & brought onward on their way: and that hither they should bring the ensignes and ornaments of triumph, who returned with victorie. The temple of *Apollo* he reared in that part of the *Palatine house*, which being smitten with lightning was by that God required, as the Soothsayers out of their learning had pronounced: hereto was adioyned a gallerie, with a librarie of Latine and Greeke bookes. In which temple, he was wont in his old age both to sit oftentimes in counsaile with the Senate, and also to over-see & review the *Decuries* of the Iudges. He consecrated the temple unto *IUPITER* the *Thunderer*, upon occasion that he escaped a danger, what time as in his *Cantabrian* expedition, as he travailed by night, a flash of lightning glaunced upon his sister, & stracke his servant stone dead, that went with a light before. Some works also he made under other folkes names, to wit his nephew, his wife and sister; as the *Gallerie* and stately Pallace of * *LVCIUS* and *CAIUS*: likewise the *Gallerie* or *Porches* of *LIVIA* and *OCTAVIA*: the Theatre also of *MARCELLUS*. Moreover divers other principall persons hee oftentimes exhorted to adorne and beautifie the City, every man according to his ability either by erecting new monuments, or else by repairing and furnishing the old. By which meanes many an Edifice was by many a man built: as namely the temple of *Hercules* and the *Muses* by *MARCUS PHILIPPUS*: the temple of *Liana* by *L. CORNICIFICIUS*. The * *Court* of Liberty by *ASINIUS POLLIO*: A temple of *Saturne* by *M. NATIUS PLANCUS*: a Theatre by *CORNELIUS BALBUS*; and an (b) Amphitheatre by *Statilius Taurus*: but many and those very goodly monuments by *M. AGRIPPA*.

30 The whole space of the City he devided into (a) wards and streetes. Hee ordained, that as Magistrates or Aldermen yeerely by lot should keepe and governe the former: so their should be Maisters or Constables elected out of the Commons of every streete, to looke unto the other. Against skarefires he devised night-watches and watchmen. To keepe downe Inundations and Deluges, hee enlarged and cleanned the channell of the River *Tiberis*, which in times past was full of rammell and the ruines of houses, and so by that meanes narrow and choaked. And that the Avenues on every side to the City might be more passable, hee tooke in hand himselfe to repaire the high way or *Caw-sie* *Flaminia*, so farre as to *ARMINIUM*: and the rest he committed to sundry men who had triumphed, for to pave; and the charges thereof to be befrayed out of the money raised of spoiles and sackage. The sacred Churches and Chappels decayed and ruinate by continuance of time, or consumed by fire hee reedified: and those together with the rest hee adorned with most rich oblations: as who brought into the Cell, or Tabernacle of *Iupiter Capitolinus* at one Donation, 16000 pound weight of gold, besides pretious stones valued at 50 millions of Sesterces.

But after that hee entered now at length upon the High priesthood when

AV.C. 731

* A The space of 5. yeeres.

* The faide Antonie.

* A Augustus.

* At Senatior, e senatus. i. out of the Senate.

* Or of his acts & proceedings in the government.

* Bafe or Pied-stall.

* As if he had beene a God himselfe: according to the saying *Serius* *Deus est fortis*.

* His daughters children by Agrippa.

* *Armenia* liberata.

* A triumph, quasi

* *Armenia*. A place

where learned

men were wont

to meete and

conferre, as our

Merchants doe

in the *Regall**Exchange*, built

not unlike unto

it with arched

walkes on every

side standing

upon pillars:

* As this clo-

sure was called

Peristylum, i.e.

the open yard

within, *Armenia*or *Subsidial*.

LEPIDVS was onced dead, which he never could finde in his heart to take from him whiles he lived: what bookes soever of prophesies & destinies went commonly abroad in Greeke and Latine, either without authors, or such as were not authentick and of credite, he caused to be called in from all places, to the number of 2000 & above: and when he had burnt them, he retained those only of *Sibylls* prophesies. And even of those also he made some special choice: and bestowed them close in two litle Desks or coffers under the base & piedstoole of *APOLLO PALATINVS*. The yeeres revolution reduced as it was into order by *IULIVS* of sacred memory, but afterwards through negligence troubled and confused, he brought againe to the former calculation. In the dispose whereof, he called the moneth *Sextilis* (rather than September wherein he was borne) by his owne name, because in it there befell unto him both his first Consulship & also notable victories. Of all the Religious & priests, but especially of the vestall virgins he augmented the number, the dignity and the commodities also. And whereas in the rowme of any vestall Nun deceased, there must another of necessity be chosen & take, he perceiving many to make suite that they might not put their daughters to the lottery; protested and bound it with an oath, that if any one of his owne Nieces or daughters daughters were of competent age he would present her to the place. Divers auncient ceremonies also which by little & little were difused and abolished, he restored againe, as namely the (a) *Augurie* of *SALVS*, the *Flaminship* of *IUPITER*, the sacred *Lupercal*, the (b) *Sacular* playes and the *Compitality*. At the *Supercall* Solemnities, he commanded that no bearded boyes should runne. Likewise, at the *Sacular* playes, he forbade young folke of both sexes, to frequent any shew exhibited by night; unlesse it were in the company of some auncient person of their kindred. The *Tutelar* Images of crosse-wayes called *Lares Compitales* he was the first that ordained to adorne twice in the yeere with flowers of the spring & sommer seasons. The principal honour next unto the immortall gods, he performed to the memoriall of those worthy Captaines, who had raised the *Romaine* onpire from a small thing to so high and glorious a state. And therefore both the works & monuments of every of them he repaired & made againe, reserving their titles and inscriptions still; and all their Statues also in triumphant forme and shape he dedicated in both the Porches or galleries of his *Hall of Justice*. And in a publick edict he professed thus much, That he devised it to this end, That both himselfe whiles he lived, and the Princes or Emperours his successors for the ages to come, might be called upon and urged by their subjects and Citizens to conforme themselves as it were to their patron and example. The Statue likewise of *POMPEIVS*, translated out of the Court wherein *C. CÆSAR* was murdered, he placed over against the princely Pallace of his Theater under an Arch of marble in manner of a Through fare.

Many most dangerous enormities and offensive abuses, which either had continued by custome and licentious liberty during the civill warres, or else crept in and began in the time of peace to the utter ruine of the Commonwealth, he reformed. For a number of bold roisters & professed Robbers ierred openly with short swords & skaines by their sides, under colour of their owne defence. Passengers & waifaring men, as they travailed through the Country, were caught up (by them) as well free borne as slaves without respect; & kept hard

* Supple. wit:
some reade,
superposit. i.
upon such an
arched ianua or
Through-fare.

32

hard to worke in the *Prisens* of landed men: many factious crewes also, under the title of a *New Colledge* had their meetings & joyned in fellowship to the perpe-
trating of mischief w^has soever. Whereupon, he disposed strong guards, and set watches
in convenient places: he repressed those Robbers and Hacksters, he visited and surveyed
the foresaid *Prisens*: and all Colledges or Guilds save onely those of auncient foundati-
on and by law erected, he dissolved and put downe. The bills of old debts due to
the Chamber of the City, he burnt, as being the chiefe matter and occasion
of malicious accusations. The publike places & houses in the City, whereof
the tenure & hold was doubtfull, he adjudged unto those who were in present
possession. The debts & actions commenced against such as had been troubled
and sued a long time in the Law, by whose mournfull habite & distressed estate
their adversaries sought for nothing but pleasure and the fulfilling of their wils
he annulled & denounced this condition withall, that if any one would needes
bring them into new trouble againe, he should be liable to the like daunger of
punishment or penalty as the molested party was. And to the end that no lewd
A& might escape with impunity; nor businesse in Court be shuffled over by
delaies, he added unto the Terme time 30. (a) daies over & above: which daies
the *Honorarie* Games & playes tooke up (before.) To three Decuries of Iudges
he added a fourth out of a lower & meaner degree, which went under the name
of *Ducenarij*, and were to iudge of smaller summes. As for those Iudges hee
enrolled & elected them into the Decuries after they were once 30 yeeres of
age: that is to say, five yeeres sooner then they were wont. But seeing that most
of them refused & were loth to execute this burdensome office of iudging, he
hardly granted that each Decurie should have their yeeres vacation by turnes;
and that the law matters which were wont to be pleaded and tried, in the
moneths of November & December should be let passe & omitted quite.

33 Himselfe sat daily in Iudgement, yea and other whiles until it was darke
night, lying if he had not his health, in a lister which was of purpose set before
the tribunall seate, or else in his owne house: and he ministred iustice not onely
with exceeding severity, but also with as great lenity. For when upon a time
there was one accused for a manifest parricidy, because he should not be sowed
up in a leather (a) male or budget (a punishment that none suffred but such as
had confessed the Fact) he examined (by report) upon interrogatives in this ma-
ner, Certes thou never murderedst thy father, diddest thou? Again, when as
a matter was handled before him as touching a forged will, & all the witnesses
that set their hands & scales thereto, were attaint by the Law *Cornelia*, he de-
livered unto the Commissioners who had the hearing & deciding together, of
the cause, not onely the two (ordinarie) tables of condemnation and acquittal,
but a third also; whereby they might have their pardon, who were certainly
knowne to have bene seduced & brought to be witnesses as is before said, ei-
ther by fraudulent practise or error & over-sight. As for the appeales in Court,
he yeerely assigned those which were for the City-Suiters unto Pretours of the
City; but if they were for Provinciall persons unto certaine men of the Con-
suls degree, such as he had ordained, in every province one, for to be in com-
mission and to determine provincially affaires.

34 The lawes made before time he revised & corrected: some also hee or-
dained & established a-new: as namely (a) *Sumptuarie*, as touching expenies

* In manner of
Bridewells or
houses of cor-
rection.

* Or obligati-
ons.

* Excesses or
excesses, i. d.
canceled.

* Or cause.

* Law daies, or
pleading time.

* Liberalia,
Bacchanalia,

Præstoria, or o-
thers in the ho-
nour of men

liming which
might be well
spared.

* For that they
were valued

at 200 Sester-
tia: where as
the other were

worth 400:

* Or 20 rather
for the ordina-
tie age was 25:

yeares, at which
they were eli-
table:

* Quarto quoq;
anno: every 4
yeares.

* Upon cer-
taine daies.

of those mo-
neths, during
which, there

were Sports &
Revels and the
licentious feast

Saturnalia.

* *Depudicitia*,
or *impudicitia*

* Of living
enmarried.
* After the de-
cease of a for-
mer wife or
husband.

* *Variepe age*,
under 12 yeeres
* By means of
dresses.

35

* *Abortives*:
Some read *or*
avoi or *orci*,
velut *Orca* seu
terra natos i.
obscure & bale.
* 300.

* For taking
upon them that
dignity.
* Among or
their Senators.

* And that
they should not
need to come
and salute him,
but have that
labour.
* Lastly, by
reason of un-
dage that was
not to be en-
gaged.

at the bord: Of (b) *Adulteries* & * unnaturall filthinesse comitted with the male kind: Of (c) *in direct suite for offices*. Of the (d) mutall mariages of *Senatours* and Gentlemen with Commoners. This act last named, when he had amended and reformed some what more precisely and with greater severitie then the rest, he could not carie cleerely and go through with, for the tumult of those that refused so to do, but that part of the penalties at length was quite taken away or els mitigated; an * immunity also & toleration (or widow-head) graunted for * 3 yeeres, & the rewards besides augmented. And notwithstanding all that, when the order of Gentlemen stood out stily & stoutly calling in open sight, & publickly for the repealing of the said Statutes; he sent for GERMANICUS his children, and taking some of them himselfe, & bestowing the others in their fathers armes, shewed & presented them unto their view signifying as well by the gesture of his hand, as by countenance, *That they should not be leath nor think much, to imitate the example of that young Gentleman*. Moreover perceiving that the force and vigor of that Law was dallied with, & avoided by the * immaturity of young espoused wives, as also by often * changing of mariages: he brought in to a narrower compasse the time of wedding and having such spaces, and also limited divorcements.

The number of Senatours growing still to a shameful & confused company (for there were not of them so few as a 1000, and some most unworthy, as who after CÆSARS death were taken into the house for favour or bribes; who the common people termed * abortive, (as it were untimely births or born before their time): he reduced to the auncient * stent & honorable reputation: and that in two elections: the former, at their own choise, wil, & pleasure, whereby one man chooseth his fellow. The second, according to his owne & AGRIPPAS mind: at which time he is thought to have sitten as president, armed with a shirt of maile or privie coate under his gowne, & a short sword or skeine by his side; having a gard also standing about his chaire of estate, to wit, ten of the stoutest & tallest men that were of Senatours degree & all his friends: CORDUS CREMUTUS writeth that there was not so much as admitted then into the Senate-house any Senatour but singly one alone by himselfe, & not before his clothes were well serched & felt for having any weapon under them. Some of them he brought to this modestie, as to excuse * themselves: and yet for such as thus made excuse he reserved still the liberty to weare a Senatours (a) habite: the honor also to sit & behold the *Games* & plaies in the * *Orchestra*; together with priviledge to keepe their place at the solemne publique feasts. Now, to the end that being thus chosen & allowed (as is above said) they might with more religious reverence & lesse trouble execute the functions belonging to Senatours: he ordained, That before any one sat him downe in his chaire, he should make devout supplication & sacrifice with frankincense & wine, at the * altar of that *God*, in whose temple they assembled for the time: and that ordinarily the *Senate* should not be holden oftner then twice in a moneth, to wit upon the (e) *Calends*, & (d) *Ies* of the same: and that in the moneths * September & October, none els should be bound to give attendance, save those that were drawne by lot: by whose number, Decrees might passe. Furthermore, he devised to institute for himselfe, & that by casting lots, a privie Counsell for 6 moneths: with whom he might treat before hand of businesses and affaires to be moved unto a frequent Senate-house fully assembled. As touching matter of greater impor-

tance

tance put to question, he demanded the opinion of the Senatours: not after the usuall manner & in order, but as it pleased himselfe: to the end that everie man should bend his mind so intently thereto, as if he were to deliver his owne advice, rather then give assent unto another.

Other things there were besides, wherof he was the author and beginner: and among the rest: *That the * Acts of the Senate should not be published nor appeare upon record: Item that no magistrates after that they had left or given up their honorable places, should eftsoones presently, be sent as governours into any provinces. That for proconsuls or presidents, their should be a certaine rate in monie set downe and allowed. For their sumpter-mules, for their tentes and hales: which were wont really before time to be set out and allowed for them, at the publicke cost of the Citie. Item, that the charge of the Citie treasure should be traslated from the Questours or treasurers of the Citie, unto those that had been pretours, or to the pretours for the time being: lastly that certaine * Decemvirs should summon and assemble the (a) *Censuraviral* court, and call the *Censuravirs* to the speare, which they once were wont to do; that had borne the office of *Questours* shipp.*

And to the end that more men might beare their part in administration of the common weale, he devised new offices: to wit, *The overseeing of the publicke works, the surveying of the waies streetes, and causies, of the water courses or conduits, of the channel of Tybris, and distributing corne among the people*. Also the prouostship of the Citie: One * *Triumvirate*, for chusing Senatours; an another for reviewing & visiting the troupes or cornets of horsemen, so oft as need required. The *Censours*, whose creation was forlet and discontinued, after a long time betweene, he created againe. The number of pretours he augmented. He required also and demanded, that so often as the Consulship was conferred upon him he might have for one; ij. colleagues or copanions in office: but he could not obtaine it; whilst all men with one voice cried out, *That his maiestic was abridged enough already, in that he bare not that honourable office by himselfe, but with another*. Neither was he more sparing in honorably rewarding martiall prowes, as who gave order, that to 30. *Captaines* and above, there should be granted by publicke decree full triumphs: and to a good many more triumphall (a) ornaments. Senatours Children, to the end they might be sooner acquainted with the affaires of State, he permitted to put on even at the first their viril gowne: to weare likewise the Senatours robe powdered with broad headed purple studs; and to have their places in the Senate house. Also at their first entrance into warfare, he allowed them to be, not onely * *militaire Tribunes* in the legions, but also captaines over the * horsemen in the wings. And, that none of them might be unexpert of the Camp-affaires: he ordained for the most part over everie wing of Cornet, ij. such Senatours (sonnes) to be provosts. The troupes & copanions of *Romaine Gentlemen*, he often reviewed; & after a long space of time betweene, brought into use againe the manner of their * muster or (b) riding solemnly on horse backe, to shew theselues. Neither wold he suffer any on of the during this solemnity, to be unthefed & arrested by his adversary, that pretended any matter in law against him: a thing that was usually done. And to as many as were known to be aged or to have any defect or imperfection of body, he gave leave to send their horses before, and to come on foote to aunswere when so ever they were cited. And soone after he did those this favour, to deliver uppe their

36
* *Acta Senatus* and not *Senatusconsults*. He meaneth *Diurnal* i. the proceedings that passed there every day of sitting.
* Ten men either chosen out of the *Censuravirs* by lot; or created of purpose.

37

* An office which 3. men jointly bare.

38

Colonels of 1000. foremen
* Or men of Armes.

* *Triumviratus* i. iij.

their (publike) horses, who being above 45. yeares of age, were unwilling to keepe them still.

39

*A *senatus* or
senatoribus, out
of the *Sen-*
atours degree

Having obtained also by the *Senate. x. *Coadiutours*, hee compelled euerie Gentleman (that served with the Citties horse) to render an account of his life. And of such as were blameable and could not approve their living; some he punished, others he noted with shame & ignominie: the most part of them with admonition, but after sundrie sorts. The easiest & lightest kind of admonition, was the tendering unto the in open place & all mens sight, a paire of *writing tables, to read unto themselves presently, in the place where they stood. Some also he put to rebuke & disgrace for taking up of mony upō smal interest for the use, and putting it forth againe for greater gaine and usurie.

*wherein were
written all their
faults.

40

Demetria
Dion.

*Of, enclie-
men or of the
Senatours

**arenarius*:
comprehending
all auncelours,
*400. *Sesterces*
or 400000.
Sesterces,
3125...sterling
**Senis cum*:
Menis.

At the Election of **Tribunes* (of the Common): if their wanted (a) *Senatours* to stand for that office, he created the out of the degree of *Romaine Gentlemē*: so as, after they had born that magistracy, they might remaine ranged in whether degree they would themselves. Now, when as many of the *Romaine Gentlemē*, having wasted & decayed their patrimonie, & estate in the civil wars, durst not out of the 14. formost seats behold the publike plaies & games, for feare of the penalty by the (law *ROSCIA & IULIA*) called *THEATRALIS*, he pronounced openly & made it knowne, that such gentlemen were not liable thereto if either themselves or their *fathers before them, were euer at any time valued to the *worth of *Romaine Gentlemen*: He made a review of the people of *Rome*, street by street: & to prevent that the common people should not be oftē called away frō their affaires by occasion of the dole and distributiō of corne, he purposed to give out thrice a yeare, tickets or talies for to serve 4. moneths: But when the people were desirous of the old custom, he grated the again to receive the same upō the (b) *Nomes* of every moneth: The ancient right and libertie also, in *Elections & Parliaments* he brought in again: & having restrained the indirect suing for dignities by manyfold penalties, upō the day of such *elections* he distributed out of his own purse among the (c) *Fabians & Scaptians*, who were of the same *Tribes*, wherein himselfe was incorporate: a thousand *Sesterces* a peece, because they should not look for ought at any of their hands who stood for offices. Moreover supposing it a matter of great consequence to keepe the people incorrupt & cleare from all base mixture of forain & servile blood: he both granted the freedom of the City of *Rome* most spariely, & also set a certain gage & limitatiō of manumising & enfranchising slaves. When *TIBERIUS* made request unto him by letters, in the behalfe of a *Grecian*, his client to be free of *Rome*: he wrot backe unto him, *That he would not grant it unlesse he came personally himselfe, and could perswade him, what iust causes he had of his suite: And, what time as LIVIUS* intreated the like for a certaine French-man, tributarie to the *Romains*: he flatly denied the freedom of the City, but offered in lieu thereof immunitie and remission of Tributes: avowing, that he would more easily abide that somewhat went from the publike treasure and chamber of the Cittie, than have the honour of the *Romaine Cittie* to be made vulgar, & common: Nor content, that he had by diverse straight edicts & provisos kept many slaves from all manner of freedom, but more a great deal frō full freedom in the best cōdition: as having precisely & with much curiositie put in caveats both for the nūber & also for the condition & respect otherwise of those that were to be made free: he added thus much moreover.

Thus

That no slave, who had ever beene bound and imprisoned, or examined by torture should obtaine the freedom of the Cittie in any kind of enfranchisement whatsoever. The olde manner of going and wearing apparell also, he endeavoured to bring into use againe. And having scene upon a time assembled to heare a publike speech, a number of Citizens cladde all in blacke *clokes or *fullied gownes, taking great indignation thereat crying out with all. Beholde, quoth he.

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

The **Romains*, Lords of all the world, and long robe'd Nation.

He gaue the *Aediles* in charge not to suffer any person from thence forward, to abide or stay, either in the Common place or the Cirque, but (d) in a gowne, laying a side all clokes or mantils thereupon.

His liberality unto all degrees of Citizens he shewed often times as occasions and opportunities were offered: for both by bringing into the Cittie in the *ALEXANDRINE Tryumph* the treasures of the (e) *Aegyptian Kings* he caused so great plenty of monie, that usurie fell, but the price of Landes and Lordships arose to a uerie high reckoning: and also afterwards, so often as out of the goods of condemned persons there was any surplussage of monie remaining above their fines; he granted for a certaine time the free lone and use thereof to as many as were able to put in securitie for the principall, by an obligation in duple the summe. The substance and wealth of *Senatours* hee augmented, and whereas the valew thereof before amounted to the summes of *800000. *Sesterces*: he taxed or sessed them at 1200000: and looke who had not so much, he supplied and made it up to the full. Hee gave **Congiaries* often times to the people but lightly they were of diuerse summes, one while 400, another while 300, and some times 200: and fiftie *Sesterces*: and he left not so much as boyes under age, whereas they had not wont to receive such *congiaries*, unlesse they were above eleuen yeares olde: Hee measured out also to the people by the Poll, Corne in times of scarcitie oftentimes at a verie lowe price, and otherwhiles freely, without payinge therefore: and as for the Tickets, of monie, he duple the summe in them contained,

And that you may know, hee was a prince more respectiue of thrift and holsomenes, than desirous of popularitie, praise, & honour: when the people complained of the want & dearth of wine, he checked and snibbed the with this most severe speech, *That his sonne in lawe AGRIPPA had taken order good enough that men should not be athirst, by conueighing so many waters into the Cittie*. Vnto the same people demanding the *congiaries*; which indeede was by him promised, he answered; *That his credite was good, and he able to performe his word*; but when they earnestly called for one which hee had never promised, hee hit them in the teeth by an edict or proclamation with their dishonestie, & impudencie: assuring them, that give it he would not although he had intended it.

And with no lesse gravitie and resolution, when uppon his proposing & publishing of a *congiarie*, he found that many in the meane time were manumifed and inserted into the number of Citizens, he reiected such, and said; they should not receiue any, unto whom he had made no promise: and to all the rest hee gave

*By blacke the
meaneth cloke.
or gownes or
a felle ruffet
colour, for their
gownes should
be white and
faire not fullied
*By the trope
Irenia meaning
those that were
in clokes or
foule gownes,
41

*the *Prolemes*

*Duple the
worth of *Con-*
tiens en.
*Largesses:

42

gave lesse than he promised: that the summe which he had appointed, might hold out and be sufficient. When upon a time, there was great barraineſſe and ſcarcitye of corne, being put to an hard exigent and to ſeek a difficult remedie, in ſo much as he was driven to expell out of the Cittie, all the ſort of young ſlaves pampered and trimmed up for ſale, as alſo whole ſcholes & companies of Novice-fencers and ſword players: all ſtrangers and forainers, except Phyſitians and ſcholemaſters: yea and ſome of the ordinarie houſhold ſervants: ſo ſoone as the market began to mend, and victuals grew plentiful, he writeth, *That it tooke him in the head to abolish thoſe publike doles of Corne for ever; becauſe upon the truſt and confidence of them, tillage was cleane laid downe.* Howbeit he continued not in that mind long, as being aſſured, that the ſame doles might be ſet up againe one time or other by the ambitious humour (of Princes his ſucceſſors.) And therefore after this he ordred the matter ſo indifferently, as that he had no leſſe regard of the Citties ſervants of tillage, & other undertakers and purſuours of the publike corne, than of the people and commons of the Cittie.

43

*Quaſter of
the City.

In number, varietie, and magnificence of ſolemne ſhewes exhibited unto the people he went beyond all men. Hee reporteth of himſelfe that he ſet forth plaies and games in his owne name foure and twentie times: and for other magiſtrates who either were abſent or not ſufficient to beare the charges, three and twentie times. Diuers times, he exhibited plaies by everie ſtreete, and thoſe upon many ſtages, and acted by players ſkilfull in all languages not in the *Common forum* onely, nor in the ordinarie Amphitheater, but alſo in the *circue*. In the enclosure called *Septa*, he never repreſented any ſportes but the baiting and courſing of wild beaſts and the ſhewes of champions-fight having built wooden ſcaffolds and ſeates for the nonce in *Mars* field. In like manner, he made the ſhew of a Navall battaile about the River *Tiberis*, having digged of purpoſe a ſpacious hollow pit within the ground, even there where as now is to be ſeene the grove of the *Cæsars*. On which dayes he beſtowed wardens in diuerſe places of the citie, for feare it might be endangered by ſturdie theeves and robbers, taking their vantage, that ſo few remained at home in their houſes. In the *Cirque* he brought forth to doe their deuour. *Charioters, Runners, and killers* of ſavage beaſts: other whiles out of the nobleſt young gentlemen of the Cittie. As for the warlike *Riding* or *Tournament* called *Traie*, he exhibited it ofteneſt of all other, making choiſe of boyes to perſorme it, as well bigger as ſmaller: ſuppoſing it a matter of antiquitie: a decent and honorable manner beſides, that the towardly diſpoſition and prooſe of noble blood ſhould thus be ſeene and knowne. In this ſolemneitie and ſport, he rewarded, *C. NONIVS ASPRENAS* * weakened by a fall from his horſe, with a wreath or chaine of gold, and permitted both himſelfe and alſo his poſteritie to beare the ſurname of *TORQVATVS*. But afterwards he gave over the representation of ſuch paſtimes, by occaſion that *ASINIVS POLLIO* the Orator, made a grievous and invidious complaint in the Senate houſe, of the fall that *ÆSERINVS* his nephew tooke, who likewiſe had thereby broken his legge. To the performance of his ſtage plaies alſo and ſhewes of ſworde fight, he employed ſome times even the Gentlemen and knights of *Rome*: but it was before he was inhibited by vertue of an Act of the Senate. For after

*Orlamed.

it verily, he exhibited no more, ſave onely a youth called *LIVIVS*, borne of worſhipfull parentage, onely for a ſhew: that being a dwarfe not two foote high, & weighing but 17 l. yet he had an exceeding great voice. One day of the ſword fight that he ſet forth, he brought in for to be ſould the ſolemneitie, even newly ſent (to *Rome*) and placed them in the ſecond * ranke or row of ſeates above himſelfe: His manner was moreover, before the uſuall daies of ſuch ſpectacles and ſolemne fights, and at other times, if any ſtrange and new thing were brought over unto him, and worthieto be knowne, to bring it abroad for to be ſeene upon extraordinary daies, and in any place whatſoever. As for example, a *Rhinoceros* within the empaled or railed enclosure called *Septa*: a *Tigre* upon the ſtage: and a *Serpent* 50 cubits long, within the *Hall Comitum*. It ſortuned that during the great *Circean* games which he had vowed before, he fell ſicke: whereby he lay in his litter and ſo devoutly attended upon the ſacred chariots called *Thienſe*. Again, it happened at the beginning of thoſe plaies, which he ſet out when he dedicated the temple of *Marcellus*, that his curule chaire became unioincted, and thereby he ſet upon his back: Alſo at the games of his nephewes when the people their aſſembled were mightily troubled & aſtonied, for feare that the Theater would fall: ſeeing that by no means he could hold them in, nor cauſe them to take heart againe, he removed out of his owne place, and ſat him downe in that part thereof which was moſt ſuſpected: The moſt conuſe and licentious manner of beholding ſuch ſpectacles, hee reformed and brought into order; mooved thereto, by the wrong done to a Senatour, whom at *Puteoli* in a frequent aſſemble ſittinge at their right ſolemne Games, noe man had received to him and vouchſafed a rowne.

Hereupon when a decree of the Senate was paſſed, *That ſo often as in any place there was ought exhibited publickly to be ſeene, the firſt ranke or courſe of ſeates ſhould be kept cleere and wholly for Senatours*: he forbade the Embaſſadours, of free nations and confederats to ſit at *Rome* within the *Orcheſtra*: becauſe he had found, that even ſome of their libertines kind were ſent in embassage. The ſoldiers hee ſevered from the other people. To married men that were comoners, he aſſigned ſeveral rewes by theſelues. To Noble mens childre under age his own quarter: and to their teachers and governors the next thereto. He made an Act alſo, that not one of the baſe Commons wearing blacke and ſullied gownes ſhould ſit ſo neere as the miſt of the Theatre. As for women he would not allow them to behold ſo much, as the ſword Fencers, (who cuſtomarily in the time paſt were to be ſeene of all indifferently) but from ſome higher * loft above the reſt, * ſitting there by theſelues. To the *Viſſall Nunnes* he graunted a place a part from the reſt within the Theatre, and the ſame juſt over againſt the Pretours Tribunall. Howbeit from the ſolemneitie of Champions ſhew, he baniſhed all the female ſex: ſo farre forth, as that during the * Pontificall Games, he put of a couple of them who were called for to enter in to combat, untill the morrow (b) morning. And made proclamation, that his will and pleaſure was, *That no woman ſhould come into the Theatre before the * fiſt tower of the day.*

Himſelfe behelde the *Circean* Games, for the moſt part from the * upper

*His lightnes was more to be noted than his ſhort ſtature: For whereas the full height is 6 foote and the weight ſome what above 100 lb: this ſtature of a foote is vnder that proportion the ſecond: *Superque ſe or behind at his backe higher, and therefore hee ſat in a ſecond ſeat from him of the ſecond ſide, but in the ſame ranke: ſo that hee ſhould not take

*Curium ſunt or a ranke of their owne

*And by conſequence farther off: *Spectators conſidering, *which himſelfe exhibited being 7 ſeats: *Maximus the High prieſt: *Even of the clock, by which hee ſat that ſight was paſt,

44

45

*upper lofts and lodging of his friendes and freed-men Sometime out of the *Palmar*, sitting there with his wife onely and children. From these shewes and fights he would be absent many houres together, and otherwhiles whole dayes: but first having craved leave of the people, & recommended those unto them, who should fitte as presidentes of those Games in his turne. But so often as he was at them, he did nothing els but intend the same: either to avoide the rumor and speech of men, whereby his father CÆSAR (as he said himselfe) was commonly taxed, namely for that in beholding those solemnities he used betwene whiles to give his mind to read letters & petitions, yea and to write backe againe: or els uppon an earnest desire and delight he had, in seeing such pastimes, pleasure and contentment, wherein he never dissimuled, but oftentimes frankly professed. And therefore he proposed and gave of his owne at the games of prise and plaies even of other men, Coronets and rewards, both many in number, and also of great worth: Neither was he present at any of these Greeke games (a) and solemnities, but he honored everie one of the Actors and provors of Maiteries therein according to their deserts. But mooste affectionately of all other he loved to see the Champions* at fist fight: and the Latines especially; not those onely who by lawfull calling were* professed, & by order allowed, and even those he was wont to match with Greeks) but such also as out of the common sort of townes-men; fell together by the eares pell mell in the narrow streets, and though they had no skill at all of fight, yet could lay on load, and offend their concurrents one way or other. In summe all those in generall, who had any hand in those publike games or set them forward any way, he deigned good rewards and had a speciall respect of them. The priuiledges of Champions he both maintained entier, and also amplified. As for sword fencers he would not suffer the to enter into the lists, unlesse they might be discharged of that profession, in case they became victours. The power to chastise Actours and plaiers at all times and in everie place (granted unto the Magistrates by auncient law) he tooke from them, save onely during the plaies and uppon the stage. Howbeit he examined streightly nevertheless at all times either the matches or combats of Champions called (b) *Xystici*, or the fights of sword fencers. For the licentiousnesse of stage plaiers he so repressed, that when he had for certaine found out, That STEPHANIO an actor of Romaine playes had a mans wife waiting upon him shorne & rounded in manner of a boy, he confined & sent him away as banished: but well beaten first with rods through all the* three Theatres. And HYLAS the Pantomime at the complaint made of him by the Pretour, he scourged openly in the Court yard before his house: and excluded no man from the sight thereof: yea and he banished PYLADES out of the Cittie of Rome and Italie, because he had pointed with his finger at a Spectatour who hid him out of the stage, and so made him to be knowne.

*Pætes answered in Greece to the Romaine Gladiators.
*And so had learned the skill and rate of fighting.

*P. beating with rods.
*Pretours and Actiles.

*Pompey, Belius Metell. For so many there were in Augustus dayes, besides the Amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus.
A cunning Actor could performe all parts.

46

*Voices;

Having in this maner ordred the Cittie and administred the civile affaires therein, he made Italie populous and much frequented with (a) Colonies to the number of 28, brought thither and planted by him; yea he furnished the same with publike workes and revenues in many places. He equalled it also after a sort, and in some part with the verie Cittie of Rome in priviledges and estimation: by devising a new kind of* Suffrages which the decurions or elders of Colonies gave every one in their owne Towneshippe, as touching Maiestates to be created

created in Rome, and sent under their hands, and seales to the City against the day of the solemne Elections. And to the end, there should not want in any place either honest and worshipfull inhabitants, or issue of the multitude: looke who made suite to serve as men of armes on horse-backe upon the publike commendation of any towneship* whatsoever, those hee enrolled and advanced unto the degree of Gentlemen. But to as many of the Commoners as could by good evidence prove unto him as hee visited the Countries and* Regions of Italy, that they had sonnes and daughters he distributed a thousand sesterces a piece, for every child they had.

*Censurings, opprobria.

*And those were eleven,

As for those Provinces, which were more mighty than other, and the government whereof by yeerely Magistrates was neither easie nor safe; he undertooke himselfe to (a) rule: the (b) rest hee committed to Proconsuls by lot: And yet otherwhiles he made exchange of such Provinces: and of both sorts, hee oftentimes visited many in person. Certaine Cities, confederate and in league with Rome, howbeit by over-much libertie running headlong to mischief and destruction, hee deprived of their liberties. Others againe, either deeply in debt hee eased, or subverted by earthquake hee rectified, or able to alledge their merits and good turnes done to the people of Rome hee endowed with the franchises of *Latium*; or else with freedome of Rome. There is not, I suppose, a Province, (except *Affrick* onely and *Sardinia*) but hee went unto it. Into these Provinces after he had chased SEXTUS POMPEIUS thither, he prepared to saile out of *Sicilie* and to crosse the Seas: but continuall stormes and extreame tempests checked him: neither had hee good occasion or sufficient cause afterwards to passe ever unto them.

48

All those kingdomes which he wan by conquest and force of armes, unlesse some fewe, hee either restored unto those Princes from whom hee had taken them, or else made them over to other. KK. mere Aliens, Princes, his Associates hee conioyned also together among themselves by mutuall bonds of alliance, as being a most ready procurer and maintainer of affinity and amity of every one; neither had he other regard of them all in generall than of the very naturall members and parts of his owne Empire. Moreover, he was wont to set Guardians and Governours over the saide Princes, when they were either young and under age, or lunatick and not well in their wits; until such time as they were growne to ripe yeeres, or began to come againe to themselves. The children of very many of them, he both brought up and also trained and instructed together with his owne.

49

Out of his militarie forces, he distributed both Legions and Auxiliaries by Provinces. He placed one fleet at *Misenum*, and another at *Ravenna*, for the defences of the* upper and* nether Seas. A certaine number of Souldiours he selected for a guard, partly of the City, and in part of his owne person, having discharged the regiment of the* *Calagurritanes*; which hee had retained about him, until hee vanquished ANTONIUS: and likewise of the Germanes which hee had waged among the Squires of his body, unto the disastrous overthrow of VARUS: And yet he suffered not at any time, to remain within the City more then 3 cohorts, and those without their pavilions. The residue, his manner was to send away to wintering places & sommer harbours about the

*Superi, called otherwise the Adriatick Sea.
*Vemicæ gulf.
*Inferi, otherwise, Tiberis, or Tiberian Sea.
*Tuscan Sea.
*People of Spain.

G

neighbour.

neighbour-townes. Moreover, all the souldiours that were in any place whatsoever, hee tied to a certaine prescript forme and proportion of wages and rewards, setting downe according to the degree and place of every one, both their times of warfare, and also the * commodities they should receive after the terme of their service expired & their lawfull discharge. least that by occasion of old age, or for want, they should after they were freed from warfare, be solicited to sedition and rebellion. And to the end, that for ever, and without any difficulty, there might be defrayed sufficient to maintaine and reward them accordingly, he appointed a peculiar *Treasurie* for souldiours with new * revenewes devised for their maintenance. And that with more speede and out of hand word might be brought, and notice taken what was doing in every province, hee disposed along the rode high-waies, within small distance one from another; first, certaine young men as posts; and afterwards swift wagons to give intelligence. This he thought more commodious, and better to the purpose, that they who from a place brought him letters might be asked questions also, if the matters required ought.

50 In charters, patents, writs, bills and letters he used for his seale, at the first, the image of (a) SPHINX: Soone after, that of ALEXANDER the great: and last of all, his owne; engraven by the hand of * DIOSCVRIDES: wherewith the Princes and Emperours his successours continued to signe their writings. To all his missives his manner was, to put precisely the very minutes of houres, not of day onely but of night also, wherein it might be knowne, they were dated

51

Of his clemencie and civill (a) curtesie, there be many, and those right great proofes and experiments. Not to reckon up, how many and who they were of the adverse faction, that he vouchsafed pardon & life; yea, and suffred to hold still a principall place in the City: he was content and thought it sufficient, to punish IUNIUS NOVATVS and CASSIUS PATAVINVS, two commoners; the one with a fine of money and the other with a slight banishment: notwithstanding that IUNIUS NOVATVS in the name of young AGRIPPA had divuiged a most biting and stinging letter, touching him, and CASSIUS PATAVINVS at an open table and full feast, gave out in broad termes, That he wanted neither hartie wishes nor good will to stab him. Moreover in a certaine iudiciall triall, when among other crimes this article was principally objected against ÆMILIUS ÆLIANVS of *Corduba*, That hee was wont to have * a bad conceite and to speake but basely of CÆSAR, himselfe turned unto the accuser, and as if he had bene sore offended, *I could*, quoth he, *thou wert able to prove this unto me: In faith ÆLIANVS should well know that I also have a tongue: for I will not becke to say more by him.* And farther than this he neither for the present nor afterwards inquired into the matter. Likewise, when TIBERIUS grieved and complained unto him of the same indignity in a letter, and that uncessantly and after a violent manner, thus he wrote back againe: *See not my good TIBERIUS in this point follow and feed the hums of your * age: neither set it too neere your heart, That there is any man who speaketh euill of me; For it is enough for us, if no man be able to doe us harme*

52 Albeit, he wist well enough, that Temples were usually graunted by decree even unto Proconsuls, yet in no Province accepted hee of that honour, but ioyntlie in the name and behaefe of himselfe and of *Rome*. For in

Rome verily, he forbore this honour most resolutely: yea, and those silver Statues which in times past had bene setup for him, he melted every one. * Of which, he caused golden * Tables to be made, and those he dedicated to APOLO PATAVINVS. When the people offered and instantly forced upon him the Dictatorship, he fell upon his knees, cast his gowne from off his shulder, bared his brest, and with detestation of the thing, besought them not to urge him farther.

53 The name and title of * Lord (a) he alwaies abhorred as a contumelious & reproachfull terme. When upon a time, as he beheld the plaies, these words were pronounced out of a Comœdie * *O good and gracious * Lord*: wherupon the whole assembly with great ioy and applause accorded thereto, as if they had bene spoken of him: immediately both with gesture of hand and shew of countenance, he repressed such undecent flatteries: and the next day reproved them most sharply by an edict: neither would hee ever after suffer himselfe to be called DOMINVS, no not of his owne children and nephewes either in earnest or boord. And that which more is, such faire and gawering wordes hee forbade them to use among themselves. Lightly, you should not have him depart forth of the City or any Towne, nor enter into any place, but in the evening, or by night: For disquieting any person in doing him honour by way of dutifull attendance. In his Consulship hee went commonly in the streetes on foote: out of his Consulship oftentimes in a close * (b) chaire or litter. In generall Salutations and duties done unto him he admitted the very Commons, entertaining the suites and desires of all commers with so great humanity as that he rebuked one of them merily, because in reaching unto him a supplication, he did it so timorously, as if hee had raught a small peece * of coine to an Oliphant. On a Senate day, he never saluted his Nobles but in the (c) *Curia*: and those verily as they sat, every one by name without any * prompter: and at his departure out of the house, he used to bid them farewell one by one as they were set, in the same manner. With many men he performed mutual offices yeelding one kindnes for another interchangeably. Neither gave he over frequenting their solemnities & * feasts untill he was farre slept in yeeres: and by this occasion, that once upon a day of * Espousals he was in the presse & throng of people sore crouded. GALLVS TERRENTIUS a Senator, & none of his familiar acquaintance, howbeit fallen blinde and purposing resolutely to pine (a) himselfe to death, he visited in proper person, and by his consolatory and comfortable words perswaded him to live still.

As he delivered a speech in the Senate one said unto him, *I conceived you not: & another, I would gain-say you if any place were left for * me to speake*. Divers times when upon occasion of excessive altercation and brabbling among the Senators in debating matters, he was about to whip out of the Senate a pace in a great chafe, some of them would choke him with these words, *Senatours ought to have liberty to speake their mindes concerning the Common-weale*. ANTISTIVS LABEO at a certaine Election of Senators, when * one man chooseth another, made choise of M. LEPTIVS, who sometime was (AUGUSTVS) mortall enemy, and then in Exile. Now when he demanded of the said ANTISTIVS, if there were not others more worthy to be chosen: hee returned this answer, *That every man had his owne liking and iudgement by himselfe*. Yet for all this, did no

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* Fees, pensions, land and living.

* Ducentisimis et quinquaginta summa: LXXXI. Denarii. with the two hundred pence, and the fifth penny of wares sold: with the goods also of condemned persons.

* A cunning Lapidarie and graver in precious stones.

* Male opinari. The same in this Author, that Male dicere.

* Young impudent his coler & cruelty to the heat of youth & heat blood meaning Tiberius by himselfe.

* With the money, for which they were sold.

* Curtina, otherwise called Tripudians, being upon 3. terre: From which Oracles were delivered.

* Domus, or Sr. Or Enterlude.

* Or Sr.

* Adversus, if adversa the sentence is contrary.

* Stipem Quintilianus reddidit. assem lib. 6. p. de ritu.

* Or Nomen.

* As Birth-dates, & Marriage Mends.

* Assurance making of a marriage.

54 * As if Augustus by his absolute power had taken up all.

* Cum videretur, not transire.

mans free speech or froward selfe-will, turne him to displeasure or danger.

55

Moreover, the diffamatory libels of him cast abroad & dispersed in the *Curia*, he neither was affrighted at, nor tooke great care to refute; making not so much as search after the Authors. Onely this he opened, *That from thence forth there should be inquisition made, and examination had of those that either in their owne name or under other mens, did put forth libels, rimes, or verses to the infamie of any person.* Furthermore, to meete with the spitefull taunts and skurrile scoffes of some, wherewith he was provoked, he made an Ediēt against such. And yet, to the end that the Senate should passe no Act, for the Inhibition of their (a) licentious liberty in their last wils & testaments, he interposed his negative voice.

* Wherein, the manner was to use broad jests, of any person. *Cæsar bonus.*

* Or graces. *In Tribus, or in Tribubus, among other Tribes. Called Fori Augusti. Than the other.*

* *Prætextatus adiuv.*

* Or offender. *Within the Barr, among the Advocates, as a well willer.*

* Or *Targumier*, *Scutarius* some take this for a proper name of some soldiour of his.

57

56 Whensoever he was present himselfe at the Generall Ward-motes for Election of Magistrates, he went with his owne (a) *Candidates* round about to the *Tribes*, and humbly craved their * voices according to the usuall custome. Himselfe also gave a voice in his * owne Tribe as one of the ordinary people. When hee appeared as witnesse in iudicial courts, hee suffred himselfe right willingly to be examined upon interrogatives, & also to be impleaded against and confuted. His common * Hall of Iustice he made lesse of narrower * compasse; as not daring to encroch upon the next houses & dispossesse the owners. He never recommended his sonnes unto the people, but with this clause added thereto. If they shall deserve. When, beeing yet under age, and * in their purpled child's habit, at the people generally that sat in the Theater rose up unto them, and the standers below clapped their hands, hee tooke it very ill and complained grievously thereof. His minions & inward friends he would have to bee great and mighty men in the City; yet so, as they should have no more liberty than other Citizens, but be subiect to lawes and iudgements as well as the rest. When *Asprenas Nonius* (b), a man of neere alliance & acquaintance with him was accused by *Cassius Severus*, for practising poison, & pleaded for himselfe at the Barr, hee asked counsell of the Senate, what they thought in duty he was to do? *For I stand in doubt, quoth he, least being here present as an advocate, I should acquit the prisoner * defendant and so hinder the course of law; againe, if I be absent & faile him, least I might be thought to forsake and preiudice my friend:* Whereupon, by all their consents, he sat there in the * *Pues* certain houres, but spake never a word, nor afforded so much as a cōmendatorie speech in the defendants behalfe, as the maner of friends was to do in the triall of such cases. He pleaded the causes even of his very clients, and by name, of a certaine * shield-bearer, (c) whom in times past he had called forth to serve him in the wars: he spake I say in his defence, when he was sued in an action of the case. Of all those that were thus in trouble, he delivered one & no more from making his appearance in Court: and him verily no otherwise, but by earnest prayers & entreating the Accuser before the Iudges: and him he perswaded at length to let fall his action. And *Castrius* it was a man, by whose meanes he came to the knowledge of *Murenae's* conspiracie.

How much, and for what demerits of his, he was beloved, an easie matter it is to make an estimate. The acts & decrees of the Senate concerning his honors I passe over, as which may be thought wrested frō them either upon mere necessity or bashfull modesty. The Gentlemen of *Rome* of their owne accord and by an uniforme consent celebrated his birth-feast alwaies for 2 daies together. All States & Degrees of the City, yeerely upon a solemne vow that they made,

made, threw small pieces of brasse-coine into * *Curius* lake for the preservation of his life & health. Semblably, at the Calends of Ianuarie every yeere they offered a newyeeres-gift in the Capitoll unto him, although he were absent. Out of which masse & grosse sum he disbursed as much money, as wherewith he bought the most precious Images of the Gods, and dedicated them in divers streets: as namely *APOLLO* * *SANDALIARIUS*, & *IUPITER* * *TRAGÆDUS*, and * others besides. For the reedification of his house in * *Palatine* consumed by fire, the old soldiours, The Decuries (of the Iudges) the Tribes, & many severall persons by themselves of all sorts, willingly & according to each ones ability brought in their monies together. Howbeit, he did no more but slightly touch the heapes of such money as they lay, & tooke not away out of any one above one single * denier. As he returned out of any province, they accompanied him honorably, not onely with good words & lucky * wishes, but also with songs set in muscally measures. This also was duly observed, that how often so ever he entred *Rome*, no punishment that day was inflicted upon any person.

58 The * surname in his stile of *PATER PATRIÆ*, they all presented unto him with exceeding great & unexpected accord. The Commons, first, by an Embassage which they sent unto *Antium*: then, because he accepted not thereof, at *Rome* as he entred the Theater to behold the plaies, they rendered it a second time themselves in great frequence, dight with Lawrell branches & Coronets. Soone after, the Senate did the like, not by way of decree nor acclamation, but by *Valerius Messalla*, who had commission from them all, to relate their minds in this maner. That, quoth he, which may be to the good and happinesse of thee & thy house O *CÆSAR AUGUSTUS* (for in this wise we think, that we pray for perpetuall felicity & * prosperity to this Commonwealth.) THE SENATE according with the people of *Rome*, do jointly salute thee by the name of * *PATER PATRIÆ*. Vnto whom, *AUGUSTUS* with teares standing in his eyes, made answer in these words. (For I have set the very same downe, like as I did * those of *Messalla*) Now that I have (mine honorable Lords) attained to the height of all my vowes and wishes, what remaineth else for me to crave of the immortal Gods, but that I may carie with mee this universall consent of yours unto my lives end?

Vnto *ANTONIUS MUSA* his Physitian, by whose meanes he was recovered out of a dangerous disease, they erected a Statue, by a generall contribution of brasse, iust by the image of *ÆSCULAPIUS*. Some * householders there were who in their last wils and testaments provided, That their heires should leade beasts for sacrifice into the Capitoll and pay their vowes, with this title caried before them containing the reason of so doing, *Because * they had left AUGUSTUS living after them.* Certaine Cities of *Italy* began their yeere that very day, on which he first came to them. Most of the Provinces, over & above Temples & Altars *, ordained almost in every good Towne, solemne Games & Playes every fifth yeere in his honor.

Kings his friends and Confederates both severally every one in his own kingdom built Cities calling them *Cæsareæ*, and jointly altogether intended, at their common charges fully to finish the temple of *Iupiter Olympicus* at *Athens* which long time before was begun, & to dedicate it unto his *Genius*. And oftentimes, the said Princes leaving their realmes, going in Romaine gownes, without Diadems & regall Ornaments, in habit & manner of devoted Clients, performed their

* Into the railed or empaled place named *Sepia*, where sometime was that Lake. *In the Shoo-makers street. In the Tragædians street. Alioq. In re. Titianus & c. Mount Palatine. 7d. ob. Fasces omib. or, domibus. IAMES.*

* Or addition *A. V. C. 758*

* *Felicitatem Rep. et lætæ hinc: prosperitatem et lætæ Rep. hinc. Father of the Country. Sicus Messalla*

59 * *Paterfamilias* good honest Citizens of *Rome* that were *suicidarii*. * Their Fathers, the testators.

* As if he had beene a Demi-God.

60

their dayly attendance unto him day by day: not at *Rome* only, but also when he visited and travailed over the provinces.

For as much as I have shewed already what his publique cariage was in places of Commaund and Magistracies: in the managing also and administration of the Common-weale throughout the world both in warre and peace: Now will I relate his more private and domestickall life: as also what behaviour hee shewed and what fortune hee had at home, and among his owne, even from his youth unto his dying day. His mother he buried during the time of his first Consulship, and his sister OCTAVIA in the 54 yeere of his age. And as he had performed unto them both, whiles they lived, the offices of pietie and love in the best manner: so when they were dead, he did them the greatest honours he possibly could.

62 He had espoused, being a very youth, the daughter of P. SERVILIUS ISAVRICUS: but upon his reconciliation unto ANTONIA after their first discorde at the earnest demand of both their soldiours, that they might be conioyned and united by some nere affinitie, he tooke to wife (ANTONIUS) daughter in law CLAUDIA, the naturall daughter of Dame FULVIA by P. CLODIUS: a young Damofell, scarce marriageable. And upon some displeasure, falling out with FULVIA his wives mother, he put her away, as yet untouched and a virgin. Soone after, he wedded SCRIBONIA, the wife before of two husbands, both men of Consular dignity, and by one of them a mother. This wife also he divorced, not able to endure, as hee writeth himselfe, her shrewd and perverse conditions: and forthwith, tooke perforce from TIBERIUS NERO, LIVIA DRUSILLA his lawfull wife & great with child. Her he loved entirely, her he liked onely, and to the very end.

63 Vpon SCRIBONIA he begat IVLIA. By LIVIA he had no issue, although full faine he would. Conceive once she did by him; but she miscaried, and the Infant was borne before time. As for IVLIA, hee gave her in marriage first to MARCELLUS the sonne of his sister OCTAVIA, even when he was but newly crept out of his childe age. Afterwards, when MARCELLUS was departed this life, he bestowed her upon M. AGRIPPA, having by intreatie obtained of his sister, to yeeld up unto him her right and interest in her sonne * in law. For, at the same time AGRIPPA had to wife one of the * MARCELLE (her daughters) and of her body begotten children. When this AGRIPPA was likewise dead, he cast about and sought for divers matches a long time, even out of the ranks of Romaine Gentlemen, and chose for her, his wives sonne * TIBERIUS: whom he forced to put away a former wife then with child, and by whom hee had beene a father already. M. ANTONIUS writeth, that he had affianced the said IVLIA first, to ANTONIE his sonne: and afterwards to COTIS King of the Getes: what time ANTONIE himselfe required to have a * Kings daughter likewise to wife.

64 By AGRIPPA and IVLIA he had 3 nephewes, CAIVS, LUCIUS, and AGRIPPA: nieces likewise twaine, IVLIA and AGRIPPINA. IVLIA he bestowed in marriage upon LUCIUS PAULUS, the Censors sonne: and AGRIPPINA upon GERMANICUS, his * sisters (a) Nephew. As for CAIVS and LUCIUS he adopted them for his owne children at home in his house, having bought them of AGRIPPA their Father by the brazen coine * and (b) the balance. Whom being yet in their tender yeeres, he employed in the charge of the com-

* Her daughters husband:
* It seemeth the younger:
* Emperour after him.

* Læpæ: the Medias K. of Armenias: or els he meaneth Cleopatra:

* Sorors, of her, oris: his wives nephewes, and both true;

* Per a. Com. vel per a. libram.

men weale: and no sooner were they Consuls Elest, but hee sent them abroad to the government of Provinces and conduct of armies. His daughter and nieces above named, hee brought vpper and trained so, as that hee acquainted them with housewifery, and set them even to card, spinnè and make cloth: forbidding them straightly either to say or doe ought but openly in the sight and hearing of all men, and that which might be recorded in their day * bookes. Certes, so farre forth he prohibited and forewarned them the companie of strangers, that he wrote uppon a time unto L. * TUCIIVS, a noble young gentleman and a personable, charging him that he passed the bounds of modestie, in that he came once to Baize for to see and salute his daughter: his nephewes, himselfe for the most part taught to reade, to write (c) & to swimme, besides the rudiments & first introductions to other Sciences. But in nothing travailed hee so much as in this, that they might imitate his handwriting. Hee never supped together with them, but they satte at the nether end of the Table: neither went hee any Iournie, but hee had them either goinge before in a Wagon, or else about him ryding by his side.

But as joyous and confident as hee was in regard both of his selfe, and also of the discipline of his house, fortune failed him in the prooffe of all. His daughter and niece either of them named IVLIA distressed with all kinde of leawdnesse and dishonestie he sent out of the way as banished: * CAIVS (a) and LVCIVS both, hee lost in the space of 18 moneths, CAIVS died in Lycia, LVCIVS at Massilia. His third nephew AGRIPPA, together with his wives sonne TIBERIUS (b) hee adopted his sonnes in the Forum of Rome by an Act of * all the Curie. But of these twaine within a small time hee cast out of his favour, yea and confined aside unto *Surrentum* AGRIPPA, for his base * disposition and fell nature. Moreover he tooke much more patiently the death, than the reprochfull misdeameours of his children. For, at the infortunie of CAIVS and LVCIVS he was not extremely dismaied and cast downe: mary, of his daughter & her leawd pranches, he gave notice in his absence to the Senate, and that in writing, which his (c) Quæstor red openly before them: and for very shame he absented himselfe a long time and avoyded the companie of men: yea, and that which more is, once he was of mind to put her to death. And verely, when as, about the same time a freed woman of his named PHOEBE, one of them that were privie to her naughtiness, knit her owne neck in a halter, & so ended her dayes, he gave it out, that hee with all his heart he had beene * Phœbes father. Confined thus when she was, hee debarred her wholly the use of wine, and all manner of delicate trimming and decking her bodie: neither would hee permitte any man, one or other, bond, or free to have access unto her without his privitie and leave asked: nor unlesse he might be certified before, of what age, of what stature and colour hee was, yea and what (a) * markes and skars hee carried about him. After 5. yeares ende, hee removed her out of the * Iland into the Continent where shee abode at more libertie somewhat, and not so straightly looked unto: For, to call her home againe once for all, hee could by no meanes bee intreated: as who, many a time when the people of Rome besought him, earnestly and were verily instant with him in her behalfe, openly before a frequent assembly of them cursed such daughters and such wives: saying God blesseye all from the like. The infant that his niece IVLIA bare after she was condemned, hee forbade expressly to take knowledge of, & to give it the rearing. As touching his nephew AGRIPPA seeing him to prove nothing more tractable, but rather braine sicke every day more than other, he transported him (from *Surrentum*) into an Iland and enclosed him there, besides with a guard of soldiers. He provided also by an Act of the Senate, that in the same place he should be kept for ever. And so often, as there was any mention made either of him or his ij. * IVLIA, he used to fetch a sigh and grone againe, and with all to breake out into this speech.

ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ὃν ἔκλυον τὴν ἐμὴν, ἔκλυον τὴν ἀπολέσθαι,
IV. uld God never had wedded bride
Or else without any childe had died.

* Of accomper
* Or / mason.

* ij. of his
Nephews.

* These Actes
were called *Leges Corneliae*:
made in a parliament
of all the Curie, in
number 300, to which, *Romani* divided the Citty.

These lawes
Sext. Papirius
collected into
one Booke, and
called it was
ius civile Papirianum.

Surrentum, others
read *Stolidum*,
& *Horridum*.
* Or that his
daughter had
been Phœbe.
* *Andataria*
Tacit. lib. 1.

* Daughter &
niece.

66

Friendship with any persō as he did not easily intertain, so he maintained & kept the same most constantly; not honoring only the vertues & deserts of euery man according to their worth, but enduring also their vices & delinquences at least wise if they exceeded not: for out of al that nūber of his depēdants ther wil hardly be any found, during his frendship to have bin plunged in aduersity & therby overthrown: except SALVIDIENVS RVFVS whom he had before advanced to the dignitie of Consul; & CORNELIVS GALLVS promoted by him to the pro vostship of *Aegypt*, raised both from the verie dunghill. The one of these for pra ctising seditiously an alteration in the state: & the other for his unthankful and malicious mind he forbad his house & all his provinces. But as for GALLVS, whē as both by the menaces of his accusers, & also by the rigorous Acts of the Senate passed against him, he was driuen to shorten his owne life: AVGVSTVS cōmēded verely their kind harts to him for being so wroth & grieuing so much in his behalfe: howbeit for GALLVS sake he wept, & complained of his owne hard fortune, in that he alone might not be angrie, with his friends, within that measure as he would himselfe: all the rest of his favorites flourished in power & welth to their lives end, as chiefe persons every one in their ranke: notwithstanding some discontentment & dislikes came between. For otherwhiles, hee found a want in M. AGRIPPA of patience, and in M. ECENAS of Taciturnitie & secrecie; when as the one upon a light suspition of his cold love, & affection, with a ielousie besides, that MARCELLVS should be preferred before him left all & went to MITYLENE: the other (b) unto his wife TERNITIA revealed a secret, as touching the detection of MURENABES conspiracie. Himselfe also required semblably mutual benevolence of his friends, as wel dead as living. For although he was none of these that lie in the winde to mung and catch at Inheritances, as who could never abide to reape any comoditie by the last will & testamēt of an unknown person; yet weighed he most strictly & precisely the *supreme iudgments & testimonies of his friends concerning him, delivered at their deaths: as on who dissimuled neither his grief in case a man respected him slightly & without honorable tearmes: nor his ioy, if he remembered him thankfully & with kindnes. As touching either legacies or parts of heritages, as also portions left unto him by any parents whatsoever, his manner was either out of hand to part with the same unto their children, or if they were in their minority, to restore all unto them with the increase, upon the day that they put on their virile gownes, or else whereon they married.

67

A patron he was (to his freedmen) and a Maist. (to his bondservants) no lesse severe, than gracious & gentle. Many of his enfranchised men he highly honoured and employed especially: by name, LICINIUS ENCLADVS, with others. His seruant COSMVS, who thought & spake most hardly of him, he proceeded to chastice no farther, than with hanging a paire of fetters at his heeles: As for Diomedes his Steward, who walking together with him, by occasion of a wild Bore running full upon them, for very feare put his Maist. between himselfe and the Beast, hee imputed unto him rather timiditie, then to bee any fault: else: and although it were a matter of noe small perill, yet because there was noe prepened mallice, hee turned all into a iest. Contrariwise, the selfe same man, forced to death PROCELLVS a freed man of his and whome hee set geatest store by, because hee was detested for abusing mens wives, *GALLVS his *scribe, had receiued 500. deniers

For

*M. Agrippa:
*Frigidus: or
*rigidus, as if An-
gustus had look-
ed sternely
or strangely
upon him.
*Mecenas.

*Finally or last.

*Or: The 2d.
*Clerke or
secretary:

For making on priuie unto a letter of his hands: but he caused his legges to be broken for his labour. The pædagogue and other seruicours attendant vpon CÆSAR his sonne, who taking the vantage of his sicknesse and death bare themselves proudly and insolently in his *province and therein committed many outrages, he caused to be throwne headlong into a River, with hea- *Lyke
view weights about their neckes.

68

In the Prime and flower of his youth he incurred sundrie waies the infamous note of a vicious and wanton life. Sext. POMPEIUS railed vpon him as an effeminate person. M. ANTONIUS layed to his charge, that he earned his uncles adoption, by suffering the filthy abuse of his bodie: Semblably, LUCIUS brother to the said MARCUS enueiled against him, as if he had abandoned and prostituted his youth (deslowed and tasted first by CÆSAR) unto A. HIRTIUS also in *Spain* for 300000. sesterces: and that hee was wont to singe his legges with red * hotte Walnutshels, to the end the haire might come up softer: The verie people also in generall one time on a day of their Sollemne Stage playes, both construed to his reproach, and also with exceeding great applause verified of him a verse pronounced vpon the Stage, as touching a priest of (*Cybele*) brother of the Gods playing upon a *Timbrell*;

Vides (a)ne Cinadus orbem digito temperat.

That he was a common adulterer. his verie friends did not denie: but they excuse him for sooth: saying, That he did it not upon filthy lust, but for good reason and in pollicy: to the end he might more easily search out the plots & practises of his aduersaries, by the means of women & wiues, it skilled not whose. M. ANTONIUS objected against him besides his over hastie marriage * with
LIVIA, that he fetched a certaine Noble dame, the wife of one who had beene Consul, forth of a dining parlour, even before her husbands face, into his own bed chamber, and brought her thither backe again to make an end of the banquet with her haire all ruffled, even while her eares were yet glowing red. also that he put away * SCRIBONIA, because she was too plaine & round with him, upon griepe she tooke, that a Concubine was so great & might do so much with him: as also that there were bargaines and matches sought out for him by his friends, upon liking: who stucke not to view & peruse both wiues, & young maidens of ripe yeares, all naked, as if TORAVIUS the baud were a selling of them: Moreover he writeth thus much to himself, after a familiar sort, as yet being not fallen out flatly with him, nor a professed enemy: *What hath changed and altered you? is it because I lie with a Quene, she is my wife. And is this the first time? Did I not so 9. yeares since? Alas good sir, you that would haue me cōpany with OCTAVIUS my wife onely tell me true* know you for your part none other women but DRVCILLA go to: so may you fare well & have your health, as when you shall read this letter, you be not redy to deale carnally with *TERTVLLA or TERENCELLA, or RVFILLA, or SALVIA TITISCENIA or with all of them. And thinke you it skilleth not, where and whom you lust after and meddle with?

Moreouer, much talke there was abroad, of a certaine supper of his more secret, ywis then the rest, & which was commonly called * (*a*) *Dodecatheos*: At which, that their sat guests in habit of Gods & goddeses, & himselfe among the adorned instead of *Apollo*: not onely the letters of ANTONIUS, who rehearsed most bitterly the names of every one do lay in his reproach, but also these verses without an author so vulgarly knowne and rise in euery mans mouth:

Curt

*Whome hee
could not for-
bear, burne
when she was
great with
childe.
*His owne
wife.

*Terentia. Ter-
tilla. Refers
lovers vie to
name their
secret hearts.

70

*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa Chorum,
Sexque Deos vidit Mallia, sexque Deas:
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludis;
Dum noua Dimorum canat adulterium:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt.
Fugit et auratos Iupiter ipse thronos;*

* *Chorum*,
Choregon, or
one to provide
the furniture of
the feast:
* Some take
this to be the
name of one of
the 6 goddes:
guests, or rather
some dame
that could skill
in bringing
such to ether.
* *Thronos*, al.
seats, beds or
chairs, Scutches
on in Architecture.
* Not count
terfaite as at
the supper
overnight.

When first the (b) table of these (guests) hired one the* daunce to leade

And (c) mallia six Goddes and Gods as many saw;

Whiles Cæsar Phœbus (d) conterfaites profanely, and in stead

Of supper, new adultries (e) makes of Gods against all law;

All the heavenly powers then, from the earth their cies quite turned away,

And Iupiter (f) himselfe would not in giit * Shrines longer stay.

The rumor of this supper was increased by the exceeding dearth & famine at that time in Rome: and the very next morrow, there was set up this cry & note within the Cittie, *That the Gods had eaten up all the Cornes; and that CÆSAR was become* * Apollo in deede, but yet *Apollo* the (a) tortor: under which surname that God was worshipped in one place of the Cittie. Furthermore, taxed hee was for his greedie grasping after pretious house furniture and costly Corinthian Vessels: as also for giving himselfe much to dice play. For, as in time of the proscription, there was written over his statue; *Pater Argentarius, Ego Corintharius*.

My father was a Banking-monie changer,

And I am now a Corinth-Vessell-munger.

Because it was thought he procured some to be put into the bill of those that were proscribed, even for the love of their Corinthian-Vessels: so afterwarde, during the Sicilian warre, this Epigram of him went currant abroad.

Postquam bis classe victus naues perdidit:

Aliquando ut vincat, ludis assidue cleam.

Since time he lost his ships at Sea in fight, defaied twice;

That win he may sometime, he plays continually at dice.

Of these criminous imputations or malicious slanders (I wot not whether) the infamie of his unnatuall uncleannesse he checked and confuted most easily by his chaste life both at the present and afterward. Semblably the invidious opinion of his excessive, and sumptuous furniture: considering, that when he had by force won ALEXANDRIA, he retained for himselfe out of all the kings household stuffe and rich Implements, no more but on cup of the pretious stone * *Myrrha*: and soone after, all the brazen vessels which were of most vse, hee melted euerie one. Mary for fleshly lust otherwise and wantonnes with women he went nor cleere, but was blotted therewith. For afterwards, also as the report goes, he gave himselfe overmuch to the deflowring of young maides whome his wife sought out for him from all places. As for the rumour that ran of his dice playing he bashed no whit thereat: and he played simply without Art and openly for his disport, even when he was well stricken in yeares: and besides the moneth (a) December, upon other play dayes also, yea and worke daies too. Neither is there any doubt to be made thereof. For in a certaine Epistle written with his owne hand: I supped, quoth hee, my *Tiberius* with the

* Or *Murra*.
The *Syrian* stone.

same

same men: there came moreover to beare us companie these guests, VINICIVS, & SALVVS the father. In * supper time we played * like olde men, both yesterday and to day. For when the * dice were cast (b) looke who threw the chauce. Canis or Senion, for euerie die he staked and layed to the stocke a denier: which he took up and swooped all cleane, whose lucke it was to throw Venus. Again in another letter. We liued full merily, my TIBERIUS, during the feast (c) *Quinquaginta*: for, wee played euerie day: wee haunted I say and hear the dicing house. Your * brother did his deede with many great shouts and outcries: Howbeit, in the ende he lost not much: but after his great losses gathered uppe his crammes pretily well by little and little beyond his hope and expectation. I for my part, lest 20000. Sesterces in mine owne name: but it was when I had bene over liberrall in my gaming, as commonly my manner is. For, if I had called for those loosing hands which I forgave my fellow gamesters, or kept but that which I gave cleane away. I had wonne as good as 50000. cleere. But I choose rather thus to doe. For my bountie exalreth me unto celestial glory. Vnto his daughter thus he writeth, I haue sent unto you 250. deniers: just so many as I had given to my guests a peece, if they would have played together in supper time either at cockeall, or at even and odde. For the rest of his life, certaine it is, that in euerie respect he was most continent, and without suspicion of any vice.

Hee dwelt at first, hard by the *Forum of Rome* above the winding staires ANULARE, in an house which had been CALVUS the *Orators*: Afterwards in the mount *Palatium*: howbeit in a meane habitation. belonging sometime to HORTENSIVS, and neither for spacious receite nor stately setting out, and trim furniture, conspicuous: as wherein the galleries were but short, standing upon pillars made of (soft) *Albane* stone: and the *Refectory Rourne*, without any marble or beaustfull pavements. For the space of 40. yeares and more, hee kept on bedchamber winter and summer: and albeit hee found by experience the Cittie not verie hole some in the winter for his health, yet continually hee wintred there: If hee purposed at any time to do ought secretly, and without interruption: hee had a speciall room alone by it selfe aloft which hee called (a) *Syracusa*. * Hither would hee withdrawe himselfe orderly, or else make

* For *Talarius*
his just emble.
* Or bones.
* Betwene din
fies or courtes
of seruice.

* *Drausus* *Terentius*.

* Or *Talarius*
his just emble.

* *Admirans*,
ting the winter
fun ne.
* For shade in
Summers.

* *Bellus*, as
whales within
pools, &c.

How slenderly provided he was of household stuffe and furniture otherwise appeareth

*Not rayfed
uppe and
swelling high
with downe.

appeareth by his dining pallets and tables yet remaining: the most part whereof be scarce answerable to the elegancie of a meere private person. Neither slept he by mens saying otherwise than upon a *low-bed, and the same but meanelly spread and laid with Coverlets: He wore not lightly any apparell but of huswifes cloth, made within house; by his wife, his sister, his daughter and neipces. His gownes were neither streight and skant, nor yet, wide and large. His Senatours robe neither with overbroad studs of purple guarded, nor with narrow. His shoes underlaide somewhat with the highest, that hee might seeme taller than hee was. As for the raiment which hee used a-broade, and his shooes, hee had them at all times layed readie within his Bedchamber, against all suddaine occurrents and unlooked for occasions whatsoeuer.

He feasted daily: and never otherwise than at a set *table: not without great respect and choise of degrees and persons. VALERIUS MESSALLA writeth, that hee never intertained any of his libertines at supper except MEANVS, and him *naturalized first, even after the betraying of Sex: POMPEIUS flecte; Himselfe writeth, that he invited one, in whose ferme hee would make his abode, and who in times past had bene a *Spie of his. Hee came to the bourde himselfe when he made a feast, sometimes very late, and otherwhiles left the same as soone: and then his guests would both fall to their suppers before he sat downe, and also continued sitting still after hee was gone. The suppers hee made consisted ordinarily of three dishes *of meate and when hee would fare most highly of 6: at the most: and as he entertained his guests in no exceeding sumptuous manner, so he welcomed them with all the kindnesse and curtesie that might be. For he would prouoke them, if they either sat silent or spake softly to the fellowshippe of discourse and talke: yea and interpose either *Acroames and players or else *Triviall fellowes out of *the Cirque, but most commonly these discourfing poore *threedbare Phylosophers:

75 Festivall and solemne daies he celebrated sometimes with unmeasurable expenses, otherwhiles with mirth and sport onely: At the *Saturnalia*, and at other times when it pleased him, hee used to send abroad as his gifts, one while appaile, golde and silver: otherwhile mony of all stampes, even olde peeces currant in the Kings dayes, and strange coynes; sometime nothing but haire clothes, sponges, cole *rakes, *cizars and such like stuffe, under obscure and doubtfull titles symbolizing somewhat else; Hee was wont also to offer sale, by marting in the time of a banquet to his guesstes, of such thinges, as were in price most unequall, yea and to tender blinde bargaines unto them also of painted Tables, with the wronge side outwarde, and so by uncertaine venturing upon their happe, either to frustrate and disappoint, or fully to satisfie the hope of the Chapmen: yet so, as the cheapninge of the thinge should alwayes passe through everie bourde, and the losse or gaine growe to them all as common,

As touching diet (for I may not over passe so much as this) hee was a man of verie little meate, and feedinge for the most part grosse. *Seconde breade and small fishes: cheefe made of cowes milke and the same *pressed

74
*Carnarecta,
or recta, abso-
lutely, or diffi-
rence of per-
sona.
*Restored to
his blood
and created a
gentle man.
for he was Do-
minus Antist
annulus ut inter
ingreduos habere-
tur Dion.
*Speculator, or
a squire of his
bodie.
*Tribus feculis,
not such as ours
be: but framed
in manner of
Trapezes, with
devices that
some meates
might lye flat
others hang
thereupon.
*As minstrels
Musicians,
Quinisters &c.
*As fortune
tellers, jugglers
Baffors &c.
*Aretalogos,
*Or fire forks,
*Or snippers,
*A kinde of
Lottwicke.

76
*Or chear,

pressed * with the hand, & greene figges especially of that kinde which beare twice a yeere, his appetite served unto. His manner was to eate even iust before supper, when and wheresoever his stomacke called for foode. His very wordes out of his owne Epistles shewe no lesse, which are these: *Whiles wee were in a British Waggon, wee tasted of bread and Dates.* Againe, *As I returned backward in my Litter from the Palace, I eate an ounce weight of bread with a fewe hard coated Grapes.* And once more, *The very Iewe, my TIBERIUS, observed not his Fast upon the (a) Sabbath so precisely, as I have this day: who in the baines, not before the first houre of the night was past, * chewed two morsels of bread, even before I began to be anointed.* Upon this *retchlesse neglect of diet, he used divers times to take his supper alone, either before his other guests were set and fell to meate, or else after all was taken away, and they risen: whereas, at a full bourd he would not touch a bit.

77
Hee was by nature also a very small drinker of wine. CORNELIUS NEPOS reporteth of him, that his usuall manner was during the time hee lay encamped before *Mutina* to drinke at a supper not above thrice. Afterwards, whensoever hee dranke most liberally hee passed not *sixe Sextants; or if hee went beyond, he cast it up againe. Hee delighted most in *Rhetian* wine; and feldome dranke hee in the *day time. In steede of drinke hee tooke a sop of bread soaked in colde water; or a peece of a Cucumber, or a young lettuce head, or else some new gathered apple. *sharpe and tart, standing much upon a winish liquour within it.

78
After his noones repast hee used to take his repose, and to sleepe a while, in his cloathes as he was, with his shooes (a) on, stretching (b) out his feete, and holding his hand before his eyes. After supper hee retired himselfe into a little Closet (c) or Studie. And there continued hee by a candle farre in the night, even untill he had dispatched the rest of that daies businesse, either all or the most part. From thence, he went directly to his bed: Where, hee slept at the most not above seaven houres: and those verily not together but so, as in that space of time hee would awake three or foure times: and if hee could not recover his sleepe thus broken and interrupted (as it happened otherwhiles); hee would send for some to reade or *tell tales; and by their meanes catch a sleepe againe, and drawe the same out often after day-breake. Neither would he ever lie awake without one sitting by his beds side. Much offended hee was with want of sleepe (or waking) early in a morning: and if hee were to be awakened sooner than ordinarie, either about some worldly affaires of his friends, or service of the Gods, because hee would not prejudice thereby his owne good or health; hee used to stay in some of his familiar friends upper roomes and loft, next to the place where his occasions lay. And even so, many a time for want of sleepe, both as he was caried through the strettes, and also when his litter was set downe, hee would betwene whiles take a nap and make some stay.

79
Hee was of an excellent presence and personage, and the same through-
out

*Much like
Angelots ma-
ne pressum.
Greene cheefe
new made.
*Or German,
essdo. For they
were used in
both countries
indifferently.
*Puis dui acimis,
or, with hard
kernels.
*Or, did eate.
*Ex hac in ob-
servantia, vol,
ex hac obser-
vantia: upon
this due obser-
ving of his, to
eate when his
stomack called
for it, & not else.
*6 measures,
containing ei-
ther 3 ounces a
peece, or two
cyathes, 3
cunces. In all,
at the most not
above a good
pint, or a fir all
wine quart, cal-
led Sextarius,
consisting of
18 ounces.
*Interdum, as
we say, betwixt
meales.
*Acidum, or
aridum, i. dried,
but yet of a wi-
nish tast.
*Or, to hold
him with talke.

out all the degrees of his age most lovely and amiable; negligent though hee were in all manner of pikednesse, for combing and trimming of his head so carelesse, as that he would use at once many Barbers. such as came next hand, it skilled not whom: and one while hee clipped, another while hee shaved his beard; and yet at the very same time, he either read, or else wrote somewhat. His visage and countenance, whether he spake or held his peace, was so mild, so pleasant and lightsome, that one of the Nobles and Potentates of Gaule; confessed unto his Country-men, he was thereby onely staied and reclaimed, that he did not approach neere unto him, under colour of conference as hee passed over the Alpes, and so shove him downe from a steepe cragge to breake his necke, as his full intent was. Hee had a paire of cleere and shining eyes: wherein also, (as hee would have made men beleieve) was seated a kinde of Divine vigour: and hee ioyed much, if a man looking wistly upon him helde downe his face, as it were against the brightnesse of the Sunne. But in his olde age he saw not very well with the left eye. His teeth grewe thicke in his head, and the same were small and ragged: The haire of his head was somewhat curled and turning downward; and withall of a light yellowe colour. His eye-browes met together: his eares were of a meane bignesse: his nose both in the * upper part, bearing out round, and also beneath somewhat with * the longest. Of colour and complexion, hee was betweene a browne * and faire white. His stature but short: (and yet IULIUS MARATHUS his freed-man writeth in the Historie of his life, that hee was five foote (a) and nine inches high). But as lowe as the same was, the proportionable making and feature of his limmes hid it so, as it might not be perceived, unlesse he were compared with some taller person than himselfe standing by.

80

His body, by report, was full of spottes: having upon the brest and bellie naturall markes which hee brought with him into the worlde; dispersed, for the manner, order, and number, like unto the starres of the celestia * beare; as also certaine hard risings of thicke brawnie skinne, occasioned in divers places by the ytching of his bodie, and the continuall and forcible use of the * Strigil in the Baines: Which callosities resembled a Ringworme (a). In his left hucklebone (b), thigh and legge, hee was not very sound: in so much, as many times for grieve thereof he halted on that side: but by a remedie that he had of Sand (c) and Reedes, he found ease and went upright againe. Also, the fore-finger of his right hand hee perceived otherwhiles to be so weake, that being benumbed and shrunke by a crampe upon some colde, he could hardly set it to any writing, with the helpe of an hoope and finger-stall of horne. Hee complained also of the grieve in his (d) bladder, but voiding at length little gravell-stones by urine, he was eased of that paine.

81

All his life time hee tasted of certaine grievous and daungerous sicknesses, but especiallie after the subduing of CANTABRIA: vhat time, by reason of his liver diseased and corrupted by Destillations, hee was driven to some extremitie: and thereby of necessitie entred into a contrarie (a) and desperate course of Physicke: For, seeing that hote fomentations did him no good, forced

*Toward his forehead.
*Dea-floure, or as some expound it, sharp & thin, Lepros.
*Inter aquilum candidumq; somewhat tanned and sunned, as Casan-ron seemeth to interpret it.

*Charlemaigne his waine.

*Much like a curry comb.

*Destillationibus incine visato. What if we thus point and read? Destillationibus, incine visato: to this sense, That he was much subject to the wmes by occasio that his liver was diseased, to wit, obstructed or stopped.

forced hee was by the direction and counsell of ANTONIUS MUSA his Physitian, to be cured by colde. He had the experience also of some maladies which came (b) yeerely and kept their course at a certaine time. For about his (c) birth-day, most commonly he was sickish and had a faintnesse upon him: likewise in the beginning of the (d) Spring, much troubled hee was with the inflation of the midriffe and * hypochondriall parts: and whensoever the winde was southerly, with the murr and the poise. By occasion whereof, his body beeing so shaken and crasie, hee could not well endure either colde or heat.

82

In winter time clad he went against the colde with foure coates, together with a good thicke gowne, and his Valtcoate or Peticoate bodie of woollen: well lapped also about the (a) thighs and legges. During Sommer he lay with his bed chamber doores open, and oftentimes within a cloisture supported with pillars, having water (b) walming out of a spring, or running from a spout in a Conduit; or else some one to make (c) winde hard by him. Hee could not away so much as with the Winter sunne shine: and therefore even at home hee never walked up and downe in the aire without * a broad brimmed Hat upon his head. He travailed in a lictor, and never lightly but in the night. The journeyes that he made were soft and smali: so as if hee went from Rome but to Tibur (a) or Preneste, he would make two daies of it. Could hee reach to any place by sea: hee chose rather to saile thither, than goe by land. But as great infirmities as he was subiect unto, hee maintained and defended his body with as much care and regard of himselfe: but principally by feldome * bathing (e): For, anointed hee was very often and used to sweate before a light fire: and then upon it to be dowelled in water luke-warme, or else heated with long standing in the Sunne. And so often as he was to use the Sea waters hote, or those of * Albulæ for the strengthening of his sinewes, hee contented himselfe with this: namely to sit in a wooden bathing Tub, which himselfe by a Spanish name called DURETA, and therein to shake up and downe his hands and feet one after another, by turnes.

83

The exercises in (Mars) field of riding on horse-backe and bearing armes, hee laid aside immediatly after the civile warres, and tooke himselfe, first, to the little (a) tennis-ball, and the hand-ball blowne with (b) winde. Soone after, he used onely to bee * carried and to walke, but so as that in the end of every walke he would take his runne by iumpes, lapped and wrapped within a light garment called * Sestertius (c) or a thinne vaille and sheete of linnen. For his recreation and pastime, his manner was sometime to angle or fish with the hooke, otherwhiles to play with cockall bones, or * trundling round (e) pellets, or else with nuttes even among little boyes; whom hee would lay for, and seeke out from all parts, if they were of an amiable countenance and could * prattle pretily with a lovely grace, but principally those of the Moores and Syrians kind. As for Dwarfes, crooked and mishapen Elves and all of that sort, hee could not abide such, as being the very mockeries of natures work, and of unlucky prelage.

* Or Board; grace.

* In hot waters.
* Which naturally were hote standing upon a vene of brim stone.

* Either on horse-backe, or in a chariot.
* Two foote & a halfe square.
* These the Romans called Pincta, as their players and dealers in an honest case not such as the Greeks in an uncleane signification named Paidia.
wanton baggages, Curamites

84

Eloquence, and other liberall professions he exercised from his very childhood right willingly, and therein tooke exceeding great paines. During the warre at *Mutina*, notwithstanding that huge heape of affaires and occurrents, (by report) he read, he wrote, hee declaimed every day. For afterwards, neither in the Senate-house, nor before the people, neyer to his fouldiours made he ever speech, but it was premeditate and composed before: albeit hee wanted not the gift to speake of a sodaine and ex tempore. Now, for feare least his memorie at any time should faile him, least also he might spend too much time in learning by rote, hee began to reade and rehearse all out of his written copie. His very speeches also with folke by themselves, even with *Livia* his wife about any grave and serious matters were never but penned and put downe in writing: out of which hee would rehearse the same, that hee might not speake otherwise *ex tempore* or lesse than was meete. His pronunciation and utterance was sweete, carying with it a peculiar and proper sound of his owne: and continually he used the helpe of a *Phonascus* to moderate his voice: but sometimes when his throat was * weakened, he delivered his orations to the people, by the mouth of a Crier.

* When he was hoarse, by reason of his weake.

85

Many compositions he made in prose, of sundry arguments. Of which he would reade some in a meeting of his familiars, as it were in an Auditorie: as namely a Reioinder, called *Rescripta*, unto *Brutus*, against * *Cato*. Which volumes, when for the most part, hee had rehearsed, being now well stricken in yecres and growing wearie, hee made over to *Tiberius* for to be reade through. In like manner hee wrote certaine Exhortations unto Philosophie, and somewhat of his owne life: which hee declared in * thirtie bookes, even unto the Cantabrian warre, and no farther. As for Poetrie hee dealt in it but superficially. One Treatise there is extant written by him in Hexametre verses, The argument whereof, is *Sicilie*, and so it is entituled. There is another booke also, as little as it, of *Epigrammes*: which for the most part hee studied upon and devised whiles hee was in the Baines. For, having in a great and ardent heat begun a * Tragedie, when he saw his stile would not frame thereto and speede no better, he defaced and wiped it quite out. And when some of his friends asked him, *How Aiaz did?* he answered, that his *Aiaz* was * fallen upon a (a) Spunge.

* *Piscifis*.

* *XXX. Libris*, or rather *xiii.* according to *Suida*, and all old Copies.

* Called *Aiaz*.
* Was wiped away or blotted out with a sponge: alluding to *Aiaz* that fell upon his own sword: whereof *Sophocles* made a Tragedie entitled *Aiaz*.

* Curled fokes or flakes, glib and dropping againe with sweat.

86 The Eloquence that he followed was of an Elegant & temperate kind: wherein he avoided unapt and unfit Sentences, as also the stinking favours, as himselfe faith, of darke and obscure words: but tooke especiall care how to expresse his minde and meaning most plainly and evidently. For the better effecting whereof, and because hee would not in any place trouble and stay reader or hearer, hee sticke not either to put Prepositions unto Verbes, or to iterate Coniunctions very oft: which being taken away breed some obscurity, although they yeeld a greater grace. As for those that affect (a) new-made words, such also as use old termes past date, hee loathed and reiected alike, as faulty, both the sorts of them in a contrary kinde. Those he shooke up divers times, but especially his friend *Mæcenas*, whose (b) *Murebrecheis* * *cinnos* for these were his termes he evermore curseth and taxeth, yea and by way of (c) imitation merrily scoffeth at. Neither spared he so much as *Tiberius* for hunting otherwhiles after old words out of use, and such be obscure and hardly understood.

understood. As for *Marcus Antonius*, he rateth him as if he were frantick, for writing that which men may rather wonder at, than understand. And proceeding to mocke his lewd and unconstant humour in choosing a kinde of eloquence by himselfe, he added thus much moreover, *And are you in doubt to imitate Cimbri (d) Annius and Veranius Flaccus, so that you might use the wordes which Crispus Salustius gathered out of * Cato's Origines? or rather transfer the rolling tongue of Asiatick Orators, full of vaine words, and void of pishy sentences into our language and manner of speech?* And in a certaine Epistle, praising the ready wit of *Agrippina* * his owne niece, *But you have neede, quoth hee, to endeavour that neither in writing nor in speaking, you be troublesome and odious.*

* *Cæsar*, who wrote a booke of Antiquities, so called.
* By his daughter *Livia*, and *M. Agrippa* the mother of *Cæsar*.

87

In his daily and ordinary talke certaine phrascs hee had which hee used very often and significantly: as the letters of his owne hand writing doe evidently shew: In which, ever and anon, when hee meant some that would never pay their debts. He said, *They would pay ad * Calendas Gracas.* And when he exhorted men to beare patiently the present state what ever it was, *Let us content ourselves*, quoth hee, *with this * Cato.* To expresse the speedy expedition of a thing done hastily. *Quicker, would he say, than Sparages can be sodden.* Hee putteth also continually for *Stultus*; * *Baculus*: For * *Pullus*, *Pulleiacens*: and for *Ceritus*, *Vacerrosus*; and in steede of *Male se habere*, *Vapide se habere*: and for *Langvere*, *Betizare*, which commonly we meane by *Lachanizare* *. Semblably, for, *sumus*, *sumus*; and *domos*, in the genetive case singular for *domus*. And never used hee these two words otherwise, that no man should thinke it was a fault rather than a custome. Thus much also have I observed, especially in his manuscripts, That he never cutteth a word in funder: nor in the end of any * rewe transferreth the overplus of letters unto those next following, but presently putteth them downe even there underneath, and encloseth them (within a compasse line).

* At the Greek Calends: at latter Lammes for the Greeks had no Calends, no more than the Latin *Calends*: as, i. i. cwe moones to begin their months with. And yet the word seemeth to be derived of *Kalo* in Greeke.

* Read *Macrobius*.

Saturni, 2.

* A foole.

* *Vel. B. scolas a blus*, *vel. B. scolas a blus*, *vel. B. scolas a blus*.

* Or for *Puleis*.

* *Puleis*, *Puleis*.

* Or *Lachanizare*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

* Or *limes*.

88 Orthographie, that is to say, the forme & precise rule of writing set down by Grammarians, he did not so much observe: but seemeth to follow their opinion rather, who thinke, *Men should write according as they speake*. For, where as oftentimes he either exchangeth or leaveth cleane out, not letters onely but syllables also, that is a common error among men. Neither would I note thus much, but that it seemeth strange unto mee, which some have written of him, namely, That he substituted another, in the place of a Consulare Lieutenant (as one altogether rude and unlearned) because hee had marked in his hand-writing, *ixi*, for, *ipsi*. And looke how often himselfe writeth darkly by way of ciphre, hee putteth *b* for *a*. *e*. for *b*. and so forth after the same manner, the letters next following in steede of the former: and for *x*. a duplicate *a*.

Neither verily was he lesse in love with the studie of Greeke literature: For, even therein also he highly excelled, as having beene brought up and taught under the professed Rhetorician *Apollodorus* of *Pergamus*. VVhom beeing now very aged, himselfe as yet but young had forth of *Rome* with him to *Apollonia*. Afterwards, also when he was well furnished with variety of erudition and learning of (a) *Sphærus*; he entred into familiar acquaintance, with

H 3

ARBUS

89

*In Greeke:

ARVS the Philosopher and his two sonnes, DRONYSIUS and NICANOR: yet so, as for all that he neither could speake readily, nor durst compose any thing. For if occasion required ought, he drew it in Latine, and gave it unto another for to be translated into Greeke. And, as he was not altogether unskillfull in Poemes, so he tooke delight even in the (b) olde Comedie also, which he exhibited oftentimes to be acted in publique solemnities. In reading over and perusing Authors of both Languages, hee sought after nothing so much as holisome precepts and examples, serving to publique or private use: and those, when he had gathered out of them word for word, hee sent either to his inward friends and domesticall Servitours, or to the Commaunders of armies and Governours of Provinces: or else for the most part to the Magistrates of the Citie, according as any of them needed admonition. Moreover, whole bookes he both read from one end to the other unto the Senate, and also published oftentimes to the people by proclamation: as namely, the Orations of

*As well to cut off the expenses of sumptuous and lices as to prevent danger by Skare-fires.

*Which were not so usually red and rehearsed in open audience.

90

*Or of a false calfe, which as Plinie writeth checketh all lightning:.

91

*Medici, Some read, amici, a friend:

Q. (c) METELLUS touching the propagation and multiplying of children: those likewise of RUTILIUS concerning the model * and forme of buildings: thereby the rather to perswade them, *That hee was not the first that lookt into both these matters, but that their fore-fathers in old time had even then a care and regard thereof.* The fine wits flourishing in his daies he cherished by all meanes possible. Such as rehearsed before him their Compositions he gave audience unto, courteously and with patience: not onely verses and histories, but * orations also and dialogues. Many, if anything were written of himselfe, unlesse it were done with serious gravity and by the best, hee tooke offence thereat; and gave the Prætors in charge not to suffer his name to be made vulgar and stale, in the trivial contentions (of Oratours, Poets, &c) when they were matched one with another.

For Religious scrupulosity and Superstition, thus by heere-say hee stood affected. Thunder and Lightning hee was much affraide of: in so much as alwaies and in every place, hee caried about him for a preservative remedie a * Scales skinned: yea, and whensoever he suspected there would be any extraordinary storme or tempest, he would retire himselfe into a close secret roome under (a) ground, and vaulted above head: Which hee did, because once in times past, he had beene frightened with a flash of lightning, crossing him in his journey by night; as we have before related.

As for dreames, neither his owne, nor other mens of himselfe, he neglected. At the battaile of PHILIPPI, albeit hee meant not to step out of his pavilion by reason of sicknesse, yet went hee forth, warned so to doe by the dreame of his * Physitian. And it fell out well for him: considering that after his Campe forced and woon by the enemies, his sister was in that concourse of theirs stabbed through and all to rent and torne, as if hee had remained there behind lying sicke. Himselfe every spring was wont to see many visions most fearefull, but the same proved vaine illusions and to no purpose: at other times of the yeere he dreamed not so often, but yet to more effect. When as hee ordinarily frequented the temple dedicated to IUPITER, the Thunderer in the Capitoll, he dreamed that IUPITER CAPITOLINUS complained, *How his worshippers were taken from him perforce: and That hee answered, Hee had placed Thundering*

IUPITER

IUPITER *hard by him, in steede of a * Porter:* whereuppon soone after hee adorned the * *Lanterne* of that Temple with a * Ringe of belles, because such commonly do hange at mens * Gates. By occasion of a vision by night, he begged (a) yearly uppon a certained day mony of the people, and held out his hand * hollow to those that brought and offred unto him brassen * Dockins or mires called *Asses*.

Certaine foretokens and ominous signes he observed as unfallible presages, to wit, if in a morning his shoes were put one wronge, and namely, the left for the right, he held it unluckie: Againe, when hee was to take any long journey by land or sea, if it chanced to mizzle of raine, hee took that for a luckie signe betokening a speedie and prosperous returne. But moved he was especially with uncouth and supernaturall sights. There happened a date tree to spring forth betwene the very joints of the stones before his dore, which he remooved and transplanted in the inward court of his domesticall * Gods; taking great care that it might get roote and grow there. Hee joied so much that in the Iland *Capree*, the boughes of a very old holmetree hanging and drouping now for age down to the ground, became fresh againe at his coming thither, that he would needes make an exchange with the State of *Naples*, and in lieu of that Iland gave them *ÆNARIA*. Certaine dayes also hee precisely observed: as for example: hee would not take a journey any whither, the day after the (a) *Nandina*: nor begin any serious matter uppon the *Nones* of a Moneth: Herein verily avoyding and eschewing nought else, * as he writeth unto TIBERIUS, but the unluckie * ominousnesse of the name.

Of foraine ceremonies and religions, as hee entertained with all reverence those that were auncient, and whereof hee conceived good reason: so hee despised the rest. For having beene instituted and professed (in the sacred mysteries of CERES) at *Athens*, when afterwards he sat judicially upon the *Tribunall* at *Rome* to here and determine a controvercie as touching the privilege of CERES priests in *Attica*, and perceived that certaine points of great secrecie were proposed there to be debated: hee dismissed the assembly and multitude of people standing all about in the Court, and himselfe alone heard them plead the cause; But contrariwise, not onely when hee roade in visitation all over *Egypt*, himselfe forbore to turne a little out of his way for to see (a) *Apis*, but also comended his nephew CARUS, because in ryding through *Iurie*, he did not so much as once * make supplication in (b) *Hierusalem*.

And seeing we have proceeded thus * farre, it would not be impertinent to annex hereto, what befell unto him before hee was borne: What happened uppon his verie birth day: And what presently ensued thereupon? Whereby, that future greatnes and perpetuall felicity of his, might be hoped for and observed. At *Antre*, part of the (Towne) wall in olde time had beene blasted by lightning: uppon which occasion, answere was given by ORACLES, that a Citizen of that Towne should one day be ruler of the world. The *Vellutines*, in confidence hereof, both then immediatly, and afterwarde also, many a time warred with the people of *Rome*, even wel neere to their own finall ruine and destruction. At length (though late it was) by good proofes and evidences it appeared that the said strange accident, portended the mightie

H 4

power

* Dore keeper;
* Crisp;
* C. chime
* To raise the
porters.
* As beggers
do:
* Or peeces,
worth, ob. 5. q.

92

* Wherein they
stood.

* Duplehian
nomus:

93

* Or do his de
votions:

94

* In the histori-
call reports of
so great and
worthy a prince

power of AVGVSTVS. IVLIVS MARATHVS reporteth, that some fixe moneths before AVGVSTVS Nativitie, there happened at Rome a prodigie publickly knowne, whereby foreshewed and denounced it was; *That nature was about to bring forth a King (a) over the people of Rome,* at which the Senate beeing affrighted made an Act, *That no man child that yeeve borne should be reared and brought up.* But they whose wives then, were great bellied (for everie one was readie to drawe the hope unto himselfe,) tooke order; *That the said Act, of the Senate should not be brought into the Cittie Chamber* and there enrolled. I read in the bookes of ASCLEPIADES* Mendes entituled *Theologoumenon*, * Howe ATTIA, being come at midnighr to celebrate the solempne sacrifice and divine service of Apollo, whilst other dames slept, fell fast a sleepe also; and sodainly a (b) serpent crept close unto her, and soone after went forth from her: She therewith being awakened purified her selfe, as she would have done upon her husbands companie with her; and presently there arose to bee seene upon her bodie a certaine marke or specke prerepresenting the picture of a serpent, which never after could be gotten out: in so much as immediatly thereupon shee forbore the publicke baines for ever: Also, how in the x. moneth after, she was delivered of AVGVSTVS: & for this cause he was reputed to be the sonne of Apollo. The same ATTIA, before she was brought to bed of him, dreamed that her entrails were heaved up to the stars, and there stretched forth & spred all over the compasse of earth and heaven. His father OCTAVIVS likewise dreamed, that out of the wombe of ATTIA; there arose the shining beames of the Sun. The very day on which he was borne, what time as the conspiracie of CATILINE was debated in the Senate house, and OCTAVIVS by occasion of his wives Child-birth came verie late thither, well knowne it is and commonly spoken, that P. * NIGIDIVS understandinge the cause of his stay, so soone as he learned the houre * also when shee was delivered, gave it out confidently, *That there was borne the Sovereaine Lorde of the Worlde.* Afterwardes, when OCTAVIVS leadinge an Armie through the secret partes of Thracia, inquired in the Sacred grove of *Liber pater* (according to the rites and ceremonies of that Barbarous Religion,) concerning his sonne, the same aunswere hee received from the Priestes there; For, that when the wine was powred upon the Altars, there arose from thence so great a shining flame, as surmounted the * *Lanterne* of the Temple. and so ascended uppe to Heaven: and that in times past the like strange token happened to ALEXANDER the great, and to none but him, when hee sacrificed upon the same Altars. Moreover, the night next following, hee * presently thought he sawe his sonne carrying a stately Maiestie above the ordinarie proportion of a mortall wight; with a * Thunder bolt and a Scepter (in his hand) with the Triumphant Robes also of *Iupiter. Opt. Max.* (upon his backe) and a Radiant Coronet (on his head): over and besides his Chariot dight with Lawrell and drawne with 12: steedes exceeding white. While hee was yet a very babe, (as C. DRVSVS hath left in writing extant,) being by his nource laide in the evening within a Cradell in swadling bands, beneath upon a lowe floure: the next morning hee could no where bee seene: and after longe seekinge was found at last, lying upon a verie

*or *Mendesius*
bearing the
name of the
Cittie *Mendes*
in Aegypt.
*Of diuine dis
courses.
*The mother
of *Augustus*.

* famous
Astrologer.
* And thereby
the Horoscope
of his Nativity

*Or Steep!c:

* Which properly are attributed unto Ioviter:

★ အိမ်ထောင်ရေး

verie high Turret juſt againſt the Sunne-ryſing. — So ſoone as hee began to ſpeake, hee commaunded the Frogges to keepe ſilence, that by the manour of his Grandfires by the Cittie ſide, chaunced to make a ſoule noyſe: and thereupon ever after, the Frogges in that place are not able to croke. About foure miles from *Rome*, as yee* goe directly to *Capua*, it fell out, that ſodainely an *Egle* ſnatched a peece of bread out of his hand as hee tooke his dinner within a pleaſant grove: and when he had mounted up a very great height, came gently downe of a ſuddaine againe and reſtored unto him the ſame: Q. CATVLVS after the dedication of the Capitoll dreamed two nights together: In the former, him thought, that *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*: Whiles many young boyes, Noble mens ſonnes, were playing about his Alter, ſeuered one of them from the reſt and beſtowed in his boſome the publike broad (c) Seale of the* State to carrie in his hand. And the next night following he ſaw in another dreame the ſame boy in the boſome of *Iupiter CAPITOLINVS*: Whome when hee commaunded to bee pulled from thence, prohibited hee was by the admonition of the God, as if the ſame boy ſhould be brought up for the defence and tuition of the Common-weale: Nowe the morrowe after, chauncing to meeete with (young) AVGVSTVS, (whome earſt hee had not knowne before,) hee beheld him wiſtly not without great admiration, and withall openly gave it out, *That hee was for all the world like unto that boy of whom hee dreamed*. Some tell the former dreame of CATVLVS otherwiſe: as if *Iupiter*, (when as a number of thoſe boyes required of him a Tutor) pointed out one of them, unto whome they ſhould referre all their deſires: and ſo lightly touching his lipps, & taking as it were an aſſay therof with his fingers, brought that kiſſe backe to his own mouth; M. CICERO having accompanied CAIVS CÆSAR into the Capitoll, happened to report unto his familiar friendes the dreame hee had the night before: namely how a boy of an ingeniuſ face and countenance, was let downe from heaven by a golden Chaine, and ſtoode at the doore of the Capitoll, unto whom *Iupiter* deliuered a (d) whip: Hereupon eſpying at unawares (little) AVGVTVS whom (as yet altogether unknown to moſt men) his Vnkle CÆSAR had ſent for to the ſacrifice, hee avouched plainly, that this boy was very he, whoſe Image was repreſented unto him in a viſion as he lay a ſleeper. When hee was putting on his virile gowne, it fortuneed that his broad* ſtudded Coate with purple; being unſtitched in the ſeames of both ſhoulders, fell fro about him downe to his ſecte. There were who made this interpretation; *That it betokened nothing elſe, but that the* degree whereof that Robe was a badge ſhould one day be ſubjected unto him.* IVLVIVS of ſacred memorie being about to chooſe a plot of ground: ſor to encamp in, about *Munda*, as he cut downe a wood, chanced to light upon a date tree which he cauſed to bee ſpared and reſerved as the verie preſage of victorie: from the root of it, there ſprung immediately certaine ſhoots which in few dayes grew to faſt, that they not onely equallized but over topped alſo and ſhadowed their ſtocke: yea and * doves haunted the ſame, therein to neſtle and breede. notwithstanding that kind of birde cannot of all others away with any hard leaves and rough branches. Vpon this ſtraunge ſight eſpecially, CÆSAR, by report was mooved to ſuffer none other to ſuccede him in the Empire but his ſiſters* Nephewe. AVGVSTVS. during the time that he was retired to *Apollonia*, went up in the

*In the way
Adm.

***Or Circle**

* Which case had given him instead of 2 cases.

*Sensory

*Dones or con-
secrate to *Venus*
from whence
the *Julii* are
descended. By
them therefore
& the date tree
was figured
perpetuall fel-
citie to that
name and fa-
milie.

*Or schoole.
*Or Astrolo-
ger.

*Augustus.

companie of AGRIPPA, into the *gallerie of Theogenes the *mathematician. Now, when AGRIPPA, (who inquired first what his owne fortune should be) had great matters and those in manner incredible foretold unto him; AVGVSTVS *himselfe concealed the time of his owne natiuitie, and in no wise would utter the same; for feare and bashfulnesse, least he should be found inferior to the other. But when, hardly after many exhortations and much a doe, hee had delivered the same, Theogenes leapt forth and worshipped him. AVGVSTVS then anone conceived so greate a confidence in his fortunes, that hee divulged his Horoscope and the ascendent of his Natiuitie: yea and also stamped a peece of silver coyne, with the marke of the Celestiall signe Capricornus, under which figure and Constellation hee was borne.

95

After CÆSARS death, being returned from Spollonia, as he entred Rome Cittie, sodainly when the skie was cleere and wether verie faire, a certaine round coronet in forme of a raine bowe compassed the circle of the Sunne, and therewith soone after, the monument of IVLIA, CÆSARS daughter was smitten with lightening. Moreover in his first (a) Consulship, while he attended to take his Augurie, there were presented unto him, like as to Romulus, 12 *geirs: and as hee sacrificed, the Livers of all the beasts then killed appeared in open view enfolded double, and turned inwardly from the nether fillet; And no man of skill conjectured otherwise, but that prosperitie and greatnes hereby was portended.

*Or Vulture.

96

* Antonie
Lepidus, and
Octavius Augu-
stus.

Furthermore, the very events, also of all his warres hee foresaw. What time as all the forces of the *Triumvirs were assembled together at Brundis, an Ægle perching over his tent, all to beat it. Ravens that assailed and fell upon her of either side, and in the end stricke them both down to the ground: which sight the whole armie marked verie well, and presaged thereby that one day, there would arise betwene the Colleagues of that Triumvirate such discord, and the like ensued thereof, as after followed. At Philippi there was a certaine *Thessalian, who made report of the future victorie: alledging for his author CÆSAR of famous memorie, whose *Image encountered him as he journeyed in a desert and by-way. About Perugia whē he offered sacrifice & could not *speede, but demanded (a) more beasts still to be killed: behold, the enemies made a sodaine sallie forth, caught up and carried away the whole provision of the Sacrifice. The Soothsayers then agreed upon this point, *That those perillous and adverse calamities which had bene threatened and denounced to him that sacrificed, should light all, and returne upon their heads, who got the Impards;* And so it fell out in deed. The day before he fought the battaile at Sea neere Sicilie, as he walked upon the shore, a fish leapt out of the sea and lay at his feet. At Astinam, as hee was going downe to fight the battaile, there met him in the way an Asse with his driver, the mans name was (b) EVRYCHVS, and the beasts Nicom: After victorie obtained, hee set uppe the Images of them both in bras, within that Temple, into which hee converted the verie place where he encamped.

*And therefore
by likelihood
a wizard.
*Or spectre.
*A Obaine
the favour of
the Gods.

97

*Called Lustrum

His death also (whereof from hence forth I will write) and his deification after death was knowne before by many signes most evident, when hee had taken a review of the Cittie; and was about the solemne *purging thereof within

Mars.

Marsia before a frequent assemblie of people: an Ægle there was that soared oftentimes round about him, and crossing at length from him unto a house thereby, settled upon the name of AGRIPPA, and iust upon the first *letter of that name; Which when he perceived, the vowes which the manner was to be made untill the next (a) Lustrum, he commanded his colleague TIBERIVS to nuncupate and pronounce. For, notwithstanding the Tables and (b) instruments containing them were now written and in readinesse, yet denied he to undertake those vowes which he should never pay. About the same time the first *letter of his owne name, upon a flash and stroke of lightening went quite out of the Inscription that stood upon his statue: Aunswere was made by the Soothsaiers, that he was to live but iust one hundred dayes after: which number that letter did betoken; And that it would come to passe that hee should bee Canonized and registred among the Gods, because CÆSAR, the residue of the name CÆSAR, in the Tuscan Language signified God. Being about therefore to send TIBERIVS away into Illyricum and to companie him as far as Beneventum, when diverse suiters, for one cause or other interrupted him, yea and detained him about hearing and determining matters iudicially, hee cryed out aloud (which also within a while was reckened as a presaging office,) *That were he once out of Rome, he would never after be there againe what occasion soever might make him stay.* And so being entered upon his journey he went forward as far as Astura: and so presently fro thence (c) contrary (e) to his usuall maner, with the benefite of a forewind & gentle gale *tooke water by night and sayled over.

*C, in Cæsar.

For Astura was
a water towne
with a river also
of that name
running by it

The cause of his sickenes he caught by a flux of the bellie. And for that time having coasted Campanie and made circuit about the Ilands next adjoining, he bestowed also foure dayes within a retiring place of pleasure at Caprea: where he gave his minde to all ease and courteous affabilitie. It happened as he passed by the Bay of Puteoli, certaine passengers and souldiers out of a ship (a) of ALEXANDRIA, which then was newly arrived, all clad in white, dight also with garlands, and burning frankincense, had heaped upon him all good & fortunate words, chaunting his singular prayes in these terms. *That by him they lived, by him they sayled, by him they enjoyed their freedome, and all the riches they had.* At which, he tooke great contentment and was cheered at the heart; Insomuch as thereupon he divided to everie one of his traine about him 40, (b) peeces of gold, but he required an oath againe & assurance of each one, that they should not lay out that monie otherwise than in buying the wares (c) & commodities of ALEXANDRIA. For certaine dayes together that remained, among diverse and sundrie gifts, he distributed among them over and above, gownes and clokes, with this condition, that Romans should use the Greeks habite and speake likewise Greeke; the Greekes also weare Romaine attire and use their language. He beheld also continually the youthes exercising themselves (of whome their remained yet some store at Caprea) according to the *auncient custome. And even unto them he made a feast in his owne sight, permitting them or rather exacting of them, their olde libertie of sporting; of snatching appels and cates, and of skimming for such small gifts and favours as were sent or skattered abroad. In one word, he forbore no manner of mirth and pastime. The Ile (d) hard by Caprea, he called Apragopolis, of the Idleness of such as

98

*of the greeks
who sometime
inhabited
those parts.

OUT

out of his traine retired themselves thither. But one of his beloved minions named (f) MASGABAS, hee had wont merily to call ΚΤΙΣ, as one would say, *The founder of that Island*. The sepulcher of this MASGABAS (who died a yeare before) when he perceived one time out of his dining chamber to be frequented with a sort of people and many lights: he pronounced this verse a loud which he made *ex tempore*.

ΚΤΙΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΒΟΝ ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΕ ΠΡΟΣΦΕΡΕΝ.

*I see the Tombe of *KTISTES all on fire.*

*The founder

And therewith turning to THRASYLLUS a companion of TIBERIUS sitting over against him, and not woting what the matter was, he asked him of what Poets making he thought that verse to be: And when he stucke at the question and made no answer, he came out with an other to it.

Οὐδὲς Φάσει Μασγάβαν τιμώμενον,

Thou seest with li: his MASGABAS honoured.

Of this verse also he demaunded whom he thought to be the maker? but when THRASYLLUS returned no other answer but this, *That who soever made them, right excellent they were*; he laughed a good and made himselfe exceeding merie. Soone after he crossed over to Naples, albeit even then his guts were greatly enfeebled & the disease (g) grew variable: yet for all that, the (h) *Quinquenal Gymnick* games instituted in the honor of him, he beheld to the very end, and so together with TIBERIUS went to the place appointed. But in his return from thence, his disease increased more and more, so as at length he yielded to it, at Nola: where, having sent for TIBERIUS and called him backe from his journey, he held him a great while in secret talke; neither from that time framed he his minde to any greater affaire.

*Or if yee distinguish thus
Morbo var. ante
tamen &c. yet
by reason that
his disease altered,
& himselfe
was better
some time then
other,

99

Vppon his dying day, enquiring ever and anone, whether there was as yet any sturre and tumult abroad as touching him? hee called for a *mirror, and commanded the haire of his head to be combed & trimmed: his chawes also readie for weaknesse to hang or fall, to be composed and set straight. Then having admitted his friends to come unto him, and asked of them whether *they thought he had acted well the Enterlude of his life?* he adioyned with all this finall *conclusion, for a Plaudite,

Δότε πρότον καὶ πάντες ὅμις μετὰ χαρῆς κτυπήσατε.

Now clap your hands and all with joy resound a shout.

After this he dismissed them all, and whiles hee questioned with some that were new come frō the Cittie, concerning the daughter of DRVSVS the sicke, sodainly amidst the kisses of LIVIA, and in these words he gave up the ghost, *Livia min: full LIVIA of our wedlocke, and so farewell*. Thus died he an easie death and such as he had euer wished to have, For lightly, so often as he heard of any body to have departed this life quickly & without all panges, he prayed unto God, that hee and his might have the like **Euthanasia*, for, that was the verie word he was wont to vse. One signe onely and no more he shewed of a minde disquieted and distracted, before he yeilded up his vitall breath: in that he sudainely started as in a fright and complained, *That hee was hurried away by 40. tall and lustie yongue men*. And even that also was rather a pregnant presage of his minde, than a raving fitte and idle conceit of light braine. For so many souldiers they were indeede of the Pratorian bande: who carried him

*As the manner is at the
ende of Comedies
dies to call for a
Plaudite. hee
peristed ther
fore in the m
raptor, and by
this plaudite,
allegorizet
the end of this
life, which hee
called before
Euthanasia.
*Euthanasia.

him forth (dead) into the streete upon their shoulders.

Hee died in that very bed-chamber wherein his Father OCTAVIUS left his life before him, when POMPEIUS and APPULEIUS, having both their forename SEXTUS, were Consuls: **Fourteene daies before the Calends of September, at the *ninth houre of the day: being 76 yeeres olde wanting five and thirtie daies*. His corps was conveighed and borne by the Decurions *of the free burrowghes and Colonies from Nola to Bovilla by night, for the hote season of the yeere: whereas till the day time it was bestowed in the Hall of every towne, or else in the greatest (a) temple thereof. From Bovilla the degree of Romaine Gentlemen tooke charge of it, and brought it into the Citie of Rome, where they placed it within the Porch of his owne house. The Senate both in setting out his Funerals, & also in honouring his memorialls, proceeded so farre in striving, who should shew greater affection, That among many other complements, some were of minde, *That the pompe and solempne convey of his obsequies, should passe forth at the Triumphant gate with the image of victorie, which is in the Court Iulia going before*: and the chiefe Noble mens children of both sexes singing a dolefull and lamentable song, others opined, *that upon the very day of this funerall, their (b) rings of gold should be layd away and others of yron put on*. Againe, divers gave advise, *That his bones should be gathered *up by the (c) priests of the most ancient Societies*. And one above the rest would have had the name of the moneth *August to be shifted and transferred unto September; For that, AUGUSTUS was borne in this and died in the other. Another perswaded, That all the time from his very birth unto the dying day, should be named **SAECULUM AUGUSTUM*, and so recorded in the Kalendars and Chronicles. But, thought best it was, to keepe a meane in the Honours done unto him. Whereupon, twice, and in two severall places praised hee was in a funerall Oration: once before the temple of IULIUS late decreed, of sacred memorie, by TIBERIUS; and againe *at the (d) *Roftra* under the *Veteres*, by DRUSUS the sonne of TIBERIUS, and so upon Senatours shoulders was hee borne into *Campus Martius*, and there committed to the fire & burnt. Neither wanted there a *grave personage, one that had been Pretor, who affirmed & bound it with an oath, That he saw his very *image when he was burnt, ascending up to heaven. The chiefe Gentlemen of the Knights order, in their single *waistcoates, ungirt & bare-footed gathered up (e) his reliques together, & bestowed them in a stately (f) monument: which peece of work himselfe had built between the street *Flaminia* & the bank of *Tiberis* in his sixth Consulship, & even then given the Groves growing about it & the walks adioyning to be common for the use of the people of Rome for ever.

101 His last will & testament made by him when L. PLANCUS and C. SURIUS were Consuls, the third day before the *Nones of April, a yeere and foure moneths before hee died, and the same in two bookes written partly with his owne hand, and in part with the hands of POLIBUS and HILARIUS his freed men, the vestall virgins (a) who had the keeping thereof upon trust brought forth; together with three other rolls or volumes sealed alike. All which Instruments were opened and read in the Senate. He ordained for his 6 heires: In the first place, TIBERIUS of the one halfe and a (b) sixt part: and LIVIA of a (c) third: whom also he appointed to beare his owne (a) name. In a

100

A.V.C. 769.
*The Nineteenth of August.
*About three of the clocke after noone.
*Aldermen, or Senators.

*A thinge against the olde received religion.
*Before him called *Sacculus*.

The August *8c.

*Or before;

*Dion name him *Numerius Atticus*; & saith, he was hired by Livia for two millions of Sesterces, to sweare that of *Augustus*, which *Proculus* had for some time sworn of *Romulus*.
*Or true Portraict.

*Or suits, as some would expound *canis*.
*In *Manilia*.
*The third of April.

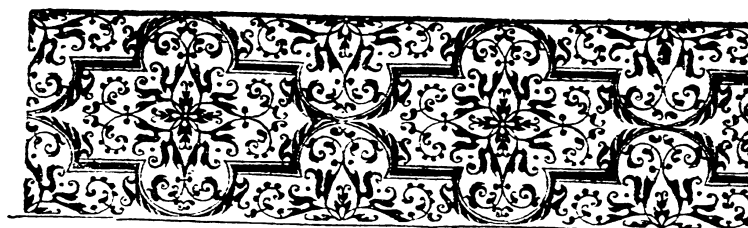
*For default of the other if ranke, they dyed.

* If the second
heres failed,
* Som read *qua-*
dringies trices
quingies: and
then it is three
millions and a
halfe more.
* Or *Piaetorum*
band.
* *Produx* *eq-*
quadam ad vi-
cena Sestertia.
So *Torrentius*
expoundeth it.
* Of *Sesterties*.

* *Quater decies*
milies, foure
thousand mil-
lions.
* *Octavius* and
Iulius Cæsar.
* His daugh-
ters daughter.
* If they died.

* *Annus tabulis*,
other writers
lay, *Pillars*.

ranke, hee appointed DRVSUS the sonne of TIBERIUS to inherit one third part: and GERMANICVS with his three male children, the other parts remain-
ing. In * a third degree, he nominated of his owne kinsfolk, Allies & friends,
very many. Hee bequeathed as a legacie to the (e) people of Rome * 400000
Sesterties an hundred times told. To the Souldiours of the * guard a thousand
Sesterties a peece. Among the Cohorts of the City Souldiours 500, & to those
of the Legionarie cohorts 300 a peece. Which summe of money he commaun-
ded to be paid presently: For hee had so much in store at all times (put up in
bagges and coffers) lying by him. Sundry parcels gave hee besides by legacie
parole. And of some thereof he deferred the * payment, if the same were above
20000 Sesterties. For paying of which he set a yeeres day at the farthest: alled-
ging for his excuse his meane estate: and protesting, that by this account there
would not come to his heires hands, above 150 * millions: albeit within the
compasse of 20 yeeres immediatly going before, hee had received by the wills
and testaments of his friends * 4000 millions. All which masse of treasure, to-
gether with two patrimonies by his * two fathers and other inheritances, hee
had spent wel-neere every whit upon the Common-weale. The two IULIUS,
to wit, his daughter & * niece, (if * ought hapned unto them), he forbade expresse-
ly to be entered in his owne Mausoleum. Of those three Rolls or Instruments a-
bove named, in the first he comprised his owne directions as touching his fune-
rall: The second contained a Register or Index, of those Acts which he had ac-
chieved: and his pleasure was, that the same should be engraven in brazen * ta-
bles, and erected before his Mausoleum. In the third he represented a Breviarie
and abstract of the whole Empire: to wit, *How many Souldiours were enrolled*
and in pay, in any place whatsoever? as also, How much money was in the common
Treasury of the City and in his owne coffers? Lastly, what the arrievages were of such
renewes and tributes as were due to the state and unpaid: Whereto he an-
nexed also a Shedule, containing the names of Freed men
and bond, his receivers, at whose hands the
reckoning might be ex-
acted.



THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Nero Cæsar, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*
quillus.



HHe Patritian familie CLAUDIA (for, there was likewise
another *Plebeian* of that name, neither in power nor dig-
nity inferiour) had the first beginning out of * *Regillum* a
Towne of the Sabines. From thence they came with a
great retinue of vassals to Rome newly founded, there to
dwell: induced thereto by the counsell of T. TATIUS fel-
low in government of the kingdome with ROMVLVS; or
(which is the more received opinion) through the perswasion of (a) ATTA *
CLAUDIUS, a principall person of that house, about the 6 yeere after the kings
were expelled: and so, by the Senatours of Rome, raunged they were among the
Patritij. Vpon this, soone after, they received by vertue of a graunt from the
whole City, for their Clients & vassals, lands to occupy beyond the river *Anio*:
I 2 and

* Or *Regilla*.

* Or *Claudia*.

* *Lucum*. Some read *lucum*, not in the strict signification of a sacred Grove, but of a pleasant tuft of trees where with monuments were beautified: as you may gather by the Mausoleum of Augustus.

* *J. Blind*. A.V.C. 474
490
457

A.V.C. 304
* *Or Aspius Claudius*.
* *J. One of the ten Decemvirs*.

* *J. The Faire*. A.V.C. 505

* *Or Ilycia*.

* *Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 7. cap. 35.*
* *Cybele*.
* *Or Barr*.

A.V.C. 580.
For, unto this time that sex had not become endred and rampant of treasfe. See *Pater. Hist. lib. 8. c. 1.*
A.V.C. 695

* *C. Fustius*.

and for themselves a * place of sepulture under the Capitol: and so forth, in proesse of time obtained 28 Consulates, five Dictatures, Censures seaven, Triumphs sixe, and two Ovations. This family being distinguished by sundry fore-names and surnames both, in a generall consent reiected the fore-name of *LUCIUS*, after that two of their linage bearing that name were convict, the one of robbrie, the other of murder. Among surnames it assumed the addition of (b) *NERO*, which in the Sabine tongue signifieth *Strong or stout*.

2 Many of these *Claudij*, as they deserved many waies passing well of the Common-wealth: so, in as many sorts they faulted and did amisse. But to relate the principall examples onely in both kindes; *APPIUS* surnamed * *CÆCUS* was hee, who dissuaded the entring into league and societie with King *PYRRHUS*, as prejudiciall unto the State: (a) *CLAUDIUS CADEX* was the first man that passed over the narrow Seas with a flecte, and drave the Carthaginians out of *Sicilie*: *CLAUDIUS NERO* surprised and defeated *ASDRUBAL* coming out of Spaine with a very great and puissant armie before he could ioine with his brother *ANNIBAL*. Contrariwise, * *CLAUDIUS APPIUS REGILLANUS* being * *Decemvir* chosen to frame and pen the Romaine Lawes, went about by violence (for the satisfaction of his fleshly lust) to enthrall a virgine Free-borne: and thereby gave occasion to the Commons for to fall away and forsake the Nobles a second time. *CLAUDIUS DRUSUS* having his owne statue erected with a Diademe in a Towne called (b) *Forum Appij*, attempted with the helpe of his favorites and dependants to hold all *Italia* in his owne hands. *CLAUDIUS PULCHER*, when as in taking of his (c) *Auspicia* before *Stetis*, the sacred pullets would not feede, caused them, in contempt of Religion, to be plunged into the Sea, *That they might drinke seeing they would not ease*: and thereupon stricke a battaile at Sea: In which, beeing vanquished, and commanded by the Senate to nominate a Dictator, scorning as it were, and making but a iest at the publique danger & calamitie of the State, named a (base) Sergeant of his owne called * *GLYCIA*. There stand likewise upon record, the examples of women, and those as divers and contrary. For, two *CLAUDIÆ* there were of the same house: both free * that drew forth the ship with the sacred images of the * *Idæan* mother of the Gods sticking fast and grounded within the * shelves of *TIBERIS*, having before made her praier openly, *That as she was a true and pure virgin, so the ship might follow her, and not otherwise*: as also another, who after a strange and new manner being a woman, was arraigned before the people of high treason, for that when her Coach wherein shee rode could hardly passe forward by reason of a thicke throng and preasse of people, she had openly wished, *That her brother PULCHER were alive againe, and might leese a flecte the second time, to the end there might be by that meanes a lesse multitude at Rome*. Moreover, very well knowne it is, that all the *CLAUDI*, excepting onely that *P. CLODIUS* who for expelling *CICERO* out of *Rome*, suffered himselfe to be adopted by a * Commoner and one younger (d) also than himselfe, were alwaies *Optimates*, the onely maintainers or patrons of the dignitie and power of the Patritians: yea, and in opposition of the Commons so violent, stubborne and selfe-willed that not one of them, although he stood upon his triall for life and death before the people, could finde

finde in his hart so much as to change his (e) weede, or to crave any favour at their hands. Nay, some of them there were, who in a brawle and altercation, stuck not to beat the very (f) Tribune of the Commons. Furthermore, a * *Claudia*, virgin vestale there was of that name, who when a brother of hers triumphed A.V.C. 611 without a warrant from the people, mounted up with him into the chariot, & accompanied him even into the Capitoll: to this end, that none of the Tribunes might lawfully * oppose themselves and forbid the Triumph.

3 From this race and linage *TIBERIUS CÆSAR* deriveth his Genealogie, and that verily in the whole bloud and of both sides: by his Father, from *TIBERIUS NERO*: by his mother from *APPIUS PULCHER*, who were both of them the sonnes of *APPIUS CÆCUS*. Incorporate hee was besides into the familie of the *LIVII*, by reason that his Grandfather by the * mothers side was adopted thereinto: Which family (Commoners though they were) flourished notwithstanding and was highly reputed; as being honoured and graced with eight Consulships, two Censureships, and three Triumphs: with a Dictatorship also and Maisterhip of the Horsemen: renowned likewise and ennobled for brave and notable men, (a) *SALINATOR* especially and the * *DRUSI*: As for *SALINATOR*, in his Censureship hee noted and taxed all the Tribes everie one and whole bodie of the people, for unconstant levitie, for that having upon his former consulship condemned him and set a fine upon his head, yet afterwarde they made him Consul a second time and Cenfour besides. *DRUSVS*, upon the killing of one *DRUSVS* the Generall of his enemies in close combat and single fight, purchased unto himselfe and his posteritie after him that surname. It is reported also that this *DRUSVS* beeing propertour, recovered and fetched againe out of his province *Gaulle*, that gold which in times past had beene given unto the Senatours when they besieged the Capitoll: & that it was not *CAMILLUS* (as the voice goeth) that wrested the same perforce out of their hands. His * sonne in the 4. degree of descent, called for his singular employment against the *Gracchi*, Patron of the Senate, left behind him a sonne: whom in the like variance and debate as he was busie in devising and putting in practise sundrie plots, the adverse faction treacherously flew.

4 But, the Father of this *TIBERIUS CÆSAR*, being Treasurer unto C. * *CÆSAR*, and Admirall of a flecte in the *Alexandrine* warre performed very good service for the atchieving of victory, whereupon hee was both substituted Pontifex in steed of *SCIPIO*, and also sent with commission to plant Colonies in *Gaulle*, among which were * *Narbona* and *Arelate*. Howbeit, after that *CÆSAR* was slaine, when as all men for feare of troubles and uprores decreed a finall abolition * and oblivion of that fact (and all other quarrels thereupon depending) he proceeded farther and opened, *That they should consult about the rewards of such Tyrant-killers*. After this, having borne his Pretourship (in the end of which yeere there arose some discord betweene the Triumvirs) hee retaining by him still the * ensignes and ornaments of that office after the time fully expired, and following *L. ANTONIUS* the Consul and the Triumvirs brother, as farre as to *Perusia*, when the rest yielded themselves, continued alone fast, and stuck to the faction (that sided against *OCTAVIUS*) and first escaped to *Preneste*, then to *Naples*: where when hee had proclaimed (but in vaine)

* *Of fore-rent regard were these Nunnes, that no magistrate might either attach or crosse them.*
* *Or mothers grandfather married to her.*

* *Or rather Drusus.*
A.V.C. 550

A.V.C. 471

A.V.C. 433
* *Or Nephew, abnepas.*

A.V.C. 463
* *Dictator.*
A.V.C. 707

* *Or Nabe.*
A.V.C. 710
* *This is that amnestia which severe persons did unto.*

A.V.C. 713
* *To wit, his fixe sisters or sisters with their Knitches of rods & axes sticking therein.*
A.V.C. 716
A.V.C. 716

* *Servius ad pil-*
am vocatus: be-
 cause the cap
 or bonnet was
 the badge of
 freedom.

vaine) * freedome for all bondslaves, hee fled into *Sicilie*. But taking it to the heart, that hee was not immediatly admitted to the presence of *SEXTUS POMPEIUS*, but debarred the use of his (a) Knitches of rods to bee borne afore him, hee crossed the Seas into *Achaia*, and went to *M. ANTONIUS*. With whom, by occasion that shortly after, an attonement and peace was made betwene all parties, hee returned to *Rome*; and at the request of *AUGUSTUS*, yeelded unto him his owne wife *LIVIA DRUSILLA*, who both at that time was great with child, and also had already before brought him a sonne named *TIBERIUS*, in his owne house. Not long after, he departed this life, and left his children surviving him, namely *TIBERIUS NERO* and *DRUSUS NERO*.

* Or his gran-
 dame by the
 mothers side.
 * *Felicitas*, or
Fortunatus i.
 fruitfulness.
 * The sixteenth
 of November.
 A.V.C. 712

Some have thought that this *TIBERIUS (CÆSAR)* was borne at *Funde*, grounding upon a light coniecture, because his mothers * Grandame was a *Fundane* borne; and for that soone after the image (a) of * *Felicitie*, by virtue of an Acte of the Senate was there publicly set up. But, as the most Authors and those of better credite doe write, borne hee was at *Rome* in the *Mount Palatium*, the * sixteenth day before the Calendes of December, when *M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS* was Consull the second time together with *MUNATIUS PLANCUS*, even after the warre at *Phileppi*: For so it standes upon record and in the publique Registers. Yet there want not some who write otherwise: partly that he was * borne a yeere before in the Consulship of *HIRTIUS* and *PANSA*, and partly the yeere next following, wherein *SEXVILIUS ISAVRICUS* and *ANTONIUS* were Consuls.

* *Lusus* i. of am-
 i. growing a
 pace to matu-
 rity.
 * Or discov-
 red.

His infancie and childhood both were exceeding * forward (a) and the same full of toilefome travaile and daunger, by occasion that every where, hee accompanied his Parents still, in their flights and escapes. And verily, twice hee had like to have * defcried them with his wrawling at *Naples*, what time as a little before the forcible and suddaine entrie of the enemy, they made shift secretly to get into a ship: namely once, when hee was taken hastily from his Nources breast: and a second time out of his Mothers lap and armes, by those who as the necessity of the time required, did their best to ease the poore women of their burden and load. Hee was caried away with them likewise through *Sicilie* and *Achaia*: yea, and being recommended to the *Lacedæmonians* (who were under the protection of the *CLAUDI* their Patrones) for to take the charge of him in publique, as hee departed from thence by night, hee was in daunger of his life by reason of a light flaming fire, which suddainly from all parts arose out of a wood: and compassed all the companie in his traine so; as that some part of *LIVIAES* apparell and the haire of her head was scorched and singed therewith. The giftes bestowed upon him in *Sicilie* by *POMPEIA* the sister of *SEXTUS POMPEIUS*, to wit, a little Cloake with a button or claspe to it: likewise studds and bosses of golde, continue and are yet shewed to bee seene at *Baie*. After his re-

turne

turne into the Citie of *Rome*, being adopted by *M. GALLIUS* a Senatour in his last will and testament, hee accepted of the inheritance and entred upon it: but within a while forbore the name, because *GALLIUS* had sided with the adverse faction and taken part against *AVGVSTVS*. Being 9. yeares olde hee praised his father deceased openly from the *Rosbra*. Afterwardes, as hee grewe to be a springail, he accompanied in the *Ætiacke* tryumph the Chariot of *AVGVSTVS*, ryding upon the steede drawing without the * yoke on the left hand, when as *MARCELLVS* the sonne of *OCTAVIA* rode upon the other on the right hand. Hee was president also at the *Ætiack Games* and plaies yea & the *Troian* Turnament in the *Circian* solemnities, where he led the troupe of the bigger boyes.

* Or *spira* pole.

After hee had put on his * virile robe, his whole youth and all the time besides of the age next ensuing, even unto the beginning of his Empire, hee passed for the most part in these affaires following. He exhibited one sword fight performed by fencers to the outrance, in memoriall of his father: likewise another in the honourable remembrance of his Grandfather *DRVSVS*: and those at sundrie times and in diverse places: the former in the * *Forum*, of *Rome*: the second in the Amphitheatre: having brought againe into the Lists, even those that were freed before time and discharged from that profession: whom hee now hired and bound to fight, with the summe of one hundred thousand sesterces. Hee did set forth itage playes also, but whiles himselfe was absent: all with great magnificence, and also at the charges of his * mother and * father in Law. * *AGRIPPINA* the daughter also of *M. AGRIPPA*, and neice to *POMPONIVS ATTICVS* a Gentleman of *Rome*, him I meane, unto whome *CICERO* wrote his Epistles, hee tooke to wife. And when hee had begotten of her a sonne named *DRVSVS*, albeit shee fitted him well enough and was besides with Childe againe, enforced hee was to put her away; and forthwith to wed *LULIA* the daughter of *AVGVSTVS*: not without much grieve and heart breake: considering that hee both desired still the companie of *AGRIPPINA* and also misliked the conditions and demeanour of *LULIA*, as whom he perceived to have had a minde and fanfic unto him whiles shee was the wife of a former husband. Which verily was thought also abroad: But as hee grieved, that after the divorce hee had driven away *AGRIPPINA*, so when hee chanced but once (as shee mette him) to see her, hee followed her still with his eyes so bent, so swelling, * and staring, that streight order was given, and a watch set, shee should never after come in his way nor within his sight. With *LVLIA* he lived at the first in great concord and mutuall love: but afterwardes hee began to * estrange himselfe, and (that which was the more grieve) hee proceeded to part beddes and to lie from her continually, namely, after that the pledge of love, their sonne begotten betwene them, was untimely taken away: who being borne at *Aquileia* died a very infant. His owne brother * *DRVSVS* hee lost in *Germanie*, whose bodie he conveyed throughout *Rome* going before it all the way on foote.

* at 17. yeeres of age.

* Or great market place.

* *Livia*,
 * *Augusta*:
 * Whom *Tacitus* calleth *reputata* after the surname of her father.

A.V.C. 744.

* Read as it were to run out of his head.

* Or disagree.

* Who died when he was Consul
 A.V.C. 735.

In

8

In his first rudiments and beginnings of civile offices, he pleaded at the barre in defence of *Archelans*; of the *Trallians* and *Theffalians*: all of them in fundrie causes whiles *AVGVSTVS* sat in iudgement to heere their tryall: In the behalfe also of the *Laodiceans*, *Thyaterenes* and *Chians*, who had suffered great losse by Earthquake, and humbly sought for reliefe, he intreated the Senate. As for *FANNIVS CÆPIO*, who together with *VARRO MVRÆNA* had conspired against *AVGVSTVS*, hee arraigned of high treason before the iudges, and caused him to be condemned: And amid these affaires, he *executed a duple charge and function: to witte, the purveyance of: Come and Victualles, whereof there happened to be scarcitie: and the skouringe or riddance of the worke-houfe *prisons: the Lordes and Maisters whereof were become odious, as if they had caught uppe and held to worke not onely waifaring persons, but those also who for feare of taking a militarie oath and to be enrolled, were driven to throwd themselves in such corners and starting holes.

*Whilft hee was Questour, and but 19 yeares olde, **Frausforum* Such as bride wel and houses of correction:

9

A.V.C. 738, *Colonell of a thousand footmen A.V.C. 738,

His first service in the warres was in the expedition of *Cantabria*, what time hee had the place of a * Tribune *Militarie*. Afterwardes, having the conduct of an armie into the East parts, hee restored the kingdome of *ARMENIA* unto *TIGRANES*, and from the Tribunall seat did put the Diademe uppon his head. Hee recovered also those militarie ensignes which the *Parthians* had taken from *M. CRASSVS*. After this hee governed as Regent that part of *Gaul* beyond the *Alpes*, called *Comata*: which was full of troubles, partly by the incursions of barbarous nations, and in parte through the intestine discorde of Princes and Nobles of the Countie. Then, warred hee uppon the *Rhetians* and *Vindelici*, and so forwarde vpon the *Pannonians* and *Germanes* (whom hee vanquished all). In the *Rhetian* and *Vindelike* warres, hee subdued the Nations inhabiting the *Alpes*: in the *Pannonian*, he conquered the *Breuci* and *Dalmatians*. In the *Germane* warre hee brought over into *Gaul* 40000 that yeilded unto him, and placed them neere unto the *Rhene* banke, where they had there habitations assigned. For, which A&S hee entred the Citie of *Rome* both *Ouant* (ryding on horsebacke) and also *Triumphant* mounted uppon a Chariot: being the *first (as some thinke) that was honoured with Triumphant ornaments, a newe kinde of honour and never graunted to any man before: To beare Magistracie hee both beganne betimes, and also ranne through them all in manner joyntly without intermission, namely his *Quæsture*; *Præture* and *Consulate*. After some space betweene hee became *Consul* a seconde time, yea and also received the *Tribunitian* Authoritie for five yeares together:

**Primus*, some read *primus*, and the variationem, before he had ridden *ovant* or triumphed: A.V.C. 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

10

A.V.C. 748.

In this confluence of so many prosperous successes, in the strength also of his yeares and perfect health, hee had a full purpose, sodainly to retire himselfe and remoove out of the way as farre as hee could. Whether it were for the wearinesse hee had of his wife, whome neither hee durst plainly charge or put away, nor was able to endure any longer, or to the ende that by avoyding contempt (a) incident to daily and continuall residence, hee might maintaine and increase his authoritie by absenting himselfe, if at any time the State stood in neede of him, it is uncertaine.

Some

Some are of opinion, that considering *AVGVSTVS* his children were nowe well growne, he of his owne accorde yeilded up unto them the place and possession as it were, of the second *degre, which himselfe had usurped and held a long time; following herein the example of *M. AGRIPPA*, who having preferred *M. MARCELLUS*, to be employed in publike affaires, departed unto *MITYLENE*; least by his presence he might seeme to *hinder them or deprave their proceedings. Which cause even himselfe, but afterwards, alleadged: *Marie*, for the present, pretending the satietie that he had of honorable places, and rest from his travailes, he made suite for licence to depart: neither gave he any care to his owne mother humbly beseeching him to stay; nor to his father in law, who complained also that hee should be forsaken thereby and left desolate in the Senate. Moreover; when they were instant still to holde him backe, hee abstained from all kinde of meate foure dayes together. At length having obtained leave to be gone, he left his wife and sonne behind him at *Rome*, and forthwith went downe to *Ostia*: giving not so much as one word againe to any that accompanied him thither, and kissing very few of them at the parting.

*In administration of the common weale;

*To darken their sight

As he sayled from *Ostia* along the coast of *Campanie*, uppon newes that he heard of *AVGVSTVS* weakenesse, he stayed a while and went not forward: but when a rumor began to be spred of him, (as if he lingred there, waiting some opportunitie of greater hopes,) hee made noe more adoe, but even against winde and wether sayled through & passed over to *Rhodes*: having taken a delight to the pleasant and healthfull situation of that Iland, ever since he arrived there in his returne from *Armenia*. Contenting himselfe here, with a meane and small habitation, with a ferme house likewise by the Cittie side not much larger nor of greater receite. he purposed to lead a verie civill and private life: walking otherwhile in the **Gymnasie* without *lictor or other officer, performing acts and duties in maner one for another with the *Greekes* conversing there. It happened uppon a time, when he disposed of the busineses which hee would dispatch one day, that hee gave it out before hand, *He was desirous to visite all the *sicke in the Cittie*. These words of his were mistaken by those next about him. Whereupon; all the lazars and diseased persons were by commaundement brought into a publike porch or gallerie and placed there in order according to the fundrie sorts of their maladies. At which unexpected sight, being much troubled and perplexed, he wist not for a good while what to do: howbeit he went round about from one to another, excusing himselfe for this that was done even to the meanest, poorest and basest of them all. This onely thing and nothing else beside was noted, wherein he seemed to exercise the power of his Tribunes authoritie. Being daily and continually conversant about the Schooles and Auditories of professors, by occasion that there arose a great braule among the **Sophisters* opposite in arguing cases and declaiming one against other, there chanced to be one who perceiving him coming betweene and inclining to favorize one part above the other; rayled bitterly at him. With drawing himselfe therefore by little and little, and rerying home to his house, he came forth sodainly againe and appeared with his Lictours: where he cured by the voyce of his crier to appeare judicially before his Tribunall, that foule mouthed rayling fellow, and so commanded him to be had away.

11

*Or rublike place of exercises.

*He was then Tribune of the Commons and Consul the second time. **Agros*, some read *agros*, as if he minded to walk the fields.

**Rhetoriam*.

away to prison. After this, he had certaine intelligence given him that Iulia his wife was convict and condemned for her incontinencie and adulteries; also that in his name (by a warrant directed from AUGUSTVS) she had a bill of divorce sent unto her. And albeit, he was glad of these tidings, yet he thought it his part, as much as lay in him, by many letters to reconcile the father unto his daughter: yea and how ever she had deserved badly at his hands, yet to suffer her for to have whatsoever he had at any time given unto her in free gift.

A.V.C. 752

Now, after he had passed through the time of his Tribunes authoritie, and confessed at last, that by this retyring of his out of the way he sought to avoid nought else but the suspicion of Ielousie and emulation with CATVS and LVCIVS: hee made suite, *That seeing he was now secured in this behalfe, and they strengthened enough and able with ease to manage and maintain the second place in government, he might be permitted to returne and see his friends and acquaintance againe, whose presence he missed and longed after.* But hee could not obtaine so much: nay, admonished hee was and warned before hand, to lay a side all regard of his friends and kinsfolke, whom he was so willing to leave and abandon before.

12

Hee abode therefore still at *Rhodes*, even against his will : and hardly by the meanes and intercession of his owne mother wrought thus much, that for to cover his ignominie and shame, he might be absent under this pretence, *as if he were AVGVSTVS his Lieutenant*. And then verily, lived he not onely private to himselfe, but also exposed to daunger, and in great feare of some hard measure: lying close and hidden in the uplandish and inward parts of the lland: and avoyding the offices of them that made saile by those coasts, who had frequented him continually : For as much as no man went into any province that way, as Lord Generall or * Magistrate, but he strucke a side and turned to *Rhodes*. Besides, other causes there were of greater feare and trouble presented unto him. For when as he crossed the seas to *Samos* for to visit *CAIVS*, * his wives sonne, president of the East parts, he perceived him to be more estranged than before time through the slaunders and criminous imputations which *M. LOLLIVS* companion and governour to the faide *CAIVS* had put into his head. He was drawn also into suspition by certaine *CENTVRIONS*, whom his favour had advanced, & who at the day limited in their passport were returned to the camp, *That he had deluered unto many (of them) MANDATES* of an ambiguous & double construction, such as might seeme to sound the mindes of everie one and sollicite them to rebellion. Of which suspition being certified by *AVGVSTVS*, hee never rested to call for, and require to have some one of any degree and order what soever, to observe all his deedes and words.

*As Prætor,
proprætor, præ-
consul, &c:
*The sonne of
his wife Julia
by Agrippa,

✱ Of his friends.

13
*The gowne.

* Pantofles o
corke shoes
after the gre
kush fashion.

He neglected also his wonted exercises of horse and armour: yea and having laid by the *habite of his native Countrie, hee betooke himselfe to a cloke and *slippers. In such a state & condition as this, continued hee almost two yeeres throughout, more dispiſed and hatefull everie day then other: insomuch as the *Meniansians* overthrew his Images and statues: and upon a time, at a certaine feast, where familiar friends were met together (by occasion that mention was made of him,) there was one stood up who promised *CARVS*, That in case he did but command and say the word, he would immediately sayle to Rhodes and fetch

*fetch unto him the head of that exiled person: For so was hee commonly called. And chiefly upon this which was now no bare feare, but plain perill, enforced he was by most earnest prayers not onely of his owne but also of his mother, to require and seeke for to returne. which he obtained at length with the helpe somewhat of good fortune. A V G V S T V S had fully set downe with himselfe to resolve upon nothing as touching that point, but with the wil & good liking of his elder *sonne: now was he, as it happened at that time much offended and displeased with M. L O L L I V S, but to his *father in law (T I B E R I V S) well affected, and easie to be by him intreated. By the permission therfore and good leave of C A I V S called home he was; but with this condition. That he should not meddle one Iote in the affaires of State:*

*Cairns, his nephew or daughter's sonne.

*His mothers husband.

Thus in the 8. yeare after his departure, returned he full of great hopes and nothing doubtfull of future fortunes, which he had conceived as well by strange sights, as also by predictions and prophesies even from his very birth. For L. R. V. I. A. whiles he went with child of him, among many and sundrie experiments which she made, and signes that she observed (and all to know whether she should bring forth a man child or no?) tooke closely an egge from under an hen that was sitting, and kept it warme sometime in her owne, otherwhiles in her womens hands by turnes one after another, so long, untill there was hatched a cock-chicken with a notable combe upon the head. And when he was but a very babe, SCRIBONIVS the Astrologer gave out and warranted great matters of him, and namely, *That he should one day reigne as Monarch, but yet without thereyall * Ensignes.* For as yet, ye must wote, the soveraigne power of the C. E. S. A. R. S. was unknowne. Also, as he entred into his first expedition, and led an armie into Syria, through Macedonia, it chanced that the consecrated Altars of the victorious * Legions in time past at *Philippi* shone out * suddenly of themselves all on a light fire. And soone after, when in his journey towards *Illyricum* he went to the Oracle of *Geryonnere* unto *Padua*, and drew forth his lotte, whereby he was adviced that for counsell and resolution in such particulars as he required after, he should throw golden * dies (a) into the fountaine *Aponus*, it fell out so that the dies thus cast by him shewed the * greatest number: And even at this verie day these dies are seene under the water. Some few dayes likewise before he was sent for home, an *Ægle*, (never seene afore time at *Rhodes*;) perched upon the very top and ridge of his house: and the verie day before he had intelligence given him of his returne, as he was changing his apparell, his shirt was seene on fire. T. H. R. A. S. Y. L. L. V. S. (b) also the Astrologer, whom for his great profession of wisdome & cunning he had taken into his house to beare him company, he made then most triall of; namely, when upon knowing a * ship a farr off, he affirmed, *That joyfull newes was coming in*, whereas at the verie same instant as they walked together T. I. B. E. R. I. V. S. was fully purposed to have turned him headlong downe into the sea, as being a false prophet, (for that things fell out untowardly and contrarie to his former predictions & c. one besides; who chaunced for the most part to bee privie unto him of all his secrets.

d I4
A.V.C. 755.

* i. The Dis-
cuss.

*Vander Lijns
(as for Angu-
stus.

* *Sabitis ignibus*
or *Subdultis ignibus*, s. When
the fire was ta-
ken from them
* Or Cockals.

² Venus or Court,
which is the
best chance:

* which brought
the messenger
of his return.

* There to cō-
mence & shewe
the first proce
of pleading
a Plea

Which was in
the streets
Carina.
Or *Exposition*
in other streets
a *Fame*.

15 Being returned to *Rome*, and having brought his sonne *DIVVS* solemnly into the * *Forum*, he remooved immediatly out of *Carina* and the house * of *POMPEIUS* unto * *Esquilis*, and the Hort-yards of *MÆCENAS*: where he gave himselfe

* Of 3 yeares
rather by Pel-
leus and Dio-
and as him selfe
hath written in
Augustus.
* One that was
sui iuris.
* Falling unto
him by the Te-
staments of his
friends.
* A stocke gi-
ven & granted
unto one by
him under
whose tuition
he is, be hee
father or mai-
ster.
A.V.C. 757.
* Germanic
* Out of Ger-
manie.
A.V.C. 760.

himselfe wholly to quietnesse performing priuate duties onely and not med-
ling at all in publike offices. After that C A T U S and L V C I V S were dead with in
the compasse of * 3. yeares, he together with their brother M. A G R I P P A was
adopted by A V G V S T U S, but compelled first himselfe to adopt G E R M A N I C U S
his brothers sonne. Neither did he ought afterwards as an * housholder, nor
retained one jot of that right which he had forgon by his adoption. For, he
gave no donations, he manumised no person: nor yet made benefite of any
inheritance or legacies otherwise then in the nature of * P e c u l u m: and so he
did put them downe in his booke of receipts. But from that time forward was
there nothing pretermitted for the augmentation of his state and Maiestie: and
much more after that A G R I P P A once was in disfavour and sent away: wher-
by the world tooke knowledge for certaine, that the hope of succession rested
onely in him.

16. Nowe was the Tribunitian Authoritie conferred a second time upon
him, and that for the terme of 5. yeeres; the honorable charge and commissi-
on likewise, for to pacifie the State of *Germanie* was assigned unto him: and
the *Parthian* Embassadours, after they had declared their message at *Rome* un-
to A V G V S T U S, were commanded to repaire unto him also * into his province:
But upon the newes that I L L Y R I C U M revolted, he remooved from * thence
to the charge of a new warre, which, being of all foraine warres the most dan-
gerous since those with the *Carthaginians*, he menaged with the power of 15:
Legions, & equal forces of *Auxiliaries*, for the space of 3. yeares in great extre-
mitie of all things, but especially in exceeding scarcetie of Corne. And not-
withstanding that he was oftentimes revoked from this service, yet persisted he
unto the end, fearing least the enemy so neere a neighbour and so puissant with
all, should make head and come upon them, if they first did quit the place and
retire. And verily, passing well paid and rewarded was hee for this perseve-
rance of his; as having thereby fully subdued and brought under his subiection
all I L L Y R I C U M, as farre as reacheth and spreadeth betwene *Italie*, the king-
dome of *Noricum*, *Thracia*, and *Macedonie*: betwene the river *Danubius* also and
the gulfes of the *Adriaticke* sea.

A.V.C. 762.

17

Which glorious exploit of his was yet more amplified and encreased by the
opportunitie of an occurrent that fell betweene. For, about the verie same
time Q V I N T I L I V S V A R V S together with 3. Legions was overthrowne and
defaied in *Germanie*: and no man made any doubt, but that the *Germanes* fol-
lowing the traine of this their victorie, would have ioyned with P A N N O N I A
in case I L L Y R I C U M had not beene subdued before. For these his noble Acts, a
triumph with many greathonours was decreed for him: Some also delivered
their sentence, that he should be furnamed P A N N O N I C U S; others would have
had the addition of *Invincible*: and some againe of P I V S, in his Style; But as
touching any such surname, A V G V S T U S interposed his negative voyce, pro-
mising and undertaking in his behalfe, that he should rest contented with * that,
which he was to assume after his death: As for the Triumph, himselfe did put
it off unto a further day, by occasion that the whole * state, sorrowed for the o-
verthrow and losse above saide of V A R V S: Nevertheless, he entred the City
in his rich Prætecta or imbrodred purple Robe, with a chaplet of lawrell upon
his head: and so mounted up to the Tribunall erected for him in the (4) *Septis*,
whiles

* i. Augustus.

* Of Rome

whiles the Senate stode to give attendance: and there, together with A u-
g u s t u s, in the mids betwene the two Consuls hee tooke his place and sate
downe. From whence, after he had saluted the people, hee was honourably
conducted round about all the Temples.

18

The next yeere following, being returned into *Germanie*, when hee percei-
ved that the *Varian* defeature aforesaid hapned through the rashnesse and neg-
ligence of the Generali, he did nothing at all without the opinion of his Coun-
sell of warre. And whereas hee had used also before, to stand upon his owne
bothom, and to rest in his selfe-iudgement alone; then, contrary to his man-
ner hee conferred with many as touching the menagement of the warre: yea,
and he shewed more care and precilensse in every point than his wont was
afore-time. Being about to passe over the Rhene, all his provision of victuals
strictly reduced to a certaine rate and stint, hee would not send over the water
before he had considered (standing upon the very banke of the river) the lode
of every Waggon, that no cariages might bee * discharged or unloaden, but
such as were by him allowed and thought necessary. When hee was once on
the other side of *Rhene*, this course and order of life he held: Namely to sit up-
pon a bare banke of turfe, and so to eate his meate: to lie abroad all night, and
take his rest oftentimes without tent: to deliver all directions for the day follo-
wing, as also what suddaine service or businesse was to bee enioyned, by wri-
ting; with this caveat and admonition, *That whereof any man doubted, hee
should repaire unto him at all houres of the night, and seeke for no other expositour but
himselfe.*

* Deponeretur,
vel deponeretur
in r. i. transpo-
sed and carried
over.

Martiall discipline he required most sharply, bringing againe into ure and
execution certaine kindes of chastisements and ignominious disgraces which
had beene used in auncient times: in so much, as he branded with open shame
the Lieutenant of a Legion, for sending a few Souldiours with his owne freed-
man ouer the other side of the river a hunting. As for battailes, albeit hee did
put as little as might be upon the hazard of Fortune and chaunce: yet entred
he upon them with much more resolution, so often as whiles hee watched or
studied by a candle, the light suddainly fell downe and went out, when no bo-
dy forced it: trusting confidently (as hee said) upon this signe, which both hee
and all his Auncestors had tried and found to be infallible during all their war-
like conducts and regiments. But howsoever hee sped well and had good suc-
cesse in this Province, he escaped very faire that hee had not beene killed by a
certaine * Rhutene (4), who being among those that were next about his per-
son, and detected by his timorous gesture, was apprehended, and with torture
forced to confesse his prepened designment.

19

* A Rhutens
quadam.

20

Being after two yeeres returned out of *Germanie* to *Rome*, hee rode in that
triumph which he had deferred, accompanied with his Lieutenants, for whom
he had obtained (4) triumphall Ornaments. And ere hee turned into the Capi-
toll hee alighted from his Chariot, and bowed himselfe to the knees of his *
Father, sitting then before him as President. A Capitaine and Command-
er of P A N N O N I A named B A T O N, hee rewarded first, with exceeding
great Presents, and then remooved him to *Ravenna*, in thankfull requital

* Augustus
Cæsar.

K

for

for suffering him upon a time, when with his Armie hee was enclosed within the streights, to passe forward and escape. After this, hee bestowed upon the people (of Rome) a solemne dinner, where they sate at a thousand tables: and gave besides to them three thousand Sesterces a peece for a Congiarie. Hee dedicated also the temple of Concord: likewise that of Pollux and Castor in his owne name & his brothers, all out of the spoile woone from the enemies.

21
A.V.C. 766. And not long after, when by vertue of an Act preferred by the Consuls, That hee should administer the Provinces jointly with Augustus: and likewise hold the generall review and muster of the people, hee had performed the same and finished it with a solemne purging called *Lustrum*, hee tooke his journey into *Illyricum*. And being incontinently called backe out of the very way, he came and found Augustus dangerously sicke, howbeit yet breathing and alive: with whom he continued in secret talke, one whole day. I wote well, it is commonly received and beleevd, that when Tiberius after private conference was gone forth, these words of Augustus were over heard by the Chamberlaines. *Miserum populum Romanum qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit. O unbaptie people of Rome, that shall be under such a slow (a) paire of chawes.* Neither am I ignorant of this also, that some have written and reported of Augustus, How openly and in plaine termes without dissimuling, hee disliked his churlish behaviour and harshnesse of manners so much, as divers times being in pleasant discourse and mery talke, he would breake off when Tiberius came in place: Howbeit, overcome by his wives intreaty and earnest praier he refused not to adopt him; or rather was induced so to doe, upon an ambitious humor and conceite of his owne, that leaving such a succellour, himselfe might another day be more missed and wished for againe. Yet cannot I be perswaded otherwise, but to thinke, that Augustus a right circumspect, considerate and prudent Prince did nothing, especially in so weighty a businesse, hand over head and without advise: but having duly weighed the vices and vertues of Tiberius, esteemed his vertues of more worth: and namely seeing that both he sware solemnly in a generall assembly of the people, That hee adopted him for the (b) good of the Common-weale: and also commendeth him in certaine Epistles for a most expert and martiall warriour, yea the onely Defender and Protectour of the people of Rome. Out of which, I have thought good to quote some places heere and there for example. Farewell most sweet Tiberius, and God blesse your conduct and proceeding, warring as you doe for mee and the *Muses*. Againe, O most pleasant, and (as I desire to bee happy) right valiant man, and accomplished Captaine, with all perfectiōs, adieu. Also, As touching the order and manner of your Sommer-campe, for mine owne part verily, my Tiberius, I am of this minde, That considering so many difficulties and distresses: in regard also of so great sloath and cowardise of Souldiours, no man in the world could performe the service better than you have done. And even they of your traine, who were with you doe all confesse, that this verse may be applied fitly unto you.

(c) *Vnus homo nobis vigilando resistit rem.*

One man alone by watchfull sight

Our tottering state hath set upright.

And whether, quoth he, there fall out any occurrent to be considered upon with more care and diligence, or whether I bee displeased and angry at any thing, I have a great

Epithet used
of Tiberius by
his friends.

great misse, I assure you, of my Tiberius: and evermore that verse of Homer cometh into my remembrance:

(d) Τὸτ' ὁ δὲ Τροίην' οἶον ἐκ Τυφάδος ἀβυσσοῦ,
ἀμφὶ νηυσὶ σιέει, ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ πόλει:

* *Ilad. ii.*

Whiles this man beares me company (so well he doth fore-see)

We may ev'n out of flaming fire returne, both I and hee.

When I beare say and read, that you are weakened and growne leane with incessant and continuall labour, God confound me, if my body doe not quake and tremble. I pray you therefore spare your selfe: least if it come to our eares, that you are sicke, both I and your mother also die for sorrow, and the people of Rome beside, hazard the Empire. It makes no matter, whether I be in health or no: * if you be not well; The Gods I beseech, to preserve you for us and vouchsafe your health both now and ever, unlesse they hate the people of Rome to death.

The death of Augustus hee divulged not abroad, before that young Agrippa was slaine. This Agrippa was killed by a militarie * Tribune, set and appointed to guard him, so soone as hee had read the writ*, whereby hee was commaunded to doe the deede. This writ, whether Augustus left behind him when hee died, thereby to take away all matter that might minister tumult after his death: or whether Livia in the name of Augustus endited it, and that with the privy of Tiberius, or without his knowledge, it resteth doubtfull. Certaine it is, that when the saide Tribune brought him word, that the thing was dispatched which he had commaunded, he made answer, That he gave no such commaundement, and added moreover, That he should answer it before the Senate: Declining no doubt the envie and hard conceit of men for the present: for within a while after he buried the matter in silence.

Having nowe assembled the Senate by vertue and authority (a) of his Tribuneship, and begun to make a * speech unto them by way of * Consolation: all on a suddaine, as unable to maister his griefe, he fell into a fit of sighing and groaning. Yea he wished, That not onely his voice, but his vitall breath also might faile him: and therewith gave the booke unto his sonne Drusus to read it out. After this, when the last will or testament of Augustus was brought in, and none of the witnesses admitted to come in place, but those onely who were of Senatours degree, the rest standing without the Curia & there acknowledging their hands and seales, hee caused it to be read and pronounced by his freedman. The will began in this manner. For as much as sinister fortune hath bereft me of Caius and Lucius, my sonnes, I will that Tiberius Cæsar be mine heire, in the one moiety and a sixth part. By which very beginning, their suspicion was augmented who thought thus, that seeing he forbore not after this sort to make his preface, hee ordained Tiberius to be his succellour upon necessity, rather than any iudgement and discretion.

Albeit hee made no doubt to enter upon his imperiall government immediately and to menage the same, and that by taking unto him a strong guard of Souldiours about his person, that is to say maine force & the very forme of absolute rule & dominion: yet notwithstanding, he refused it a long time: & putting on a most impudent & shamelesse mind, one while he seemed to rebuke his friends that encouraged him thereto, as those who knew not, what a monstrous and untamed beast an Empire was: and otherwhiles with ambiguous answers

K 2

and

* Sic non valis: or, si tu modo valebis. So you cannot be well.

22

* Colonels
* Cr. warrant

23

* Which hee had penned.
* For the death of Agrippa.

* That is to say, in 8 parts of twelve, or a third part

24

29
* The Sena-
tours.

And these things were so much the more remarqueable in him, for that in speaking to them * either one by one severally, or to all at once in generally, yea and in reverencing them, himselfe exceeded in a manner the measure of all humanity. When he dissented one day in opinion from Q. HATERIVS in the Senate: *Pardon mee, I beseech you*, quoth hee, *if I as a Senatour shall speake ought over-frankly against you*. and then directing his speech unto the whole house. *Both now*, quoth hee, *and many times else, my Lords, this hath bene my saying, That a good and gracious Prince, whom yee have invested in so great and so absolute a power, ought to serve the Senate and all the Citizens generally: often times also, yea and for the most part, every of them particularly. Neither repent I that I have so said, for I have ever found you, and doe so still to be my good, my gracious and favourable Lords.*

30
* Or wing
* Whereas by
course he should
have had his
triall before
the Lord Ge-
neral, or prince
himselfe.

Furthermore, he brought in a certaine shew of the common Libertie, by preserving entier for the Senate and Magistrates, both their auncient maiestie and also their authority: neither was there any matter so small or so great, pertaining to publique or private affaires, but proposed it was at the Counsell-table before the Senatours: as namely, about Tributes, Customes and Renewes of the State: of Monopolies: of building and repairing any publique works: of enrolling or discharging Souldiours: of setting downe the number as well of Legions as of auxiliarie forces: Finally, who should have their place of command and government continued by a new commission: or take the charge of extraordinary warres? as also what, in what forme they thought it good to write againe, & to answer letters sent by Kings: A certaine Captaine over a * cornet of horse-men, being accused for an outrage and for robberie, he compelled to make his answer before the * Senate. Hee never entred the *Curia* but alone. And being one time brought in sick within his litter, (a) he caused a l his traine and company to void.

31

* Liberam legationem.
* Or Trebians

That some Decrees were enacted against his minde and sentence, hee never once complained, nor found himselfe grieved. Notwithstanding hee opined, that Magistrates appointed to any charge, ought not to bee absent; to the end that by their presence they might the better intend their function and calling: yet one Pretour cleerly obtained the favour of a free * (a) embassage. Again, when he advised in the * *Otriculunes* behalfe a graunt, that they might bestowe the money in paying a cawse or high-way, which was by legacie given to the building of a new Theater: hee could not prevaile but that the will of the Testator should stand and be fulfilled. When it fortun'd upon a time that an Act of the Senate should passe by going to a side, and himselfe went over to the other part where the fewer in number were, there was not one that followed him. Other matters also were handled and debated by the Magistrates and the ordinarie course of lawe, and not otherwise: Wherein the Consuls, bare so great sway and authority, that certaine Embassadors out of *Africk* repaired unto them for dispatch, as complaining that they were put-off and delayed by CÆSAR unto whom they had bene sent. And no mervail: For evident it was, that himselfe also would arise up unto the saide Consuls and give them the way.

32

Hee rebuked Generalls of Armies even such as had bene Consuls for not writing

writing unto the Senate of their warre exploites: also for consulting with him and asking his advise as touching the graunt of * militarie giftes, as if it lay not in their owne power to give and dispose all. Hee commended a Pretour for bringing uppe againe the auncient custome, in the entraunce of his government, to make an honourable mention and rehearsal of his Ancestours before a frequent assembly of the people. The funerall obsequies of certaine Noble personages, he accompanied with the common multitude to the very (a) fire. The like moderation he shewed in meaner persons and matters both when hee had called forth unto him the Magistrates of the *Rhodians*, for delivering unto him publike letters from the State without the due (b) subscription, he gave them not so much as one hard worde but onely commanded them to subscribe and sent them away. DIOGENES the professed *Grammatian*, who was wont to * dispute and discourse at *Rhodes* every * Sabbath, had put him backe and would not admit him into his schoole comming of purpose extraordinarily to here him, but by his page posted him of untill the 7. day. Nowe when the same DIOGENES stood waiting before his gate at *Rome* to doe his dutie and to salute him, hee quit him no otherwise than thus, namely by warning him to repaire thither againe 7. yeares after: when the presidents and governours abroad gave him counsell to burden the provinces with heavie tributes and taxes he wrote backe unto them. *That it was the part of a good shepheard to sheare his sheepe and not to flay them:*

* As collars,
Chaines,
spears, chap-
lets &c.

* or read a
lecture.
* once a weeke
or every 7. day

By little and little he put himselfe forth and shewed his princely maiesty; how ever for a long time, in some variety, yet for the most part, rather mild and gracious than otherwise, and more inclined to the good of the common wealth: and at the first, thus far forth onely interposed he his absolute power & inhibition, *That nothing should be done * unjustly*. Therefore he both repealed certaine constitutions of the Senate, & also very often, when the Magistrates were sitting judicially upon the Bench, to decide matters, he would offer himselfe to joyne as it were in counsell, and to be assistant with them, or else just over against them in the fore part (of the Tribunal.) And if the rumour went that any defendant were like by favour to escape cleere; all on a sodaine, he would be in place, and either on the (a) ground below, or else from the Tribunal seat of the L. chiefe lustice, put the other Iudges and lurie in mind of the lawes, of their conscience and religion, and of the crime whereupon they sat. Also if any thing were amisse and faultie in the publike ordinances and manners of the Citie, for let by occasion of idlenesse or taken up through evill custome, he undertooke to reforme the same.

* Beside the
rule of law.

He abridged and restrained the expenses of Stage playes and * games exhibited unto the people, by cutting short the wages paid to Actours upon the stage, and reducing the couples of sword fencers to a certaine number. That *Corinthian* vessels & manufactures grew to an exceeding high rate, & that three barbels were sold for 30000. sesterces, he grievously complained, and gave his opinion, that there should be a gage set, and a mediocritie kept in household furniture: as also that the price of victuals in open market should be ordered yearly at the discretion of the Senate, with a charge given unto the *Aediles* for to inhibit victualling houses, tavernes, and thus farre forth, as they should not suffer any pastry-workes (a) to be set out to sale: And to the end, that by his owne ex-

34
* Of sword-
fencers.

ample also, he might put forward the publike frugalitie, himselfe at his solemne and festivall suppers caused oftentimes to be served vp to the bord, Viands dressed the day before and those halfe eaten already, saying. *That the side of a wild Bore had in it all the same that the whole.* He forbade expressly by an Edict, the usuall and daily kisses commonly given and taken: likewise the inter-course of new yeares gifts sent to and fro: Namely, that it should not continue after the Calends of Ianuarie. He had wont to bestow for his part a new yeares gift foure fold worth that which he received, and to give the same with his owne hand: but being offended that a whole moneth together hee was in his other affaires troubled with such as had not beene with him, nor felt his liberalitie upon the verie feast, hee never gave any againe after the faide day.

35

*According to the maner and custome of their ancestours.

*That married her daughter.

*In the See of Adueris.

*As well Senators as gentlemen.

*In sword-fight: the sharpe.

*By committing to lewd parts.

*Hee deprived him from his Senatours place.

*Without the Citie.

*The morrow: his levitic was notable as well in making choise to slightly as in casting her of so quickly, making but a game of marriage.

*Romaine Citizens.

*Neere unto the walls thereof as Plinie writeth.

*Lib. 4. cap. 17.

*Nat. Hist.

Wives of leawd and dishonest life, ifther wanted accusers to call them publicly into question, his advise and sentence was, that their next kinsfolke should, **more maiorum* agree together in common, for to chastice and punish. He dispensed with a gentleman of *Rome* for his oath (who had sworne before, *never to divorce his wife*) and gave him leave to put her away being taken in adulterie with her *sonne in law. Certaine women infamous for whoredome and filthinesse, began to professe before the *Aediles* bawderie: to the ende, that having by this base trade and occupation lost the right priviledge and dignitie of matrones, they might delude the *lawes (a) and avoide the penalties thereof. Semblably, out of the youth of both *degrees, the leawdest spend-thrifts of all other, because they would not be liable to an Act of the Senate in that behalfe, for performing their parts in acting upon the stage, or their devoir *within the lists, wilfully underwent the ignominious note of infamie. But, as well them, as those light women aforesaid he banished all: that none ever after should by such delusion of the law seeke evasion. He tooke from a *Senatour his robe, after he knew once, that iust before the Calends of (b) Iulie hee remooved out of his dwelling house into certaine *Hortyardes and gardens, to the end that when the said day was past, he might take his house againe within the Citie at a lower rent. Another he deprived of his Questureship for that having (as it were) by lotterie, chosen and married a wife the one day, he dismissed her on *another.

36 All foraine ceremonies in Religion: the *Aegyptian* also and the *Jewish* rites he prohibited: compelling *those who were given to that Superstition, for to burne all their religious vestiments: the instruments likewise & furniture whatsoever thereto belonging. The serviceable youth of the *Jews*, under colour of a militarie oth he sent into sundrie provinces which were in a pestilent (a) and unholie some aire above others: the rest of that Nation or such as were addicted to the like religiō, he banished out of *Rome*, upon paine of perpetuall bondage if they obeyed not. He expelled also Astrologers: but upon their earnest intreatie and promise to give over the practise of that Art, he permitted them there to remaine.

37 Aspeciall care he had to keepe the peace, and to preserve the state frō outrages & robberies, as also from licentious mutinies & seditions. The set guards and garisons of soldiers, hee disposed thicker than the wonted manner was, throughout all Italie. Hee ordained a standing *Campe at *Rome*, wherein the

the *Prætorian* Cohorts wandering up and downe before that time & dispersed in diverse Innes and *Hospitries*, might be received. All Insurrections of the people he punished most sharply: hee tooke likewise much paines to prevent such commotions. There happened upon some discord and variance to be a murder committed in the *Theatre*: But the principal heads of the factiō, as also the actors themselves for whose sake the quarrel and fray began, he exiled: neither could he ever be brought for any prayer and intreatie of the people to revoke and restore them. When the Commons of *Pollentia* would not suffer the dead corps of a certaine principall *Centurian* to be carried with funerall obsequies out of their market place, before they had forcibly extorted out of his heires hands a peece of money to the setting out of a game of Fencers with unrebrated swords, he tooke one Cohort from *Rome*, and another out of K. **COTIVS* Kingdome, dissimuling the cause of this journey, and sodainly discovering their armes and weapons which they closely carried, and giving alarum with sound of trum-pets, all at once he put them into the Towne with banner displayed at sundrie gates and so cast into perpetuall prison the greater part of the Commons and **Decurions*. The priviledge and custome of Sanctuaries, where ever they were, he abolished. The *Cyzicenes* who had committed some notorious outrage & violence upon *Romaine* Citizens, he deprived generally of their freedom, which in the warre against *MITHRIDATES* they had by their good service gotten. The rebellions of enemies he repressed: not undertaking therefore, any expedition afterwards himselfe, but by his lieutenant onely: and not by them verily without lingring delayes, and driven thereto of necessitie. Kings: that rebelliously tooke armes, or were suspected to breake out, hee kept downe with threats rather and complaints, than otherwise by force and open hostilitie. Some of them, whome hee had trained out of their owne Realmes unto him with faire words and large promises hee never sent home againe: as by name *MARABODUUS* the *Germane*, *THRASYPOLIS* a *Thracian*: and *ARCHYLAVS* the *Cappadocian*, whose kingdome also he reduced into the forme of a province.

For two yeares together after he came unto the Empire, hee never set foote once out of *Rome* gates. And the time ensuing, hee absented not himselfe in no place unlesse it were in townes neere adioyning, or as farre as *Antium* when he travailed farthest: and that was verie seldome and for a few dayes: albeit he promised and pronounced openly oftentimes that hee would visite the provinces also and armies abroad: yea and everie yeare almost hee made preparation for a journey, taking up all the waines and wagons that were to be gotten, and laying provision of Corne and victuals in all the good Burroughes & Colonies by the way, yea and at the last suffered vowes to be made for his going forth and returne home: in so much as commonly by way of a jest and byworde, hee was called (a) *CALLIPPIDIS*, who in a Greeke proverbe is noted to bee alwaies running, and yet never gaineth ground one cubit forward.

But being bereft of both his sonnes, of which **GERMANICVS* died in *Syria*, and **DRVSVS* at *Rome*, he withdrew himselfe into *Campania*, as to a retiring place: and all men well neere, were fully perswaded and spake it as constantly, that he would never returne but die soone after, Both which had like

*A petie king about the Alpes.

*Senatours, or Aldermen.

38

39

*Adopted.
*Naturall.
A.V.C. 779.

like indeede to have come to passe. For, in truth he never came againe to *Rome*: and within some few dayes, neere unto *Tarracina*, in a certaine part of his manour house (built especially for his owne lodging) and called *Spelanca*, as hee sat there at supper, a number of huge stones from above chaunced to fall down: whereby many of his guesstes at the Table and servitours there waitinge were crushed and squized to death; but hee himselfe beyonde all hope escaped,

40 Having made his progresse over *Campania*, when he had dedicated a Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of *AVGVSTVS* at *Nola*, which hee pretended to have bene the motive of his journey, he betooke himselfe to *Caprea*: delighted especially with that Iland because there was but one way of access unto it and the same by a small shore and landing place: as being otherwise enclosed round about, partly with craggy rockes & steepe cliffes of an exceeding height, and in part with the deepe sea. But soone after, when the people called him home, and uncessantly besought him to returne, by occasion of an unhappie & heavy accident, wherby at *Filix* xx. * thousand folke and more, at a solemn fight of sword players perished by fall of an Amphitheater, he passed over into the maine and firme land, permitting all men to come unto him: the rather, for that when he first set forth and went out of *Rome*, he had given streight commandement by an Edict that no man should trouble him, and all the way voided as many as were comming towards him.

*Strangers that
confessed their
to see the
showes.

41 Being retired againe into the said Ile, he cast aside all care verily of Common weale; so farre forth as never after he did so much as repaire and make up the broken decuries of horse men: Hee chaunged no militarie Tribunes nor Captaines: no nor any presidents and Governours of Provinces. He held *Spaine* and *Syria* both, for certaine yeares, without Consulare Lieutenantes: hee neglected *Armenia* and suffered it to bee overrunne and possessed by the *Parthians*: *Mesia* to be waited and spoyled by the *Dakes* and *Sarmatians*, as also *Gaul* by the *Germanes*, to the great shame and no lesse daunger of the whole Empire.

42 To proceede, having now gotten the libertie of this secret place, and being as one would say remooved from the eyes of people: at length hee peured forth and shewed at once all those vices which with much ado for a longe time he had cloked and dissimuled. Of which I will particularize and make relation from the very beginning. In the Campe when hee was but a newe and untrained souldier, for his excessiue greedinesse of wine bibbing, hee was for (a) *TIBERIVS* named *BIBERIVS*, for *CLAVDIVS*, *CALDIVS*: for *NERO*, *MERO*: After being Emperour, even at the very time when hee was busie in reforming the publike manners and misdemeanour (of the Cittie) he spent with *POMPONIUS FLACCVS* and *L. PISO* one whole night and two dayes in *gluttonie and drunkenesse, unto the former of these twaine he presently gave the government of the province *Syria*: upon the other hee conferred the Provostship of *Rome*, professing even in all his letters and writings; *That they were most pleasant companions and friends at all affaires*. To **SEX* *CLAVDIVS* a *Senex* fornicatour and prodigal dingthrift, who had in times past been by *AVGVSTVS* put to ignominie and shame, yea and by himselfe some fewe dayes before rebuked before the Senate, he sent word, that hee would take a supper

*In eating and
drinking.

*Or *Seftius*
Galus.

with

with him: upon this condition, *that he altered nothing, nor left ought out of his ordinarie and customed manner*: and namely, *that wenches all naked should serve at the Table*. He preferred one to be a competitor for the Questorship, who was a most base and obscure person, before others that were right noble gentlemen: onely for carousing and drinking up at a banquet, a whole (b) *Amphor* of wine when he *dranke unto him. Vnto *ASELLIVS SABINVS* he gave 200000. Sesterces for a dialogue of his making, in which he brought in a combat or disputation, betweene the *Musbroome*, the (c) *Fiscuda* the *Oyster* and the (d) *Tbrass*. To conclude, he instituted a new office, forsooth, * *voluptatibus*, wherein he placed *PRIUS* a gentleman of *Rome*, and one who had bene Censor.

*Or rendered
it unto him.

*For the devis-
ing of newe
pleasures &c.

But during the time of his private abode in *Caprea*, he devised a roome with seates and benches in it, even a place of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. To furnish it there were sought out and gathered from all parts, a number of youngs drabbes and stale Catamites, sorted together: such also as invented monstrous kinds of libidinous filthinesse, whom he termed *Spintria*: who being in three ranks or rews linked together should abuse and pollute one anothers bodie before his face: that by the verie sight of them he might stirre up his owne cold courage and fainting lust. Hee had bed chambers besides, in many places, which he adorned with tables and petie puppets: representing in the one sort, most lascivious pictures, and in the other as wanton shapes and figures. He stored them likewise with the bookes of *Elephantis*: that none might be to seeke for a patterne of the semblable forme and fashion, in that beastly businesse performed in everie kind. He devised in the woods also and groves here and there, certaine places for lecherie and venereous Acts: wherein he had within caves and holow rockes youthes of both sexes standing at recit readie prostitute, in habit of *Pansker* and *Nymphes*; In so much as now men in open place, abusing the vulgar name of the Iland, termed him usually, * *Caprimus*.

43

He incurred yet the infamie of greater and more shamefull filthinesse, such as may not well be named or heard, and much lesse beleaved: to wit, that hee should traine up and teach fine boyes the tenderest and daintiest that might be had (whom he called his little fishes) to converse and play betweene his thighes as he was swimming, and pretily with tongue and teeth seeme to make unto his secret parts, and there to nibble: VWhom likewise, as babes of good growth and strength, howbeit as yet not weaned, he should set unto his privie member as unto the nipple of a breast, to sucke. And verily, both by nature and for his yeares, more prone he was and given to lust in this * kind. Therefore, where- as a certaine painted table of *PARRASIVS* making, (in which *ATALANTA* yeldeth her mouth unto *MELEAGER* in that beaflinesse) was given unto him as a legacie: upon condition, that if he were offended with the argument or matter represented therein, he might in lieu thereof receive a millian of Sesterces, hee not onely preferred the saide picture before such a summe of monie, but also dedicated it in his owne bed-chamber. It is reported besides, that being at sacrifice upon a time, he casting a fansie to the beautifull and well favoured face of a youth and servitour as he carried before him the * Censer, could not containe, but immediatly and before the complements of sacrifice were

*Or *Caprimus*
or *Caprimus*.

44

**Terminus*.

*Or *incent*
Pan.

well

well and fully performed, even there and then, take him a side out of the place and so abuse his bodie: and together with him a brother of his, the minstrel: yea and soone after, for that they twitted and upbraided one another for this abominable act, he brake their legges both.

45

Moreover, in what fort he was wont to offer abuse unto the very heads of women, and those nobly borne and of good reputation, appeared most evidently by the wofull end of one dame named MALLONIA. For when shee was by force brought unto his bed, and most resolutely to die for it, refused to suffer any more, than naturally a woman was to suffer: hee suborned certaine promoters falsly to accuse her: and evermore as she pleaded in her owne defence asked her still, *whether shee repented not yet of her Obstinacie?* which hee followed so long, untill at length shee left the Court, made hast home to her house, and there ranne her selfe through with a sword: after shee had openly and aloud reproched the shaghaired and rammysh old churle with his filthy & beastly mouth. Whereupon in a by-enterlude called, *Atellanicum Exodium*, this infamous and shamefull Note, received with exceeding great accorde, was rife and currant abroad in everie mans mouth, *That the olde bucke-goat was licking the nature of the does (or females.)*

*Or dagger.

*Or shape, as the kind of such beasts to do,

46

Being a very niggard of his purse, and one that would part with nothing, he never maintained those of his traine in all his journies and expeditions with any wages or set salaries, but found their meate and victuals onely: yet must I needes say, that once out of his father in lawes Indulgence and bounty, he bestowed upon them a peece of liberalitie: when having raunged them according to the worthinesse of everie one into three ranks, he dealt among those of the first 600000. sesterces: of the second 400000: of the third 200000: And the same called he the *companie, not of his friends but *Gratorū. of his thankfull favourites.

*In monie.

*Or ranke.
*Somereade
Grecorum, of
Greekes by
way of contempt

47

*At Rome.

All the whiles he was Emperour, neither built he any stately workes: (For the verie temple of AUGUSTVS, and the reedification of POMPEIUS Theatre which onely and none else he had undertaken, after so many yeares he left unfinished) nor exhibited so much as one solemne shew unto the people: and at those which were by any other set out, he was very seldome present: and all for feare least some thing should be demanded at his hands: & namely after that he was compelled once to manumise the Comedian *Actius. Having releevd the want and povertie of some Senatours, because he would not helpe more of them, he denied to succour any other than those, who alledged before the Senate good and just causes of their necessities. By which deede of his he frightened the most part upon a modestie and bashfulnesse in them: & among the rest, one ORTALVS, the nephew of Q. HORTENSIVS the professed Oratour, who being of a very meane estate had begotten foure children, by the meanes *and perswasion of AUGUSTVS.

*An Actor
in a Comedie,*He had married a young
wife upon hope
of maintenance
by vertue of
the lawes Pabia
Poppæ, and
Iulia.

48 As touching his publike munificence, he never shewed it but twice: once, when he purposed and published a free lene for 3. yeares of an hundred millions of Sesterces: & againe, when unto certaine Land-lords of faire houses and tenements, which situate upon mount Calvus, were consumed with fire, he restored the full price and worth of them. One of these Boones he was forced to grant, by reason that the people in great want of monie called earnestly for

for his helpe: what time as by vertue of an Act of Senate hee had ordained, That Usurers should lay out two (third) parts of their *Stock in lands, tenements and appurtenances immoveable: the Debtours likewise make present payment of two parts of their debts, and yet the thing *was not done and dispatched accordingly: The other, for to mitigate the greivousnesse of those *heavie times. Howbeit this (latest) beneficence of his he so highly prized, that he commaunded the name of Mount Calvus to be changed and called AUGUSTUS. The Legacies given by AUGUSTUS in his last will unto the Souldiours being once *published, he never after bestowed any Largeesse upon them: saving that among those of the *Prætorium hee dealt one thousand Deniers a peece: in & to the Legions in Syria certaine gifts for that they alone among all their Ensignes in the field honoured no *image at all of SEIANUS. Moreover, he made very seldome any *discharges of olde Souldiours: as expecting upon age their death, and by death gaping for some gaine and vantage. Neither succored he the very Provinces with his bountifull hand, except it were Asia, by occasion that certaine Cities *therein were by earthquake overthrowne.

*Or patrimo-

*That thereby
their money
might come
abroad.

*And his paid.

*For then it
was that xx

thousand were

killed at Fide-

ney by the fall

of a Theater.

*Or Guard.

*As of their

Generall

*With allow-

ance of lands,

fees or yearly

P. offices for

their service,

*In number 12

P. indub. resp.

84. Esch. Chuo.

m. 13.

*Her husband

*And therefore

he hoped to be

his heire:

*more than by

law they might

49 Afterwards, and in proesse of time he gave his mind wholly even to rapine and plaine pillage. It is for certaine knowne, That C. N. LENTULUS the Augur, a man of exceeding great wealth, for very feare & anguish of mind was by him driven to a loathing and wearinesse of his owne life: and at his death to make no other heire but himselfe: That dame LEPIDA likewise, a right noble Lady was condemned by him, to gratifie *QUIRINUS, one that had beene Consul, but passing (4) rich and *childlesse withall: who having before time put her away beeing his wedded wife, twenty yeeres after called her iudicially into question, and laid to her charge, that long agoe she had bought and provided poison for to take away his life. Besides, as well knowne it is, that certaine Princes and Potentates of Gaul, Spaine, Syria and Greece, forfeited their estates upon so slight a slander and impudent imputation, that against some of them nought else was objected but this, That they had part of their substance and wealth *lying in money: yea and that many Cities and private persons lost their auncient immunities and priviledges, as also their right in mines and mettals, Tolls and customes: and finally that VONONESA King of the Parthians who beeing driven out of his kingdome by his owne subiects, retired himselfe with an huge masse of Treasure into Antiochia, under the protection, as it were, of the people of Rome, was perfidiously stript out of all and killed.

The hatred that hee bare to his kinsfolke and neere Allies, hee bewraied, first in his brother DRUSUS by disclosing a letter of his: wherein hee dealt with him about compelling AUGUSTUS to restore the common Libertie: afterwarde, in others also. As for his wife IULIA, so farre was he from shewing any courtesie or kindnesse unto her when she stood confined (which had beene the least matter of a thousand) that whereas by an Ordinance of her fathers, shee was shut up within one Towne, hee gave straight order that shee should not steppe out of dores, and enioy the Societie of people and worldlie commerce: nay, hee proceeded so farre, as to bereave her of that little stocke and household-stuffe which her Father allowed her: yea, and defrauded her of the yeerely Pension and exhibition for her maintenance:

L

and

50

and all, forsooth, under a colour of common right and law; because AUGUSTUS in his last will and testament had not expressly provided in this behalfe. Being notable well to endure his mother LIVIA, as challenging to her selfe equall part with him in power and authority, hee avoided both to keepe ordinary and daily company, and also to entertaine long speech or secret conference with her; because hee might not be thought ruled and directed by her counsailes; which otherwhiles notwithstanding he was wont both to stand in neede of, and also to use. Semblably, he tooke to the very heart the passing of this Act in the Senate, *That in his stile as he had the title, sonne of AUGUSTUS, so this addition should runne withall sonne of LIVIA.* And therefore it was, that he would not suffer her to be named * PARENS PATRIÆ, nor to receive any remarkable honour in open place and by publique decrees. Oftentimes also he admonished her to forbear intermeddling in greater affaires, and such as were not meet for women; especially after he perceived once, that when the Temple of *Vesta* was on fire, she also came thither in person among others, & there encouraged the people and souldiours both, to doe their best and help all what they could, as her manner was to doe in her husbands dayes.

* Mother of her Country.

51

* Quorum nomina, or such like.

By these degrees he proceeded even to secret rancour & malice against her, but chiefly upon this occasion, as men report. She had been very earnest with him many a time to enrole one in the (a) Decuries of the Iudges who was made free Denizen & Citizen of *Rome* but he denied flatly to choose and admit the party, unlesse it were upon this onely condition, That she would suffer a clause to be written & annexed to the Instrument * or Roll, in these words, *This grante was by my mother wrung and wrested from me.* Whereat she highly displeased and offended, brought forth out of her Closet & Cabinet certaine old letters of AUGUSTUS (written) unto her, as touching his perverse, bitter and intollerable manners; and those she openly read. He againe tooke the matter so greivously, that she had both kept those writings so long by her, and also cast them in his dish so spitefully, that somethinke this was the greatest cause of his departure from the Citie. And verily, for the space of three yeeres compleat, during which time hee was absent and his mother living, hee sawe her but once: and that was no more than one day, and very fewe howers of the same. And afterwards as little minde hee had to be by her lying sicke: and when shee was dead, suffering her corps by staying so long above ground (whiles men hoped still of his coming) to corrupt at length and putrifie: after shee was entered, he forbad that she should be canonized and registred in the Catalogue of Saints: pretending as if she her selfe had given that order. Her will hee annulled, all her friends and familiars, even those unto whom upon her death-bed she had committed the charge of her Funerals, within a short time he persecuted and plagued, yea and one of them, to wit, a worshipfull Gentleman of *Rome*, he condemned to the * pump.

* Or wheele & bucket in Antiquity: Some read, in Antiquity, or Antiquity, is an Island or else *Lacumum*, a duncheon in the common prison.

* Of Drusus.

52

Of his two sonnes, hee loved neither DRUSUS that was by nature, nor GERMANICUS by adoption, as a father should doe; as taking offence at the vices of the * one. For DRUSUS was of an effeminate minde; given to a loose and idle life. Therefore was not TIBERIUS so neerely touched and grieved for him beeing dead; but presentlie after his funerall, returned to his

his ordinarie and accustomed businesse prohibiting vacation * of Iustice to continue any longer. Moreover, when the *Ælian* Embassadors came somewhat with the latest to comfort him; he, (as if now by this time the memorie of his sorrow had beene cleane worne out,) scoffed at them and made this answer, *That hee likewise was sorie in their behalfe for the lesse they had of HECTOR, so noble and brave a Citizen.* As for GERMANICUS, he depraved and disgraced him so, as that not onely he did extenuate and diminish all his worthy exploits as mere vaine and needlesse, but also blamed his most glorious victories, as dangerous and hurtfull to the Common-wealth. Also, for that without his advise, hee went unto *Alexandria*, (by occasion of an extreame and suddaine famine) hee complained of him in the Senate: yea, and it is verily beleeved, he was the cause of his death, and used the meanes of CN. PISO, Lieutenant of *Syria*; who soone after beeing accused of this crime, would (as some thinke) have uttered abroad those directions and warrants that hee had so to doe: but that SEIANUS secretly withstood it. For which, TIBERIUS was oftentimes and in many places much * blamed, and in the night season commonly called upon with this cry and note, *Redde Germanicum.* Give us GERMANICUS againe. The suspicion whereof himselfe afterwarde confirmed and made good, by afflicting in cruell manner the wife also and children of the said GERMANICUS.

* Iustitiam, as the manner was in any court till time.

* No Sceleris secretis obstat: or, Not easce, ita obstat: but that they were in secret delivered, and therefore could not be proved.

* Inscriptum: others read inscription: This inscription was in many places set upon his Statues.

* Germanicus his adopted sonnes wife, & daughter to Agrippa and Julia.

53

Furthermore, his daughter * in law AGRIPPINA, for complaining overboldly of him after the death of her husband, he tooke by the hand, and recited unto her a (a) Greeke verse to this effect, *If thou hast not soveraine Rule and Dominion, quoth he, Thinkest thou pretty daughter that thou art wronged: and so vexed her no speech as all after.* Also, because upon a time, when shee durst not at supper tast of those appells which he had reached unto her, he forbore to invite her any more; pretending, that she charged him with the crime of attempting her with poison: when as in deede, it was of purpose plotted & packed aforesaid, both that himselfe should by the offering of such fruit tempt her, and she againe beware most present and assured death. At the last, having untruly accused her, as if shee minded to flie one while to the Statue of AUGUSTUS, and another while to the Armies, hee confined and sent her away to the Isle *Pandataria*; and as shee railed at him, hee by the hands of a Centurion with whipping and lashing her over the face strucke out one of her eyes. Again, when as shee was fully determined to pine her selfe to death: hee caused her mouth perforce to be opened, and meate to be crammed into her throate: Yea, and after that by continuance in this minde shee consumed quite away and died in the end, hee inveighed against her in most odious and reproachfull termes: having opined first in the Senate, that her birth-day also should be reckoned among the dismal and unlucky dayes. Furthermore, he expected thanks, as for an high favour done unto her, in that hee strangled her not before with a cord, and so flung her to the * (b) *Gemonia*, and in regard of such a singular clemencie as this, hee suffered a Decree to passe, *That thanks should be given unto him, and a Present of Golde consecrated unto IUPITER CAPITOLINUS.*

Whereas by GERMANICUS he had three nephewes, NERO, DRUSUS & CALPURNIUS.

L 2

CAIUS;

54

*Or Largeffe.

Caius; by DRUSUS one, to wit TIBERIUS, when he was left destitute and fatherlesse by the death of his children, the two eldest sonnes of GERMANICUS, namely NERO and DRUSUS, he recommended to the LL. of the Senate; and celebrated the day of both their Commencements with giving a * Congiarie to the people: But no sooner understoode he, that upō New-yeeres-day there had beene publique vowes made by the Citie for their life also and preservation, but he gave the Senate to understand, *That such honours ought not to be conferred upon any persons, but those that were experienced and farre steps in yeeres.* Thereby, having discovered the inward character and canker of his hart, from that day forward hee exposed them to the slaunders and imputations of all men: When also, by sundry subtille devises hee had wrought so, that they might bee both provoked to give railing taunts, and also beeing so provoked come to mischiefe and destruction; he accused them in his letters, heaped most bitterly upon them hainous reproaches, caused them to be iudged enemies to the State, and so hunger-starved them to death; NERO, within the Isle Pontia, and DRUSUS at the very foote and bottome of Palatium. Men thinke that NERO was driven to * worke his owne death, what time as the * Hangman, as sent by a warrant from the Senate, presented unto him halters * and hookes. As for DRUSUS, kept he was from all foode and sustenance: in so much as hee gave the attempt to eate the very flockes that stuffed the * mattresse whereupon hee lay: And the * reliques of them both, were so dispersed and scattered abroad, that hardly they could be ever gathered together.

*To furnish his owne selfe wilfully.
*Or executioner.
*To strangle him, and drag him to the Scale Gemonie.
*Or bed.
*Bones and ashes which was done by him of spight.

Over and above his olde friends and familiars, hee had demanded twenty out of the number of the best and principall Citizens, as Counsaillours and Assitants unto him in publique affaires. Of all these, hee could hardly shewe twaine or three at the most alive: the rest, some for one cause and some for another he brought to confusion and killed: among whom (with the calamity and overthrow of many more) was ÆLIUS SEIANUS, whom hee had to the highest place of authoritie advanced, not so much for any good will, as to be his instrument and right hand, by whose ministerie and fraudulent practises he might circumvent the children of GERMANICUS, and so establishe as heire apparent in succession of the Empire the Nephew he had by DRUSUS, as his naturall sonne.

No milder was he one iote unto the Greeke Professours and Artists, living and conversing daily with him, and in whom hee tooke most contentment. One of them named ZENO, as hee reasoned and discoursed very * exactly of a question he asked, *What karsh Dialect * that was, wherein he spake?* and when hee answered, *It was the Dorick.* he confined him for his labour into Cynaria, supposing that he twitted and reproached him for his olde vacation and absence from Rome because the Rhodians spake Dorick. Semblably, whereas his manner was out of his owne daily readings, to propound certaine questions as hee sate at supper: having intelligence, That SBLEUCUS the Grammarian enquired diligently of his Ministers and Servitours, what Authors at any time hee had in hand, and so came prepared to asloile the saide questions, first hee forbid him his house and ordinarie Societie, afterwards hee forced him even to death.

His

56

*Or curiously.

57

His cruell, close and unpliant nature was not hidden no not in his verie childhood: the which THEODORUS GADAREUS his teacher in Rhetoric, seemed both at first to fore-see most wisely, and also to expresse and resemble as fitly, when by way of chiding and rebuke hee called him ever and anone *Pelon Haimati Pephuramenon*; i. * clay soaked * in bloud. But the same brake out & appeared somewhat more, when he became Emperour, at the very beginning: what time as yet he lay for to win the love and favour of men, with a pretence of civill moderation. A certaine * Buffon there was, who as a Funerall passed by, had willed the party whose body was caried forth, to report unto AUGUSTUS, *That his Legacies were not yet payed and delivered, which hee had left for the Commons of Rome.* Him, he caused to be haled and brought unto his presence, to receive also the debt which was due: and then commanded him to be led to execution, and so to relate the truth unto his father (AUGUSTUS). Not long after as he threatened to send unto prison one POMPEIUS a Romaine Knight, for stoutly denying some thing, hee assured him, *That of a POMPEIUS he would make him a POMPEIANUS*, glauncing by this bitter and biting taunt, both at the mans name & also at the old infortuny of * that side.

58 About the same time, when the Pretour came to know of him, whether his pleasure was to holde the iudiciall Affizes, as touching the case of * Maestie, or no? he made answer, *That the Lawes must have their course and be put in execution*: and in very truth he executed them with extreame rigour. There was one who from the Statue of AUGUSTUS had taken away the head, for to set the same upon the Statue of another. The matter was debated in the Senate: and because some doubt arose, Who did the deed? inquisition was made by torture. The party delinquent being condemned; this kind of Calumniation by little and little proceeded so farre, that such points as these also were made capitall crimes: Namely, to have beaten a slave, about the * image of AUGUSTUS. Item, if a man had shifted his (a) appareil & put on other clothes (about the said Image). Item to have brought into any privie or brothelhouse * his image imprinted either in money or ring. Lastly, to have empaired any word or deede of his, in the least credite and reputation that might bee. To conclude, it cost one his life, for suffering in his owne Colonie, honours to be decreed unto him, upon the same day, that they had in times past beene decreed for AUGUSTUS.

Many parts besides under the colour of gravity and reformation, but rather in deede following the course of his owne nature; hee used to play, so cruelly and with such rigour, that some there were, who in verses both upbraided by way of reproach the calamities present, and also gave warning of the future miseries, in this manner.

Asper & immitis. Breviter vis omnia dicam?

Dispercam, si te mater amare potest.

Harsh and unkind, (In brieve wilt thou I should say all?) thou art: God me confound, if mother thine can love thee in her hart.

Non es eques; quare? non sunt tibi millia centum;

Omnia si queras: et Rhodes exilium est.

No Knight thou art; and why? for hundred thousands none;

(Search all) thou hast in store: & now at Rhodes exil'd do'st wone.

L 3

Aurea

*Or mire:
*Clay so tempered becometh very strong, tough and stiff.
*A scoffing jester.
*Eato mortue, or clare mortue, i. with a loud voice called upon the dead man, &c.
*The Pompeiani, that took part with Pompeius against Julius Cæsar.
*A High execution.

*Fled thither for refuge as unto a Sanctuarie, or otherwise how so ever.
*Either of Tiberius or Augustus. Read Seneca de Beneficiis lib 3 cap: 6

59

Anrea montasti Saturni sacula, CÆSAR;

Incolami nam te, ferrea semper erunt.

Of Saturne King thou changed hast that age resembling gold,
For while thou, CÆSAR, liv'st, the world of yron shall ever hold.

Fasidus vinum quia iam sitit iste cruorem:

Tam bibit hunc auide, quam bibit ante merum.

Wine doth he loath, because that now of bloud he hath a thirst,
He drinketh that as greedily, as wine he did at first.

(a) *Aspice falicem sibi non tibi, ROMULUS SULLAM;*

Et MARIUM, si vis, aspice; sed reducecem,

Nec non ANTONIUM civilis bella moventis:

Nec semel infectas, aspice cade manus.

Et dic, Roma perit. Regnabit sanguine multo,

Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio.

See SULLA, happy for himselfe, O ROMULUS not for thee:

And MARIUS, in case thou wilt, but new returned, see;

Likewise behold of ANTONIE those hands in bloud embrew'd

Not once, I meane of ANTONIE, who civill warres renew'd.

The say, Rome goes to wrack. And he with blud-shed much will raige

Who to a Kingdome-state is come, from banishment againe.

Which verses at first, he would have had to be taken and construed as made by them who were impatient of any Lordly rule and absolute dominion at Rome: and as if they had beene framed and devised, not so much with any considerate iudgement, as upon Stomach and Choler. And evermore his saying was, *Oderint aumprobeni*: Let them hate me, so long as they suffer my proceedings to passe. But afterwards, even himselfe proved them to be very true and most certaine.

60

Within few dayes after hee came to Caprea, when a Fisher-man, suddainly and unlooked for presented unto him (as hee was in a secret place doing somewhat by himselfe) a * Barble of an extraordinary bignesse, he caused his face to be rubbed all over with the same fish: as put in a fright, no doubt, for that from the backe side of that Iland, he had made meanes thorough the rough thickers and by-ways, to creepe and get unto him where he was. And when the poore fellow amid this punishment seemed to reioyce yet, and said, *It was happy that he had not offered unto him a lopstar also* (which he had caught) of an huge greatnesse, hee commaunded that his face should be grated and mangled likewise with the said Lopstar. A Souldiour, one of his owne guard, for filching and stealing a Peacock out of an * Orchard hee put to death. In a certaine iourney that he made, the Lister wherein he was caried chaunced to be entangled and somewhat stayed with briars and brambles: Whereupon a Centurion of the formost cohorts in the Vaward, that had in charge to try and cleere thee waies, he caused to be laid along upon the ground, and there he all to beat him * untill he was well-neere dead.

61 Soone after, hee brake out into all kindes of cruelty; as one who never wanted matter to worke upon: persecuting the familiar friendes and acquaintance of his owne Mother first, then, of his Nephewes and daughter in lawe, and at the last of SEIANUS: after whose death hee grew to be

* Being skaly and having a couple of barbles.

* Orchard.

* With cudgels which punishment was called *Fustigium*.

be most cruell. Whereby especially it appeared, that himselfe was not wont so much to be provoked and set on by SEIANUS: as * SEIANUS to serve his turne and feede his humour, seeking as he did all occasions: howsoever in a certaine commentarie which he composed summarily and briefly of his owne life he durst write thus much, *That he executed SEIANUS*, because he had found that hee raged furiously against the children of GERMANICUS his sonne. Of whom to say a truth, the one himselfe mured, after he had first suspected SEIANUS, and the other, not before he had killed him. To prosecute in particular all his bloudie deedes would require a long time. It shall suffice therefore to reherse in generall the patternes as it were and examples of his crueltie. There passed not a day over his head, no not so much as any festivall and (a) religious holieday, without execution and punishment of folke. Some suffred even upon Newyeares day. Accused and condemned there were many together, with their children, and very wives. Straight commaundement and warning was giuen, that the nere kinsfolke of such persons as stood condemned to die, should not mourne and lament for them. Especially rewardes were by decree appointed for their accusers: otherwhiles also for bare witnesses. No informer and promoter was discredited, but his presentmēt taken. And everie crime and trespasse went for Capitall, and so was received: were it but the speaking of a few simple words. Objected it was against a Poet, that in a tragædie hee had reviled and railed upon (b) * AGAMEMNON; as also it was laide to an * *Historians* charge, for saying, (c) that * BRUTUS and CASSIUS, were the last of all the *Romains*. Presently were the Authors and writers punished, and their writings called in and abolished: notwithstanding certaine yeares before they had beene recited even in the hearing of AVGVSTVS, with his good liking and approbation. Some committed to ward, were deprived not onely of their Solace and comfort in studying, but also of the verie use of talking with others. Of such as were cited peremptorily by writ and processe to answer at the barre, some gave themselves (mortall) wounds at home in their houses (as sure to be condemned, onely to avoyd torments and ignominy) others in the open face and middest of the Court dranke poyson: and yet were they with their wounds bound up, and whiles they yet panted betweene alive and dead, haled away to prison. There was not one executed but hee was throwne also into the *lemonia*, and drawne with the drag. In one day were there (d) twentie so throwne and drawne: and among them boyes and women. As for young girles and maidens of unripe yeares, because by auncient custome and tradition, unlawfull it was to strangle Virgins. (e) First deflowred they were by the hang-man and afterwards strangled. Were any willing of themselves to die: such were forced violently to live. For he thought simple death so light a punishment, that when he hard, how one of the prisoners, * CARNVLIVS by name, had taken his death voluntarily before, he cryed out in these wordes. *CARNVLIVS hath escaped my hands*. Also in overseeing and perusing the prisoners in Gaole, when one of them besought to have his punishment with speed, he made him this answer: *Nay marry, thou art not yet reconciled unto me, that I should shew thee such favour*. A certaine * Consular writer hath inserted this in his Annales: *That upon a time at a great feast (where himselfe also was present,) TIBERIVS being on a sodaine asked, and that openly with a lowd voyce*

* *Quæ Seianum traxerunt, occupaverunt infans* - *strasse*.

* The sovereign Captaine and Generall of the Greeces at Trece.

* *A. Crematius Cordus* read *Seneca* Consulat. as Mar. cap. 12 * who slew Julius Cæsar and were executed by *Tyrannoclonia*.

* Or *Calpurnius*.

* Who had beene sometime consul, and therefore to be credited by

by a dwarfe standing at the Table among *other Buffons and Iesters, *Wherefore* PACONIVS *being attaint of treason lived so long?* For that instant verily chid the partie for his saucie and malapert tongue: but after a few daies wrote vnto the Senate, *to take order with all speede for the execution of PACONIVS.*

62 He increased and strained still more and more this crueltie, by occasion that he was galled and fretted at the newes of his sonne DRVSVS his death: For, having beene of opinion, that he died upon some sickenes & intemperate life, so soone as he understood at length, that he was poysoned & so made away by the villanous practise of his wife *LIVILLA and SEIANVS together, he spared not to torment and execute any one whomsoever; so bent and addicted whole daies together to the inquisition and tryall of this onely matter, as that when word came unto him how an host of his an inhabitant of Rhodes (whom by familiar letters he had sent for to Rome) was come, he commanded him out of hand to be put to *torture, as if he had beene some neere freinde present at the foresaid examination: but afterwards, when his error was discovered, and seeing how he had mistaken, he caused him also to be killed, because he should not divulge and make knowne the *former injury. The place is yet to be seene at Capree of his butcherly cariage: From which he caused condemned persons after long and exquisite torments to be flung headlong before his face into the sea: where were readie to receive them a number of mariners, who with their sprits, poles, and oares should beate and batt their carkasses: to the end that none of them might have any breath or wind remaining in the bodie: He had devised moreover, among other kinds of torment, what time as men by deceitfull meanes had their lode with large drinking of strong wine, sodainly to knit fast and tie their privie members with (Lute) strings, that hee might cause them to swell and be pent in most dolorous paines occasioned at once as well by the streight strings, as the suppression and stoppage of vrine. And had it not beene that both death prevented and *THRASYLLVS also enforced him of purpose, (as men say) to put of some designes in hope of longer life, he would haue murdered a good many more (as it is fully beleevd) and not spared those verie nephewes of his that remained yet alive; considering he both had CAIVS in suspition, and also cast of TIBERIVS, as conceived in adulterie. And it soundeth to truth, that he was roinded thus to do. For, ever and anon, he called PATAMVS happie in that he overlived all his sonnes and daughters.

63 But, how amid these pranks he lived not onely odious and detested, but exceeding timorous also & exposed to the contumelious reproches of the world, there be many evidences to shew. That any soothsayers should be sought unto and consulted with a part without witnesses by, he forbade: As for the Oracles neere adjoining to the Citie of Rome, he attempted to subvert them all. But being terrified with the maiestie of those *answers which were delivered *at Præneste, he gave over: namely, when as he could not finde them, (sealed up though they were and brought downe to Rome) within the chift until the same was carried backe againe unto the *Temple. And not daring to send away & dismishe from him one *or two Consulare *L. L. deputies, after hee had offered provinces unto them, he detained them so long, untill after certaine yeares expired, he ordained others to succcede them: whiles the other remained present with

*Fortunes or channces
*In manner of a Lottery.
*Of Fortune at Præneste.
*L. Aulus Laenia and L. Aruntius.
*Or Pretors that had beene Consuls.

*The Astrologer,

with him: whereas in the meane time, reserving still the title of the office: he assigned unto them many commissions and matters of charge: and they continually gave order for execution thereof, by the ministerie of their Legates, Licutenants and Coadjutors.

His *daughter in law, and Nephewes, after they were once condemned, he never removed from place to place otherwise than chained and in a close covered lictor sowd up fast: setting his soldiers to prohibite all passengers that met with them, and waifaring persons travelling by, once to looke *backe thither, or to stay their pace and stand still.

65 When SEIANVS went about seditiously to worke alteration in the state: albeit he saw now that both his birth day was publicly solemnized, and also his Images of gold worshipped everie where; he overthrew him (I must needs say) at length: but with much adoo, by craftie sleights and guile, rather than by his princely authoritie and Imperiall power. For first, to the end that he might dismishe the man in shew of honour, he assumed him to be his Colleague in the fifth Consulship, which in his *long absence he had taken upon him for that verie purpose. Afterwards when he had deceived him with hope of *Africanie and the Tribunes authoritie, he complained of the man (looking for neede such matter) in a shamefull and pitious Oration: beseeching the L.L. of the Senate among other requests. *To send on of the Consuls to conduct him an aged and desolate man with some garde of soldiers into their sight.* And yet nevertheless, distrustful himselfe and fearing an *upore, he had given commandement; that his nephew DRVSVS, whom still he kept in prison at Rome: should be set at libertie (if need did so require,) & ordained generall captaine. Yea & whiles his ships were readie rigged and prepared to what Legions soever he ment for to flie, hee stood looking ever and anon from the highest cliffe that was, toward the markes and signes, which he had appointed (least messengers might stay too long) for to be reared a great way of: thereby to have intelligence, as any occurrent (good or bad) fell out. Nay, when the conspiracie of SEIANVS was now suppressed, he was never the more secure and resolute: but for the space of 9. moneths next ensuing he stirred not out of the *village called Iovis.

Beside all this, diverse and sundrie reprochfull taunts from all parts netled and stung his troubled minde. For there was not a person condemned, that reviled him not in all sorts openly to his face, yea and discharged upon him opprobrious termes by libels laid for the nonce in the verie *Orchestra, with which contumelies verily, affected he was after a most divers and contrarie manner: so that, one while he desired for verie shame of the world, that all such abuses might be unknowne and concealed: otherwhiles, hee contemned the same, and of his owne accorde broached and divulged them abroad. Furthermore, rated he was & railed at in the letters also of ARTABANVS K. of the Parthians, who charged him with parricides, murders, cowardise and luxurious riot: who gave him counsell likewise with all speede possible, to satisfie with a voluntarie death the hatred of his Citizens, conceived against him in the highest degree and most iustly. At the last, being even wearie of himselfe in the beginning of such an Epistle as this, hee declared and confessed in manner the verie summe of all his miseries. *What shall I write? my L.L. of the*

Senate,

64 Agrippina his adopted sonne Germanicus wife & widow, or Livilla before named, wife to Drusus his naturall sonne. *Because they should not aske who was within

*For here-mained still at Capree. *To be matched in marriage with one of his neepces. *Or Epistle rather written unto the Senat, in Rome, about Seianus who was so highly honored there.

*Or forme house in the Isle Capree.

66

*Where the Senators sat to behold the plaies.

Senate, or how shall I write? Nay, what is it, at a word, that I shall not write at this time? The Gods and Goddesses all plague and confound me utterly at once, feeling as I do my selfe dayly to perishe.

67
*For he was
wonderfully
addicted to the
study of Astro-
logie and such
curious Arts:

Some thinke, that he foreknew all this by the skill he had of *future events: that he foresaw also long before how great a calamitie and infamie both, would one day betide him: And therefore it was, that he refused most obstinate-ly to take upō him the Empire & the name of PATER PATRIE, as also stood against the oath, to maintaine his ACTs: for feare least within a while after, to his greater disgrace and shame he might be found inferiour, and unworthie of such speciall honours, which verily may be gathered out of the speech hee made as touching both those points, when he saith but thus. *That hee would be alwaies like to himselfe, and never chaunge his manners, so long as he continued in his sound wits. Howbeit, for example sake, provided it would be that the Senate binde not themselves to keepe and ratifie the Actions of any one, who by some chaunce might bee altered. And againe, Marie, if at any time, quoth hee, yee shall make doubt of my loyall behavtour and devoted mind unto you (which before it ever happen, I wish my dying day to take me from this minde and opinion of yours, once conceived of me and afterwards chaunged) the bare title of PATER PATRIE will adde no honour unto me, but upbraide you either with inconsiderate rashnesse, for imposing that Surname upon mee, or else with inconstancie, for your contrary iudgements of mee.*

68

Corpulent he was, big set and strong, of stature (a) above the ordinarie, broad betweene the shoulders and large breasted: in all other parts also of the bodie (from the crowne of his head) to the verie sole of his foote, of equall making and congruent proportion. His left hand was more nimble & stronger than the right: and his ioynts so firme, that with his finger he was able to bore through a greene and sound Apple: with a fillop also to breake the head of a boy, yea of a good stripling and big youth. Of colour and complexion he was cleere and white: wearing the haire of his head longe behind, in so much as it covered his very necke: which was thought in him to be a fashion appropriate to his linage and familie. He had an ingenuous and well favoured face: wherein notwithstanding appeared many small (b) tumours or risings: and a paire of verie great gogle eyes in his head, such as (whereat a man would marvaile) could see euē by night and in the darke: but that was onely for a little while and when they opened first after sleepe: for in the ende they waxed dim againe. His *gate was with his (c) necke stiffe and shooting *forward: with a countenance bent and composed lightly to severitie: for the most part he was silent: Seldome or never should you have him talke with those next about him: and if hee did, his speech was exceeding slowe, not without a certaine wanton gesticulation and fumbling with his fingers. All which properties being odious and full of arrogancie, AVOVSIVS both observed in him, & also went about to excuse & cloke for him before the Senate and people, assuring them, they were the defects and imperfections of nature, and not the vices of the mind. He lived most healthfull. And verily all the time well neere that he was Emperour not once in maner crasie: albeit from that he was thirtie yeares old he (d) governed his helth after his owne order and direction, without any helpe or counsell at all of Physicians.

*The Clowdy.

*For such prominent eyes are not commonly quick of sight.

*Manner of going.

*Or downeward into his bosome:

As little respect as hee had of the Gods, or had fence of any religion, (as one addicted to astrologie and calculation of nativities, yea and fully persuaded, that all things were done and ruled by *fatall destinie) yet feared he thunder exceedingly: and were the aire or wether any whit troubled, hee ever carried a chaplet or wreath of lawrell *about his necke: because that kinde of greene *branch is neuer, as they say blasted with lightning.

The liberall Sciences *of both sorts he loved most affectionatly, in the latine *speech he followed CORVINVS MESSALLA, whom being an aged professour he had observed from his verie youth: but with overmuch affection and curiositie he marred all and darkened his stile: so as he was thought to do somewhat better *ex tempore, than upon studie and premeditation. He composed also a poem in lyricke (a) verses, the title whereof is, a complaint of *D. CÆSARS death. Hee made likewise Greeke poems in imitation of EUPHORION, RHIANVS and PARTHENIVS: In which Poets being much delighted, their writings and Images he dedicated in the publike Libraries among the auncient and principall authors. A number therefore of learned men strove a vie to put forth many pamphlets *of them, and to present him therewith. But above all he studied for the knowledge of *fabulous historie, even unto meere fooleries, & matters ridiculous. For, the verie Gramatians (which kind of professours as we have said, he affected especially) he would assay and appose commonly with these and such like questions: namely, *Who was HECYBAES mother? What name ACHILLES had among the Virgins? What it was that the Mer-maidens were wont to sing?* The verie first day, (after the death of AVOVSIVS) that he entred into the Curia, as if he minded once for all to performe the dutie of pietie and religion: following the example of MINOS he sacrificed indeede, as the manner was with Frankincense and wine. but without a minstrell, as the saide MINOS sometime did at the death of his sonne.

In the Greeke tongue, howsoever he otherwise was readie enough and spake it with facilitie, yet he used it not every where, but most of all forbore it in the Senate house: in so much verily, as when he came to name (a) MONOPOLIVM, he craved leave before hand. for that he was to use a strang and foraine worde; yea & in a certaine decree of the Senatours, when this word (b) EMBLEMA was red, he gave his opinion, that the saide word should be changed, and in steede of that strang terme some latine vocable fought out: and if such an one could not be found, then to utter and declare the thing, though it were in more words and by circumlocution. A certaine Greeke souldier also, being required for to depose and deliver his testimonie, he forbad to make answer, (c) unlesse it were in Latin.

All the time that he was retired and lived from the Cittie of Rome, twice and no more he assaied to returne thither: once he came by water embarked in a *gallie, as farre as to the hort-yards and gardens adioyning to the (a) Nauticia: but he had set guardes along the banks of Tibre, for to void & put backe such as went forth to meete him. A second time, by the streete or part way Appia, so farre as the (b) 7. miles end from Rome: but when he had onely scene the walles a farre of, without approaching neerer unto the Citie hee returned.

For

69
*The course of the stars.
*Or epo. his head, in maner of a Coronet.
*As I have reported lib. 2. c. 19.

70
*as wel grecke as Latine.
*Prole.

*Of a sodaine.
*Ofc of Augustus, sonnes.
yet some expound it thus: Cæsar Diuine.
*de his. haply of their coing.
*Wherein many tales or fables are inserted.

*The daughters of King Lycorides in the Isle Scyros where hee faigned himselfe to bee a maiden.
*Androgenus.

71

72

*With three ranks of oares.

*Ad sept. milia lapidem.

*when he came
by the River.
*when he tour
nied by land.

For what cause he did so * at first, it was not certainly knowne: afterwarde, affrighted he was with this prodigious picture and straung sight. Among other delights he tooke great pleasure in a Serpent (or) Dragon, which, when according to his usuall manner, he would haue fed with his owne hand and found eaten by pismires, he was warned thereupon to beware the violence of a multitude. In his returne therefore speedily into *Campania* he fell sicke at *Astura*: but being eased a little of that maladie he went forward as farre as to *Circeij*: and because he would give no suspicion of sickenesse, he was not onely present himselfe at the games exhibited by the garison souldiers there, but also, when there was a wild bore put forth into the open shew-place for to be baited, he launced darts at him from aboue, where he was: And presently therewith, by occasion of a convulsion in his side: and for that hee had taken the cold aire upon an exceeding heat, he fell backe by (d) relapse into a more dangerous disease: Howbeit, he bare it out a pretie while: notwithstanding that after he was come downe so farre as to *Misenum*, he pretermitted nothing of his ordinary and daily manner, no not so much as his feasting and other pleasures: partly upon an intemperate humour of his owne, and in part to dissimule and palliate his weakenesse. For, when *CHARICLES* his Physician, who by vertue of a passport was licensed to depart and be absent, went forth from the table and tooke hold of his hand to kisse it, he supposing that he had felt his pulse, desired him to stay & sit downe againe, and so drew out the supper longer. Neither, gave he over his usuall custome, but even then standing in the midst of the banquetting roome with a licitor* by him he spake to every one by name * as they tooke their leave.

73

Meane while, when he had reade among the Acts passed in the Senate that certaine prisoners were enlarged and dismissed, but not so much as once heard: concerning whom he had written very breifly and no other wise than thus, *that nominated they were by an appeacher*: chafing and frowning hereat, as if he had bene held in contempt, he fully purposed to go againe into * *Caprea*, as one who lightly would attempt nothing, but where he was sure enough and without all daunger. But being kept backe, as well by tempest as the violence of his disease that grew still upon him hee died soone after in a * village bearing the name * (a) *Luculliana*, in the 78. yeare of his age: three & twentieth of his Empire, and the * seventeenth day before the Calends of Aprill: when *Cn. ACERRONIUS PROCULVS* and *C. PORTIUS NIGER* were Consuls. Some thinke that * *CATVS* had given him a poyson of slow operation: which should by little and little consume him. Others are of opinion, that when hee desired meat in the remission of an ague fit wherein he had swowned (* it was denied him) and therewith a * pillow throwne upon his face to smoulder him & stop his breath. Some againe, *that it was* when coming soone to himselfe, he called for his Ring which was plucked from his finger while he fainted. *SENECA* a writeth that perceiving himselfe drawing on * and readie to die, he tooke of his Ring, as if he minded to give it unto some one, and so held it a pretie while: then afterwarde did it upon his finger againe: and so keeping down and gripping close his left * hand, lay still a long time without once stirring: but suddenly calling for his gromes and servitours, when none made aunswere,

role

*Venus, for Ar-
series by the
trope Cat-
is, for they one
ly bea.

*Who waited
upon him.
*or upon whom
he leaned.

*Valerius dicens
or as they sa-
luted him, after
the Greeke
phrase (chairin
Kaiempratein.
Gaudere Cy bene
rem gerere: Ha-
at. Allbaile
and faire
cheere you.

*With full in-
tent as it should
seeme to bee
revenged of
the Senate.

*Or manner
house

*Of *Lucullus*,
who either
built it, or there
dwelt.

*16. of march.
A.V.C. 790:
Caligula, Em-
perour after
him.

*Some leave
out this clause,
and read thus,
as he desired
meat &c., a
pillow was &c.

*Or cushion.
*intelleda de-
fessione Some
expound this
of the sinking
away of his
familiar and
thoſe that were
about him.

*Upon which
he ware the
ring.

rose up, and not farre from his pallet, his strength failing him, fell downe dead.

Vpon the last Birth-dayes-feast of his that ever he saw, him thought as hee lay a sleepe, that *Apello Iemenites* (an Idol of exceeding bignesse and most artificially wrought) which was newly brought from *Saracoe* to be set up in the li-
brarie of his new temple, assured him, *That he could not possibly by him be dedica-
ted.* And some few daies before his death, the watch-tower that gave * light at
Caprea by an earthquake fell downe in the night: and at *Misenum*, the ashes re-
maining of the embers and coales brought into heate his refection parlour,
being quenched quite and continuing cold a long time, suddainly brake forth
into a light fire, at the shutting in of the evening, and so shone out a great part
of the night and gave not over.

The people ioyed so much at his death, that running up and downe at the
first tidings thereof, some cried out in this note, (Fling) * *TIBERIUS* into *Ti-
beris*: others in their prayers besought the Mother Earth & the infernall Gods
To vouchsafe him now dead no place, but among impious wretches: And a fort there
were, who threatned his lifelesse carcasse the *Drag* and the *Gemonia*: as who,
over and above the remembrance of his former cruelty in times past, were pro-
voked to anger with a fresh outrage newly committed. For whereas by an Act
of Senate it was provided, *That the execution of condemned persons should be put off
unto the tenth day after (sentence given)*, it happened so, that the day on which
some of them were to suffer, fell out to be the very same, wherein newes came
of *TIBERIUS* death. These poore soules, notwithstanding they piteously
called for mans help (because in the absence yet of *CATVS* no man was known,
who might (in such a case) be repaired unto and spoken with) the Goalers, for
that they would do nothing against the Constitution aforesaid strangled them
and flung their bodies into the *Gemonia*. Heereupon, I say, the peoples hatred
against him encreased, as if the Tyrants cruelty remained still after his death.
His corpes, so soone as it began to bee removed from *Misenum*, notwithstan-
ding the most part cried with one voice, To carie it rather to (a) *Atella*, & there
to (b) halfe-burne it in the (c) Amphitheatre, yet was brought to *Rome* by the
Soldiours and burnt in a publick funerall fire.

A two-fold * will he made two yeeres before: the one written with his own
hand: the other by his freed-man: but both of them were of the same tenour: * He meaneth
& signed he had them with the scales of most base persons. By vertue of which
will and testament, he left coheires and equall in portion *CATVS* his nephew
by *GERMANICVS*, and *TIBERIUS* by *DRVSUS*. These he substituted &
appointed to succeed one another. He gave legacies also to manie more, and
among the rest unto the uestall Virgins, and to the Souldiers of all sorts
in generall: as also to the commons of *Rome* by the poll: yea
and to the Masters of everie Street by them-
selues severally.

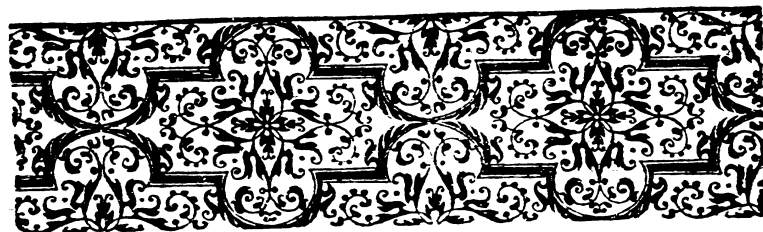
74

*Vnto Sea me
and passengers
by night.

*Tiberium in
Tiberim,
into Tiberis
with Tiberius.

76

*He meaneth
I suppose a
countrepair
indeed.



THE HISTORIE OF Caius Cæsar Caligula, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*
quillus.



Chap. I
A.V.C. 757
765

* Daughter of
Antonius the
Triumvir, by
Octavia. Au-
gustus sister.
* Anaxia.
* 7 yeeres after.
A.V.C. 767
770
771

* From the said
armie, where
with he was
acquainted.

GERMANICUS father of CAIUS CÆSAR, sonne of Dru-
sus and * ANTONIA, no sooner was adopted by his Un-
kle TIBERIUS, but forthwith he bare the office of Que-
stureship five yeeres before hee might by the * Lawes (a),
and after it, the * Consulate. And being sent into *Germa-*
nie to the Armie, when upon newes brought of AUGU-
STUS death, the Legions all throughout stood out most
stidly & refused TIBERIUS for their Emperour, offering unto him the absolute
government of the State (whether their constant resolution or kinde affection
herein were greater it is as hard to say) he stikled & repressed the, yea & soon af-
ter having subdued the enemy, triumphed. After this, being created Consul the
second time, and (b) driven forth * perforce, (before he entered into that ho-
norable place) to compose the troubles and to quiet the State in the East parts:
when

when hee had * deposed the King of *Armenia*, and brought *Cappadocia* into the
forme of a Province, in the 34 yeere of his age, he died of a long disease at *Antiochia*,
not without suspicion of poison. For, besides the blackish and swert
spots which were to be seene all over his body, and the frothie slime that ranne
forth at his mouth; his heart also (after he was burnt,) they found among the
bones all sound and not consumed: the nature whereof is thought to be such,
that if it bee infected with poyson, it checkes all fire and cannot possibly bee
burnt.

But, as the opinion of the world went, his death contrived by the wicked
plot of TIBERIUS, was effected by the ministerie and helpe of Cn. PISO:
who about the same time being President of *Syria*, and not dissimulating that hee
was to offend either father or * sonne (as if there were no other remedie but
needes he must so doe) made no spare, but beyond all measure dealt with GER-
MANICUS (sicke as hee was) most rigorously, both in word and deede. For
which, so soone as he was returned to *Rome*, hee had like to have beene pulled
in peeces by the people: and by the Senate condemned he was to die.

It is for certaine knowne and confessed, that there were in GERMANICUS
all good parts and gifts as well of body as mind: and those in such measure, as
never to any man befell the like: to wit, for shew full of passing beauty, favour
and feature; with strength & valour answerable thereto: & for wit excellently
well seene in eloquence and learning of * both kinds: The very attractive ob-
iect, he was of singular * benevolence, endowed with a wonderfull grace and
effectuall desire to win mens favour and deserve their love. The onely defect
that he had in his making and personage, were his slender shankes: and yet the
same also by little and little became replenished with continuall riding on *
horseback after (a) his meate. Many a time wounded hee his enemy in close
fight hand to hand. He pleaded causes of great importance, even as touching
the * Decree of Triumph. And among other monuments of his studies he left
behind him in Greeke, Comedies also. Both at home and abroad (b) civile he
was, in so much as he would goe to free and confederate Cities without any
* Lictors. Where ever he knew any Sepulchers of brave and worthy men to be,
there his use was to offer unto their ghosts. Being purposed to enterre in one
tombe the olde reliques and bones dispersed of those that were slaine in that
great overthrow with VARRUS, he first gave the assaie with his owne hand to
gather and carie them together into one place. Moreover, to his slanderers
and backbiters (if he lighted upon them); of what quality so ever the persons
were, or how great cause so ever they gave, so milde, so remisse and harme-
lesse hee was: that notwithstanding PISO reversed and canceled his Decrees,
plagued and persecuted a long time his Dependants, yet could he not finde in
his heart to be angry with him, before he had for certaine knowne, that hee
attempted his perill with poysons and forcerous execrations: and even
then verily, hee proceeded no farther against him, but, *more mihi* to
renounce all friendship with him, and to give his domesticall friends in
charge to bee revenged, if ought happened to himselfe otherwise than
well.

Of these vertues hee reaped most plentiful fruite; so liked and loved of his
kinsfolke and friendes, (for I let passe all other affinities and acquaintance
M 2

* Drisist: A.V.C. 775

* Tiberius him-
selfe, or Germa-
nicus his adop-
ted sonne.

* Greeke and
Latine,
* The good wil
and affection
of men, count-
ed among the
gifts of fortune
* For they used
the no sinners
and therefore
the blood and
humours would
descend to the
legges.
* Triumphant,
to me made
Triumphant: as
if, he gave not
over pleading
when he had
triumphed, or
received triumph.
phail Orna-
ments,
* Sergeants or
officers.

of his) as that AUGUSTUS after hee had continued a long time in suspence, whether he should ordaine him for his Successor or no: recommended him at length unto TIBERIUS for to be adopted: so highly favoured of the Common people, as that many doe report and write; whensoever hee came unto a place or departed from thence, divers times by reason of the multitude flocking to meete him and to beare him companie, he endangered his owne life in the preasse. As he returned out of *Germanie*, after the suppressing of seditious tumults and mutinies there, all the *Pretorian* cohorts every one went out to encounter him upon the way: albeit warning was given before hand by proclamation, *That no more than twaine of them should goe forth.* But as for the people of *Rome*, of all sexes, ages, and degrees, they ran out by heapes to meet him xx miles from *Rome*.

Howbeit, farre greater, and more assured testimonies of mens iudgement touching him appeared at, and after his death. The very day wherein he left this life, The * temples (a) were peited with stones: the altars of the Gods cast downe: the Domesticall (b) Lares, by some flung out of dores into the street; yea, and new-borne (c) babes of wedded parents throwne forth to be destroyed. And, that which more is, the report goeth, That the very Barbarians, notwithstanding they were at variance and civill warre among themselves, yea and had taken armes against us, yet, as it were in some * domesticall and common sorrow, agreed all to make truce and a cessation of armes for a time. Some of their Princes also and Potentates, to declare their extraordinarie mourning and regret, did cut off their owne beards and shaved their wives heads: Yea, the very King (d) of Kings himselfe, gave over his exercise of hunting: and dissolved the Societie of his great Peeres and Princes at his table: which among the Parthians is as much as a (e) * Law-steed.

At *Rome* verily, when as the Citie upon the first rumour of his sicknesse, in amazednes and heaue chere expected the messengers that came after; and all of a suddaine in the evening the voice went currant, (although the Authors were unknowne,) that now at length he was recovered: running there was every where from all parts with * lights and sacrifices into the Capitoll: yea the very dores of the temple were like to have been burst open, that nothing might stand in their way & hinder them, so desirous and earnestly bent with ioy to pay their vows. In so much as TIBERIUS was awakened out of his sleepe with the shoutes and voices of the people reioycing, and from every side with one accord resounding this Note,

Salva Roma, salva Patria, salvus est Germanicus.

Safe is Rome, safe is our Country, safe is GERMANICUS.

Also, when now at the last it was knowne abroad that he was departed this life, the publick sorrow by no comfortable words nor edicts & proclamations could be repressed, but continued still even all the festivall daies of (a) the month December. His glory and the misse of him thus deceased, was much augmented also, by the outrages of the times ensuing: whiles all men were of opinion (and not without good reason) That the fiercenesse of TIBERIUS which soone after brake forth, was held in and kept downe by the reverent respect & feare that he had of him.

7 He wedded AGRIPPINA, daughter to M. AGRIPPA and IULIA: by whom he

* Or, the images of the Gods within the temples.

* Touching them all and every one privately.
* At *Rome*, a stay at all Courts and Pleas, in token of a publick sorrow.

* Torches, Tapers, &c.
* Which they had made, for salve *Germanicus*, for the health and welfare of *Germanicus*.

he had nine children: of which faire issue twaine being yet Infants were taken away by untimely Death: one died when he was now waxen a iolly boy, passing full of lovely mirth and pretty talke; whose counterfaint in the habite of CUPID, * LIVIA dedicated in the Chappell of *Venus Capitolina*: and the same * AUGUSTUS was wont to kisse while it stood in his bed-chamber, so often as he entred into it. The rest survived their father: three of the female sex AGRIPPINA, DRUSILLA and LIVIA, borne all one after another in the space of three yeeres: likewise as many male children, NERO, DRUSUS and CAIVS CÆSAR: As for NERO and DRUSUS, the Senate upon imputations laid by TIBERIUS, judged them to be enemies unto the State.

CAIVS CÆSAR was borne the day next * preceding the Calends of September, when his Father and C. PONTIUS CAPITO were Consuls. The place of his Nativitie, by the disagreement of writers, is left uncertaine. C. N. LENTULUS GÆTULICUS writeth, that hee was borne at *Tibur*. P. LINIUS SECUNDUS, within the Country of the *Treviri*, in a towne called * *Ambiatum*, upon the very * Confluents. For evidence and prooffe whereof hee farther saith, That certaine Altars are there to be seene carrying this Inscription, * For the child-birth and deliverie of AGRIPPINA. But these verses following, divulged soone after that he came to be Emperour, do plainly shew, that borne he was in the very Camp, where the Legions wintered.

*In castris natus patrijs nutritus in armis,
Iam designati principis, cœnere erat.*

Borne in the Camp, in Fathers warres with souldiours rear'd was he;
A signe, that then ordain'd he was an Emp'our for to be.

I my selfe do find among the Records, that *Antium* was the place of his birth. PLINIE refelleth GÆTULICUS, as if he made a lie by way of flattery, because to the praise of a young and glorious Prince; hee would fetch some argument & matter even out of a Citie consecrated to HERCULES: and was the bolder, as he saith to abuse the said Lie, for that, indeede, a yeere a' most before, GERMANICUS had a sonne borne at *Tibur*, named likewise CAIVS CÆSAR: of whose amiable childhood and untimely death we have spoken before. And as to PLINIE himselfe, confuted he is by the Calculation of the times. For, they who have recorded the Acts of AUGUSTUS doe all agree, That GERMANICUS was sent into *Germanie* after the time of his Consulship expired, when as CAIVS was already borne. Neither can the Inscription of the Altar one iote make good his opinion: considering that AGRIPPINA was delivered of daughters twice in that Country. And what child-birth so ever it was, without respect & difference of sex, called it is *Puerperium*: For that in old time folk used to name little girles also PUERÆ, like as little boyes PUELLI. There is besides, an Epistle of AUGUSTUS written, not many moneths before he died unto AGRIPPINA his Niece as touching this CAIVS, (for there was not now living any other Infant of the like name) in these wordes. *I have no longer agoe than yesterday taken order with TALARIVS and ASELLIUS, that with the leave of God they bring the boy CAIVS upon the 15 * day before the Calends of Iune.* I send besides with him of mine owne servants a Physician whom GERMANICUS (as I have written unto him) may if he will retaine & keepe with him still. Farewell my AGRIPPINA and endeavour to come well & in health to thy GERMANICUS. It appeareth I suppose sufficiently that CAIVS could not in that place be borne

8
* The last of August.
A.V.C 765
* Or *Ambiatum*.
* The meeting of two rivers.
* Ob *Agrippina puerperium*.

* 18 of May

borne, unto which he was conveyed from *Rome* not before he was well-neere two yeares old. And as for those verses, these selfe same evidences likewise dis-
 9 credite them: and the rather, because they have no Author. We are to follow therefore the onely authority that remaineth, of the Records & publick Instru-
 ment: seeing especially that CAIVS evermore preferred *Antium* before all o-
 ther retiring places, and loved it no otherwise than his native soile: yea, and by
 report, was fully minded once (upon a tedious wearinesse that he had of *Rome*
 City), to transerre thither even the very seat and habitation of the Empire.

He gat his surname CALIGULA by occasion of a merry word taken up in
 the Camp, because he was brought up there in the habit of an ordinarie (a) and
 common fouldiour among the rest. With whom, how much besides he was
 able to doe in love and favour by meanes of his education & daily feeding with
 them, was most of all knowne; when after the death of AUGUSTUS, he onely
 (no doubt) with * his very sight & presence quieted them; what time they were
 in an uprore & at the very point of furious outrage. For they ceased not to mu-
 tinie, untill they perceived that he was about to be sent out of the way for dan-
 ger of the sedition, and appointed to the next City adioyning. Then and not
 before, turning to repentance, they staid and held back his coach, and so by
 prayer averted the displeasure that was toward them.

10 He accompanied his Father also in the Expedition into *Syria*: From whence
 being returned, first hee abode in house with his Mother: and after that shee
 was banished and sent away, hee remained with his great Grandmother LI-
 VIA AUGUSTA: whom deceased hee praised in a funerall Oration at the *Ro-*
sstra, when hee was as yet but a very youth in his *Prætoria*: and then removed
 he to his Grandmother ANTONIA. From her in the twentieth yeere of his
 age hee was sent for to *Caprea* by TIBERIUS, and upon one and the selfe same
 day, he did on his virile (a) gowne and withall cut the first downe of his beard,
 without any honourable solemnitie, such as his brethren before him had at
 their Commencements. Heere, notwithstanding hee was tempted by all the
 deceitfull traines that they could devise, who would have drawne and forced
 him to quarrels, yet gave hee never any occasion, having rased out and quite
 forgotten the fall and calamity of his mother, brethren and neere friends, as if
 nothing had befallen to any of them: passing over all those abuses which him-
 selfe had endured with incredible dissimulation: so obsequious and double di-
 ligent besides, to his Grandfather and those about him, that of him it was said
 and not without good cause, * *A better servant and a worse M^r. there never was.*

Howbeit, the cruell disposition and villainous nature of his owne, hee could
 not even then bridle and hold in. But both at all castigations and punishments
 of such as were delivered over to execution, most willing he was to be present:
 and also would haunt Tavernes and Brothel-houses, mens wives also suspected
 for adulterie, going about from place to place disguised under a (a) peruke of
 false haire, and in a side (womans) garment: yea, and most studiously gave his
 minde to learne the artificiall feate of dauncing and singing upon the Stage.
 And verily TIBERIUS was well content to winke heereat and suffer all, if hap-
 pily thereby his fierce and savage nature might have been mollified and become
 tractable. Which the old man (as he was a Prince right prudent and one most
 quick of sent) had foreseene well enough long before: in so much as divers
 times he gave out & said openly, *That CAIVS lived to the destruction of him and*
them

*He was then
 but a child, a-
 bout 3 or 4
 yeares old.

*Pallenas was
 the Author of
 this Apoph-
 thegm.

11

them all: likewise, *That he cherished and brought up a verie * Natix, which is a*
kind of Serpent, for the people of Rome, and another (b) Phaethon to the whole world.

Not long after, he took to wife IVNIA * CLAVDILLA, the daughter of M.
 SILANVS a right noble gentleman. And then, being nominated to succeede
 12 AUGUR in the rourne of his brother DRVSVS, before his inuecture & instal-
 lation therein, he was advanced to the sacerdotall dignitie of a Pontife: a nota-
 ble testimonie of his pietie, and towardnesse, when as *The royall line and impe-*
*rial Court being desolate and destitute of all other * helpe; SEIANVS also suspected*
and soone after overthrowne, he should thus by small degrees arise to the hope of
 succession in the Empire. Which hope, the rather to confirme, after his wife
 aforesaid IUNIA was dead in childbirth, he solicited unto filthie wantonnesse
 dame ENNIA the wife of NÆVIUS MACRO, then captaine of the guard and
 Pretorian cohorts: having promised her marriage also, in case he ever attained to
 the Empire: and for assurance hereof he bound it with an oath and a bill of his
 owne hand. By her meanes being insinuated once into the inward acquain-
 tance of * MACRO, hee attempted, as some thinke, TIBERIUS with poison:
 and whiles he was yet living, but labouring for life, commanded his * ring to be
 plucked from his finger: but perceiving, that he gave some suspicion of hol-
 ding it fast, hee caused a pillow to be forced vpon his mouth, and so with his
 owne hands stifled and strangled him: yea, and when * his freed-man made
 an outcrie at this cruell and horrible act, he gaue order immediately to crucifie
 him. And verily this foundeth to truth, considering there be some Authors
 who write, That himselfe afterwards professed, if not the murder done, yet at
 leastwise his intencion, one day to doe it. For, hee made his boast continually,
 in reporting his owne pietie, *That to reuenge the death of his Mother and bre-*
thren, hee entred with a dagger into TIBERIUS bed-chamber whiles he lay asleepe,
and yet upon mere pittie and commiseration bestowd him selfe, flung away the
weapon, and so went backe againe. Neither durst TIBERIUS although hee had
 an inkling and intelligence of his disguise, make anie inquisition at all of
 the matter or proceede to revenge.

Thus having obtained the Empire he procured unto the people of *Rome*, or
 (as I may so say) to all mankind their hearts desire: being a prince of all that e-
 ver were, most wished for of the greatest part of provincially Nations & of the
 fouldiours, because most of them had known him an infant: and generally of the
 whole cominalty of *Rome*, in remembrance of his father GERMANICUS, & up-
 on compassion they took of that house in manner ruinate & extinct. As he re-
 moved therefore from *Misenn*, albeit he was clad in mourning weed & reuerently did
 attend the corps of TIBERIUS, yet went he among the altars, (a) sacrifices and
 burning torches in a most thick throng & ioifull traine of such as met him on
 the way: who beside other luckie & fortunate names called him SIBUS. i. their
 starr: Pullum. i. their chick, Pupum. i. their babe, and Alumnus. i. their nurceling.

No sooner was he entred into the cite of *Rome*, but incontinetly with cōsent of
 14 the senate & the multitude rushing into the *Curia*, after they had annulled the wil of
 TIBERIUS, who in his testamēt had adioyned coheire unto him another of his
 Nephews under age, & as yet in his *prætoria*, permitted he was alone, to have the
 full & absolute power of all, & that with such an vniversal ioy, that in three moneths
 space next ensuing & those not fully expired, there were by report above 160000.
 Beastes slaine for sacrifice. After this, when as within some fewe dayes
 M 4 hee

* Commonly
 taken for a wa-
 ter snake.

12

*For Claudia:
 as Livilla for
 Livia, after his
 ordinary mar-
 riage, to name
 women Hypo-
 crisitics, by
 their Dimuni-
 ties

*A Bishop.

*I flew Male,
 except him selfe,
 and Tiberius a
 very child the
 son of Drusus.

*Ennius, a very
 child the son
 of Drusus.

*Macrus, a
 very child the
 son of Drusus.

*who wrought
 the fall of Seianus.

*Signet.

*Tiberius
 freed-man.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
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*Rapiet or
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*Rapiet or
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*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.

*Rapiet or
 spud.



he passed over by the water but to the next Ilands of *Campania*, vowes were made for his safe returne: and no man there was who did let slip the least occasion offered, to testifie what penfive care he tooke, as touching his health and safetie. But so soone as he was once fallen sicke, they all kept watch by night about the Pallace: neither wanted some, who vowed to fight armed to the very outrance for his life thus lying sicke, yea and devoted* their (a) verie lives for him if hee recovered, professing no lesse in written bills set uppe in publike places. To this surpassing love of his owne Citizens and Countrie men, was adjoynd the notable favour also of foraine states. For, *Artabanns* King of the *Parthians*, professing alwaies his hatred and contempt of *TIBERIVS*, sought of his owne accord to him for amirie: yea he came in person to a conference with one of his legates (or Lieutenants) that had beene Consul, and passing over *Euphrates*, adored the * *Aegles* and other militarie ensignes of the *Romaines*, as also the Images of the *CÆSARS*.

* Offered to lay down their owne lives.

* The maine standards.

15

Himselfe also enkindled and set more on fire the affections of men by all manner of popularitie. When he had with many a teare praised *TIBERIUS* in a funerall Oration before the bodie of the people, and performed the complement of his obsequies most honorably, forthwith he hastened, to *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, for to translate from thence the ashes of his mother & brother, and that in foule & tempestuous wether, to the end that his pietie & kindnes might the more be seene. And being come to their reliques, very devoutly himselfe with his owne hands bestowed them in severall pitchers with no lesse shewe in pagent wise, having wasted them first to *Ostia* with a flag (or streamer) pitched in the poupe or sterne of a galley guided by two rankes of Oares and so soorth to *Rome* up the *Tiber*, by the ministerie of the most worshipfull gentlemen of *Rome*: he conveighed them within two *Fercules* (or frames) devised for the purpose into the *Mausolium*; even at noone day whē people were assembled there in great frequencie. In memoriall likewise of thē he ordained yeerely dirges & sacrifices to be performed with religious devotion to their ghosts by the whole Citie. And more thē that, he instituted for his mother solemn games within the Cirque; and a sacred Chariot withal wherein her Image to the full proportion of her bodie should be carried in the pompe. But in remembrance of his father he called the moneth September, *GERMANICVS*. These ceremoniall duties done, by vertue of one sole Act of the Senate, he heaped upon his grand-mother *ANTONIA* whatsoever honours *LIVIA AVGVSTA* had received in her wholtime. His Vnkle *CLAVDIVS*, a knight of *Rome* untill that time and no better, he assumed unto him for his Colleague in the Consulship. His brother * *TIBERIUS* be adopted the verie day that he put on his Virile growne, and stiled him *Prince of the youth*: As touching his sisters, hee caused in all Oaths this clause to be annexed, * *Neither shall I prise my selfe and children more deere, than I do CAIVS and his sisters*. Item, he ordained that in mooving and propounding of matters by the Consuls unto the Senatours, they should begin in this forme, *Quod bonum, &c. i. That which may be to the good and happie estate of CAIVS CÆSAR and his sisters &c.* In the semblable veine of popularitie, he restored all those that had beene condemned, confined and exiled, yea he freely dispensed with them, pardoning whatsoever crimes or imputations remained still behinde* from before time. All the bookes and registers pertaining

* His cousin germane for such recalled brethren.

* The forme of oath, that any man tooke.

* As we say, from the beginning of the world to this day.

pertaining to the causes of his mother and brethren, because no informer or witness should afterwarde neede to feare, he * brought together into the *Forum*: where protesting before hand, and calling the Gods to record with a lowd voice, that he had neither red ought nor medled once therewith, he burnt them. A certaine pamphlet presented unto him concerning his life and safety, he received not, but stood upon this point. *That he had done nothing wherefore he should be odious to any person*: saying withall, *That he had no eares open for informers and Tale-bearers.*

* *Conuictos.*

16

The *Spintrie*, inventers of monstrous formes in perpetrating filthie lust, he expelled forth of *Rome*, being hardly & with much ado intreated not to drown them in the deepe sea. The writings of *TITVS LABIENVVS*, *CORDVS CREMUTIVS* and *CASSIVS SEVERVS*, which had beene called in and abolished by divers Acts of the Senate, he suffered to be sought out againe, to be in mens hands extant, and usually to be red: seeing that it concerned him principally and stood him upon most, to have all actions and deedes delivered unto posteritie. The Breviarie of the Empire, that by *AVGVSTVS* had beene wont to be proposed openly, but was by *TIBERIUS* intermitted, he published: Vnto the Magistrates he granted free Iurisdiction, and that there might be no appealing to himselfe. The Gentrie and knighthood of *Rome* he reviewed with severity and great preciseness: yet not without some moderation of his hand. Hee openly tooke from them their * horses, in whome was found any foule reproch or ignominie: as for those, who were culpable in smaller matters, hee onely passed over their names in reading the Roll. To the ende, that the Iudges might bee eased of their labour, unto the foure former decuries hee added a fift. Hee gave the attempt likewise to bring up againe the auncient manner of Elections, and to restore unto the people their free voices. The legacies due by the last will and testament of *AVGVSTVS* (although the same was abolished): as also of *LIVIA AVGVSTA*, which *TIBERIUS* had suppressed, he caused faithfully and without fraud to be tendred and fully paid. The exaction called (a) *Ducentesima* of all bargaines and sales, he remitted throughout *Italie*. The losses that many a man had sustained by fire he supplied: & if to any princes he restored their kingdomes, hee adioyned withall the fruite and profits also of their rents, customes and imposts growing to the Crowne in the middle time between: as namely, unto *ANTIOCHVS COMAGENVS* who had been confiscated and fined in an hundred millions of Sesterces. And that he might the rather be reputed a fauourer of all good examples, hee gave unto a woman, (by condition a libertine) * 300000 Sesterces: for that she being under most grievous and dolorous torments, concealed yer & would not to die for it, utter a wicked fact committed by her Patron. For which things, among other honours done unto him there was decreed for him a (b) shield of golde, which upon a certaine day everie yeare, the colledges of the Priestes shoulde bring into the Capitoll, with the Senate accompanying them, and Noble mens children as well boyes as girles, singing the praises of his vertues in muscalle verse tuned sweetely in meeter. Moreover, there passed a decree, that the day one which hee beganne his Empire, should be called (c) *Palilia*, imploying thereby, as it were a second foundation of the Citie.

* Publike houses of service.

* Some read Centesimam

* *Officinas sesteria*. Some read *officinas*: i. 80000, and this cometh neerer to the truth.

He

17 He bare foure Consulships: the first, from the Calends of Iulie for ij. monethes: the second from the Calends of Ianuarie, for 30 dayes: the third unto the Ides of Ianuarie: and the fourth unto the seventh* day before the said Ides. Of all these, the ij. last he held joyntly together. The third, he alone entred upon at * *Lions*: not, as some deeme, upon pride or negligence: but because, being absent, he could not have knowledge that his Colleague died just against the very day of the Calends. He gave a * largeesse to the people twice, to wit, 300 sesterces to them a peece, and a most plenteous dinner he made as oft unto the Senate and degree of gentlemen, as also to the wives and children of them both. In the latter dinner of the twaine, he dealt over and above, among the men garments to be worne abroad: unto the women and children, * gardes welts, or laces, of purple and violet colour. And to the ende, he might augment the publike ioy of the Cittie with perpetuities also; hee annexed unto the feast *Saturnalia* one daye more, and named the same *Iuuenalis*.

* *Fascia*: Some expound these to be ribbands, garters and gorgets.

18 He set forth games of Sword-fencers, partly in the Amphitheater of *TAVRVS*, and partly within the *Septa* in *Mars feild*, into the which he inserted and brought in, certaine troupes of *African* and *Campane Champions* to skirmish by companies. even the very best, selected out of both Countries. Neither was he alwaies himselfe president at these solemnities and publike shewes, but otherwhiles enjoined the Magistrates or else his freinds to take the charge of presidencie. As for stage plaies, he exhibited them continually in diverse places and in sundrie forts: once also in the night season, burning lights throughout the Cittie. He skattered likewise and flung (among the common people) musils, of many and sundry kinds to skamble for: and dealt man by man, panners with viandes therein. At which feasting, to a certaine gentleman of *Rome* who over against him plyed his chawes full merily, and fedde right hartly with a greedie stomacke, he sent his owne part: as also to a Senatour for the same cause, his letters patents, wherein he declared him extraordinarily, Praetour. He represented besides, many Cirq-games, which held from morne to euen: interposing one while, the baiting of * *Panthers*; another while the Troie-justing and Turnament. But some especiall sports there were above the rest, and then the Cirq-place was laide all over with * *vermillion* and * *Borax Minerall*: Where none but of Senatours degree ruled and drave the Chariots. Some also he put forth upon a fodaine, namely when as he beheld from out of the house *GELOTIANA*, the preparation and furniture of the Cirque, some few from the (a) next* open galleries jettying out, called unto him for the same.

19 Furthermore, he devised a new kind of sight, and such as never was hearde of before: For, ouer the middle * *Space* betweene *Baia* and the huge piles or dammes at *Puteoli* containing three miles and 600 paces well neere, hee made a bridge: having gotten together from all parts ships of burden, and placed them in a duple course at *Anchor*, with a banke of earth cast thereupon, direct and straight after the fashion of the high way *Appia*. Vpon this bridge he passed to and fro for two dayes together: the first day mounted one a courser richly trapped, himselfe most brave and goodly to be seene with a chaplet of Oke-brances: armed with a battaile axe, a light sargnet and a sword, clad

* *An arme of the sea*.

* *Musilla* (small gifts).

* *Or Leopard*: Red & greene

* *Manianis*.

clad also in a cloke of gold: the morrow after he appeared in the habit of a Chariotier, ryding in a chariot drawne with two goodly steedes of an excellent race-carrying before him *DARIUS* a boy, one of the *Parthian* hostages with a traine of the *Pratorian* souldiers marching after in battaile raie: and accompanied with the Cohort of his minions in * *British* wagons. Most men I wore well, are of opinion that *CAIVS* inuented such a kind of bridge, in emulation of *XARXES*, who not without the wonder of the world, made a bridge, of planks over *Hellesponte* an arme of the Sea, somewhat narrower than this: others, that by a brute blazed abroad of some huge and monstrous peece of worke, hee might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, upon which countries hee meant to make warre. But I remember well that being a boy, I heard my Grandfather report and tell the cause of this worke, as it was deliuered by his owne Courteours, who were more inward with him than the rest: namely, That *THRASYLLUS* the great *Astrologer* assured *TIBERIUS* when hee was troubled in minde about his successour, and more enclined to his naturall and lawfull * nephew indeede by lineall descent, That *CAIVS* should no more become * *Tiberius*, the Emperour than able to runne a course to and fro on horse-batke, through the gulfes of *Baia*.

He set forth shewes also euen in forraine parts, to wit in *Sicilie* at *Saracose*, the games called * *Actiati*: Likewise at *Lions* in *France*, playes of a mixt nature and argument: as also a solemne contention for the prise in Eloquence both *Greeke* and *Latine*. In which tryall of maisteries, the report goeth, that those who were foiled and ouercome, conferred rewards upon the winners, yea and were forced to make compositions in their praise. But looke who did worst, they were commanded to wipe out their owne writings, either with a sponge or els with their tongues, unless they would chuse rather to be chastized with ferulars or els to be ducked ouer head and eares in the next riuer.

21

The buildings left halfe vndone by *TIBERIUS*, namely, the Temple of *AUGUSTUS*, and the Theatre of *POMPEIUS*, he finished. He began moreover a conduit in the *Tiburtine* territorie: and an Amphitheatre neere unto the Enclosure called *Septa*: Of the two works, the * one was ended by his successor *CLAUDIUS*, the other was forlet and given over quite. The walls at *Saracose* by the injurie of time decayed and fallen downe were by him reedified: and the temples of the gods there, repaired. Hee had fully purposed also to build a new the palace of *Polyrates* at *Samos*: to finish *APOLLONS* temple called *Diaymeum* at *Miletum*: as also to found and build a Cittie upon the top of the *Alpes*: but before all to dig through the *Isthmus* in *Achaia*: and thither had he sent already one of purpose, who had bene a principall Captaine of a Cohort in the *Vaward*, to take measure of the worke.

Thus farre forth as of a Prince: now forward, relate we must as of a Monster. Hauing assumed into his Stile many surnames, For called he was *Pius*, i. kind. *CASTRORUM filius* i. the sonne of the camp. *Pater exercituum* i. Father of hosts, and *Optimus Maximus CÆSAR* i. the most gracious and mightie *CÆSAR*, when he hapned to heare certaine * *Kings* (who were come unto the Cittie for to do their duties and to salute him) contend as they fate with him at supper, about the Nobilitie of their birth and parentage, hee cryed forth

* *Effedus*, Bellick or French.

* *Tiberius*, the sonne of *Draus* *Tiberius* the Emperours son.

20 * Some reade *Hestias* as running at tilt.

* *Rhodanus* *Rhodanus*.

* The Cōduict

22

* *Vsarping* the Attributes of *Imper*. * *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*.

Εἰς νόλον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅς βασιλεύς :

One Sovereigne Lord, one King let there be.

*Vnder Cæ-
sars
*Principum, for
the Roman
Emperours
were called
Principes

*The portrait
an propor-
tion of his owne
*The Palace is
that Mount,
that stood in
Forum Roma-
num.
*To his Pal-
lace,
*Sacrifices,

From the Pala-
tium to the Ca-
pitoll.

23

*Agrippa.
*Agrippina sup-
posed to be the
daughter of M.
Agrippa and
Julia.
*Sicula; not
Sicula; 75

and there lacked not much but that presently he had taken the *Diademe* upon him and converted wholly the shew of * Empire, into the (b) forme of a *Kingdome*. But being told that he was mounted already above the height and state both of * Emperours and also of *Kings*, thereupon from that time forward hee began to challenge unto himselfe a divine Maieftie : and having given order and commission, that the images of the gods, which either for deuout worship done unto them, or for curious workmanship scene upon them, excelled the rest, (among which was that of IUPITER OLIMPICUS) should be brought out of *Greece* unto *Rome*, that when their heads were taken of, he might set his * owne in the place: he enlarged the * *Palatium* and set out one part thereof as far as to the *forum*. Transfiguring likewise and turning the *Temple* of * *Castor* and *Pollux* into a * porch or entrie, he stood many times in the middle between the said two gods, brethren, and so exhibited himselfe to be adored of all comers. And some there were who saluted him by the name of IUPITER LATIALIS. Moreover he ordained a Temple peculiarly appropriate to his owne godhead as also priests and most exquisite * *Ofts*. In his said Temple stood his owne image all of gold, lively portraied and expressing his full proportion: the which was daily clad with the like vesture as himselfe wore. The masterships of the priest-hood by him instituted, the richest men that were, every time of vacancie purchased: such as made greatest suite and offered most therefore. The *Ofts* or sacrifices afore said were these foules, (b) *Phenicopteri*, *Peacocks*, (d) *Tetraones*, (e) *Numidica*, (f) *Meleagrides* and (g) *Pheasants*, and those to be sort by their kinds; and so every day killed. And uerily, his usuall manner was in the night to call unto the Moone when she was at full and shining bright out for so come and ly with him in his armes: but in the day time, he talked secretly and apart with IUPITER CAPITOLINUS: one while by whispering and rounding one another in the eare, otherwhiles speaking more lowde and not without chiding: For he was heard in threatening wife to utter these words Εἰς γὰρ νόλον ἀναστὰς πρὸς σέ, I will remove and translate thee into the lande of the *Greeks*: untill such time as being intreated (according as he tolde the tale himselfe) and invited first by him for to cohabite, he made a bridge over the temple of AUGUSTUS of sacred memorie and so ioyned the *Palatium* * and *Capitol* together. And soone after, to the end that he might be nearer unto him hee layed the foundation of a newe house in the voide base-court of the *Capitoll*.

Hee could in no wise abide to be either reputed or named the nephew of AGRIPPA by reason of his base and obscure parentage: yea and angrie hee would be, in case any man either in Oration or Verse inserted him among the images of the CÆSARS. But he gave it out openly, that his * owne mother was begotten by incest which AUGUSTUS committed with his owne daughter IULIA. And not content with this infamous imputation of AUGUSTUS, the *Aetrick* and * *Sicilian* victories by him atchieved, hee strenghtly forbid to be celebrated yeerely with solemne holidays, as beeing vnluckie and hurtfull to the people of *Rome*. As for LIVIA AUGUSTA his great Grand-mother, hee called her ever and anon VLISSES in a womans habite: yea and in a certaine

Epistle

Epistle unto the Senate he was so bold as to lay unto her, * Ignobility as descended from a Decurian * of FURIO who was her Grandfire by the mothers side, * *Balence of* whereas it is evident and certaine by publick records that AUFIDIUS * LIN * *Aufidius Lib-* go bare honourable Offices in *Rome* When his Grandame * ANTONIA * *or Livia,* requested secret conference with him, he denied her, unlesse MACRO CAPI- * *Or Livia,* taine of the Guard might come in betwene to heare their talke. And so, by such indignities and discontentments as these, hee was the cause of her death: and yet, as some thinke, he gave her poison withall. Neither when shee was dead daigned hee her any honour, but out of his dining chamber beheld her funerall fire as it was burning. His brother TIBERIUS he surprised suddenly at unwares, sending a Tribune (a) of Souldiours, who rushed in upon him and so slew him. Likewise * SILANUS his Father in law hee forced to death, even * *VVhose* to cut his owne throate with a Razour, picking quarrels to them both and *daughter hee* finding these causes: to wit, that the * one followed him not when hee tooke *had married,* sea beeing very rough and much troubled, but staid behind in hope to feize * *Silanus.* the Cite of *Rome* into his owne hands, if ought hapned but well unto him by occasion of tempests: * the other smelled strongly of a Preservative or Anti- * *Tiberius,* dote, as if hee had taken the same to prevent his poisons. Whereas, in very truth SILANUS avoided thereby the unsufferable paine of being Sea-sick and the grievous trouble of sayling: and TIBERIUS for a continuall cough that grew still upon him used a medicine. For, his Vnkle * CLAUDIUS he reserved * *His Succes-* for nothing else but to make him his laughing-stock. *four in the* *Empire.*

24

With all his sisters, hee used ordinarily to be naught: and at any great feast hee placed evermore one or other of them by turnes beneath himselfe, while his wife sat above. Of these sisters (as it is verily thought) he deflowered DRUSILLA being a virgin, when himselfe also was yet under age and a very boy: Yea, and one time above the rest hee was found in bed with her and taken in the manner by his Grandmother ANTONIA; in whose house they were brought up both together. Afterwards also when shee was bestowed in marriage upon LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, a man of Consulare degree, hee tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if shee had beene his owne lawfull wife. Also when he lay sicke, he ordained her to be both heire of all his goods and Successour also in the Empire. For the same sister deceased, hee proclaimed a generall cessation * of Law in all Courts. During which time, a capitall crime it was for any man to have laughed, bathed, or supped together with parents, wife or children. And being impatient of this sorrow, when hee was fled suddenly and by night out of the Cite, and had passed all over *Campania*, to *Saracoe* hee went; and so from thence returned speedily againe with his beard and haire of head overgrowne. Neither at any time ever after, in making a speech before the people or to his Souldiours concerning any matters were they never so weighty would hee sweare otherwise than by the * name of * *Per nomen,* DRUSILLA. The rest of his sisters, (LIVIA and AGRIPPINA) hee loved neither *some reade* with so tender affection nor so good respect: as who he oftentimes prostituted & *Women, the* offered to be abused by his own stale catamites. So much the more easily there- *godhead or die* *vine power:* *For he equalled* *fore her with Forns,* *and womeng*

N
and commaunded that she should be worshipped as a Goddesse: and as Dion writeth, named she was *Pamphila*, and womeng were compelled to sweare by her, as by *Iuno*.

fore condemned he them in the case of *ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS*, as adulteresses and privie to his treasons and waite-layings addressed against his person. And he not onely divulged the hand-writings which were sought out by guile and adulteries, but also consecrated unto *MARS REVENGER* those three daggers prepared * for his death, with a title over them, containing the cause of his fo doing.

25

As for his mariages, a man may hardly discern, whether hee contracted, dissolved, or held them still with more dishonesty. *LIVIA ORESTILLA*, what time she was wedded unto *C. PISO*, himselfe, (being one who came in person to the Solemnization of the mariage), commaunded to be brought home unto him as his owne wife: and having within few daies cast her off, two yeeres after he banished and sent her away: because in the middle time betwene, shee was thought to have * had the company againe of her former husband. Some report, that being an invited guest at the Nuptiall supper, he charged *PISO* sitting over against him, in these termes, *Sirra, see you sit not too close unto my wife*: and so, presently had her away with him from the table: and the next day published by Proclamation, *That hee had met with a mariage after the example of (a) ROMULUS and AUGUSTUS*. Astouching *LOLLIA PAULINA* married already to *C. MEMMIUS*, a man of Consular degree and ruler of Armies: upon mention made of her Grandmother as the most beautifull Lady in her time, he all of a suddaine sent and called her home out of * the Province: and taking her perforce from her husband, wedded her and shortly turned her away: forbidding her straightly for ever the use of any mans body whatsoever. *CÆSONIA*, for no speciall beauty and favour of her owne above others; nor yet because she was in the flower of her youth, (considering shee had bene the mother already of three daughters by another man): but onely for that shee was a most lascivious woman and of unsatiable lust he loved with more ardent affection and constancie: in so much as many a time he would shew her to his Souldiours in her haire, clad in a Souldiours * Cassocke with a light Target and an helmet riding close unto him: but to his friends, * starke naked also. When she brought him a * childe, hee vouchsafed her then, the name of his wife and not before; professing and making it knowne, that in one and the selfe same day, he was become both her husband and also father of the Infant of her body borne. This babe he named *LUNIA DRUSILLA*: whom hee carried about with him through the temples of all the Goddesses; and bestowed at length in the lap of * *MINERVA*, recommending it to her for to be nourished, brought up and taught. Neither had hee any surer signe and evidence to believe she was his owne and of his naturall seede conceived, than her curstnesse and shrewdnesse: and that qualitie had shee even then at the first, in such measure; as that with her perilous fingers shee would not sticke to lay at the face and eyes of other small Children playing together with her.

26

Vanitie it were and meere folly, to adioine hereunto, how he served his kinsfolke and friends, to wit *PTOLEMÆUS KLEUBÆSON* & his owne cousin * german

* By them, to wit *Lepidus* and his two sisters: or by him, for their death.

* Or sought a gaine for the company &c. *reperisse*.

* Where she was with her husband afore said.

* Short cloake or horsemans coats chlamyde.

* Like as *Cædæus*, King of *Lydia*, did to his friend *Gyges*.

* A daughter. * Goddesses of good arts and sciences, *Virgil*, *operum beatæ signæ minervæ*.

* Remoued.

man (for hee also was the Nephew of *M. ANTONIUS* by his daughter *SERENA* (a): but especially *MACRO* himselfe yea and *ENNTIA* likewise, who were his chiefe helpers & aduanced him to the Empire. All of the, in right of their neere affinity, and in consideration of their good deserts were highly rewarded, even with bloody death. No more respective was hee one whit of the Senate, nor dealt in gentler wise with them: Some, after they had borne the highest honours, hee suffered to runne by his * Wagon side in their gownes for certaine miles together: and as he sat at supper, to stand waiting one while at the head, another while at the foote of the table, girt with a white linnen towell about them. Others, whom hee had secretly muredred, he continued never the lesse calling for, as if they were alive: giving it out most untruly some few daies after, that they had wilfully made themselves away. The Consuls had forgot by chaunce to publish by proclamation his Birth-day: For which, hee deprived them of their magistracie: and so for three daies space the Common-wealth was without the soveraine (b) authoritie. His owne Questour, who hapned to be nominated in a conspiracie against him, hee caused to be scourged: and the cloathes out of which hee was stripped to be put under the Souldiours feete, that they might stand more stedily whiles they were whipping him. In semblable pride and violence hee handled other States and degrees of Citizens. Beeing disquieted with the stirre and noise that they kept, who by midnight tooke up their standings in the * *Cirque*, which cost them nothing: hee drave them all away with cudgels: in which tumult and hurlyburly, there were twenty Knights of *Rome* and above, crowded and crushed to death: as many matrones and wives also; besides an infinite number of the common multitude. At the Stage Plaies, being minded to sow discord, and minister occasion of quarrell betwene the Commons and Gentlemen of *Rome*: he gave his (c) Tallies forth sooner than ordinarie: to the end that the * *Equestria* might be possessed afore-hand even by the basest Commoners that came. At the sword-fight, he other whiles commaunded the Curtaines to be folded up and drawne together, during the most parching heate of the sunne: and forbad that any person should be let * forth: and then, removing and sending quite away the ordinarie furniture of shewes provided to make pastime, he put forth unto the people for to behold, poore wild-beasts and carian-leane, to bee baited: the basest sword-fencers also and wome with age, to combat: yea, and appointed * householders such as were of quality and well knowne, but yet noted for some speciall feeblenesse and imperfection of body to goe under the (d) * *Pegmes* and carie them. And divers times hee * brought a dearth and famine among the people, by shutting up the garners and Store-houses from them.

27

The crueltie of his nature he shewed by these examples most of all. When Cartell which were to feede wilde beasts prepared for baiting, grew to be sold very deere, he appointed malefactours found guilty to be slaughtered for that purpose. And in taking the review of Goales and prisoners therein, as they were sorted according to their offences: he, without once looking upon the title & cause of their imprisonment, standing only within a gallerie, commaunded al in the mids, *a calvo ad calvū* (a) *i. e.* from one bald-pate to another, to be led forth to execution. He exacted of him the performance of a vow, who had promised

* *Effundam, de carro*.

* Or shew place.

* Or Tickets. * Rooms and seats in the Theater appointed for the Gentlemen.

* *Emitti*, some read *emittere*, *i. e.* to be covered with Har, veile, benet or Bon-grace against the sunne.

* *i. Citizens*. * *Pegmatis*, in the dative case, or frames for Pageants. * *Induere*.

* *Medios, a calvo ad calvū*.

N 2

to

to doe his devoir in publick sword-fight for the recoverie of his health: and him he beheld fighting at sharpe: neither dismissed he him before he was victour, and after many prayers. Another there was, who for the same cause had vowed to die. This man being not very forward to pay his vow, hee caused to be dight with sacred hearbs, and adorned with * Infules, like a sacrifice; and so delivered him into the hands of boyes: who calling hard vpon him for the discharge of his vow, should course and drive him through the streets of the City, untill he were throwne headlong downe the steepe * Rampier. Many honest Citizens of good calling and estate, after he had first disfigured with marks of branding yrons, he condemned to dig in mines, and to make high-waies, or to encounter with beasts: or kept them creeping with all foure like brute beasts within a cage for the nonce: or else slit them through the mids with a sawe. And those whom hee thus served, were not all of them guilty of any grievous offences: but sufficient it was, if they had a base conceite and spake but meanly of some shew that he exhibited: or because they had never sworne stoutly by his * *Genius*. Parents he forced to be present at the execution of their owne children. And when one Father excused himselfe by reason of sicknesse, hee sent a Sister for him: another of them immediatly after the heave spectacle of his sonne put to death, he invited to his own(e) bourd; made him great cheere, and by all manner of courtesie provoked him to iocundnesse and mirth. The Maister of his sword-fights and beast batings, he caused for certaine daies together to be beaten with (4) chaines in his owne sight: but killed him not quite, before himselfe could no longer abide the stench of his braine by this time purified. A Poet, the Author of *Atellane Enterludes*, for a verse that he made implying a iest, which might be doubly taken, he burnt at a stake in the very middle shew-place of the *Amphitheatre*. A Gentleman of *Rome*, whom he had cast before wild beasts, when he cried out, *That he was innocent*, he commaunded to be brought back: and after hee had cut out his tongue, sent him, among them againe, (to fight for his life or to be devoured).

Having recalled one from exile which had been long banished, he demaunded of him, *what he was wont to do there?* who made answer thus by way of flatterie, *I praised quoth he, so the Gods alwaies that TIBERIUS* (as now it is come to passe) might perish, and you become Emperour*. Hereupon CALIGULA weening that those whom he had banished praised likewise for his death, sent about into the * Islands, to kill them every one. Being desirous to have a Senatour torne & mangled peecemeale, he scorned certaine of purpose, who all on a suddaine as he entred into the *Curia*, should call himemie to the State, & so lay violent hands upon him: and when they had with their (1) writing yrons all to pricked and stabbed him, deliver him over to the rest, for to be dismembred and cut in peeces accordingly. Neither was hee satisfied, untill he saw the mans limmes, ioints and inwards drawne along the streetes, and piled all on an heape together before him.

His deeds most horrible as they were, hee augmented with as cruell words. His saying was, *That he commended and approved in his owne nature nothing more, than (to use his own terme) adiatrespian i. unmoveable rigour*. Whē his Grandmother ANTONIA seemed to give him some admonitiō, he (as though it were not enough to disobey her), *Go to dame*, quoth he, *remember I may do what I wil against all persons whoſoever*. Being minded to kill his owne brother, whom

* Ribbands.

* Of Targuini-
us, as some
thinke.* These *Genii*,
are of a middle
essence, be-
tweene men &
Gods, called
therefore, *Me-
dioximi*. In fig-
nificatiō here, the
Demon, Tuerlar
angel or spirit
of the Prince:
For the manner
of the Romanes
was in flatter-
ing wise, thus
to sweare, as al-
so by the belitt-
ling the life, the ho-
nour of their
Emperours.

28

* Who had ba-
nished him* Where they
were wont to
live banished.

29

for feare of poison he imagined to be fortified afore-hand with * Preservatives; *What* quoth he, *is there any Antidote against CÆSAR?* When he had banished his sisters, he threatened them in these termes, saying, *That hee had not (a) Islands onely as commaund but swords also*. A certaine Citizen of Pretours degree, defired oftentimes frō the retiring place where he was at *Anticyra*, (b) (into which lile he went for his health sake) to have his licence * continued. But hee gave order he should be killed outright: adding these words therewith, that *Blond-letting was necessary for him, who in so long time had found no good by* * HELLBOR. Once every ten daies, his manner was to subscribe and write downe a certaine number out of the Goale to be executed, and said withall, *That hee cast up his reckonings, and cleared the booke of accompts*. When hee had at one time condemned a sort of French-men and Greekes together, hee made his boast *That he had subdued* * GALLOGRÆCIA.

He would not lightly permit any to suffer death, but after many strokes gi-ven and those very softly; with this rule and precept evermore, which now be- came rife and well knowne, * *Strike so, as they may feele that they are dying*. Hee executed on a time one whom he had not appointed to die, by error onely and mistaking his name: *But it makes no matter*, quoth he, *for even he also hath deser-ved death*. This speech of the * Tyrant out of a Tragædie, hee often repeated *Oserint dummetuant i. Let them hate me so they feare me*. Many a time hee inveighed bitterly against all the Senatours at once, as the Dependants and adherents of SEIANUS, or the Informers against his mother and brethren; bring- ing forth those evidences which hee had made semblance before were burnt. And therewith excused & iustified the cruelty of TIBERIUS as necessary: see- ing he could not otherwise chuse but beleve so many that made presentments unto him. The degree of Gentlemen he railed at continually, as devoted wholly to the Stage and shew-place. Being highly displeased upon a time with the multitude favouring as they did the contrary * faction to * his, *Howla God*, quoth he, *that the people of Rome had but one neck*. And when TIBERIUS (a) LATRO was by them called for to fight at sharpe, he said, *That they also w^t called for him were* * TETRINII every one. It fortuned that five of these * RETIARII, fight- ing in their single coates, and * together by companies, had without any com- bat yeelded themselves as overcome to as many other Champions or Fencers called * *Secutores*. Now when commaundement was given (by the people) *That they should be killed*, one takes me up his Trout-speare againe into his hand and slew all the other five who were thought the Conquerours. This slaughter he both bewailed in an Edict as most cruell, and also cursed them that endured to see the sight.

31 Hee was wont moreover to complaine openly of the condition of his time wherein he lived, as not renowned by any publick calamities: Whereas the raigne of AUGUSTUS was memorable for the overthrow of VARUS: that of TIBERIUS ennobled by the fall of scaffolds in the Theater at *Fidena*. As for himselfe, like hee was to be forgotten, (such was the prosperity in his daies). And evermore he wished the carnage and execution of his armies. Famine, Pestilence, and Skarfires, or some opening chinks of the ground.

32 Even whiles he was at his recreations and disports, whiles he set his mind upon gaming and feasting, the same cruelty practised he both in word & deed.

N 3

Often-

* Or Counter-
poison.* By letters or
friends that he
made.* Renewed.
* By purg eg* A Nation
mixt, of French
and Greekes.

30

* Iusticiæ.

* Arius.

* Of Charoniers
* For he favou-
red the Greene
Liverie.* Worthy and
meert to be put
to sword-fight.* So named of
a net that they
used in fight to
catch their ad-
versarie with:they handled
also a weapon
with three times
or pikes like a
Trout-speare.They were cal-
led *Threos*.* *Gregarii* di-
micantes, for
destruction of
those that were
called *Blonco-** *chis*, & employed
in single fight.* Otherwise,
Bloncochis.These were ar-
med, whereas
the *Retarii*,
were highly
appointed, and* *Tunicati*, tra-
versing their
greeds nimble,
and seeming
otherwhiles to
slee whereupon
the others took
their name, *Se-** *cutores*, as follo-
wing them.

Ofentimes as hee sat at dinner or banquetted, were serious matters examined in his very sight by way of torture: and the Souldiour that had the skill and dexterity to behead folke, then and there used to cut off the heads of any prisoners indifferently without respect. At *Puteoli*, when he dedicated the bridge, which as we noted before, was his owne invention: after hee had invited many unto him from the shore and strond, suddainly hee turned them all headlong over the bridge into the water. And seeing some of them taking hold of the helmes for to save themselves, hee shooved and thrust them off, with poies and oares into the sea. At a publick feast in *Rome*, there chaunced a servant to pluck off a thin plate of silver from the table: and for this, immediatly hee delivered him to the hang-man for to be executed; namely to have his hands cut off, and hung about his neck iust before his brest with a written Title caried before him declaring the cause of this his punishment; and so to be led round about all the companies as they sat at meate. One of these Fencers called *MIRMILONES*, comming out of the Fence-schoole piaied at wooden wasters with him; and there tooke a fall for the nonce, and lay along at his feete: him hee stabbed for his labour, with a short yron skeine that hee had: and withall, after the soldierlike manner of Victors, ranne up and downe with his garland of Date tree branches. There was a beast brought to the Altar ready to be killed for Sacrifice: he comes girt in habite of these *Beast slayers*, and with the axe head that hee lifted up on high, knocked downe the Minister himselfe, who was addrested to cut the said beasts throat, and so dashed his braines out. At a plenteous feast where there was great cheere, hee set up all at once an unmeasurable laughter: And when the Consuls who sat iust by him asked gently and with faire language, *Whereat hee laughed so? At what else*, quoth hee, *but this, That with one nod of my head, I can have both your throats cut immediatly.*

33

Among divers and sundry iests and merie conceites of his, as hee stode once hard by the image of *IUPITER*, hee demaunded of *APELLES* an actour of Tragedies, whether of the twaine he thought to be the greater and more stately, *IUPITER* or himselfe? And whiles he made some stay ere he answered, hee all to tare and mangled him with whipping cheere, praising ever and anone his voice crying unto him for mercy, as passing sweet and pleasant, even when hee groned also under his lannes. So often as hee kissed the neck of wife or concubine, hee would say withall, *As faire and lovely a neck as this is, off it shall goe if I doe but speake the word.* Moreover, he gave it forth many a time, *That he would himselfe fetch out of his wife CÆSONIA, though it were with Late strings, what (a) was the reason that hee loved her so entirely?*

34

Neither raged hee with lesse envie and spitefull malice, than pride and cruelty, against persons, in manner, of all times and ages. The Statues of brave and worthy men brought by *AUGUSTUS* out of the Capitoll Courtyard for the straightnesse of the place, into *Mars-field*, hee overthrew and cast here and there in such sort, as they could not be set up againe with the Titles and Inscriptions whole: forbidding that ever after there should be any where Statue or Image erected unto any person living, without his advice asked and graunt passed. He was of minde also to abolish *HOMERS* verses: *For why may not I*, quoth hee, *doe that,*

* For this bridge was made of barks.
* A great dinner.

* waiting at the bord.
* Or leave.
* For tables in those dayes were laid & covered over with silver plates. Plin. lib. 33.

* Or scutours, asore said.

* As sacrifice.

* Or Paramour.

* By cramping and torturing her therewith.

that which *PLATO* lawfully did? who banished him out of the *Citie* that hee framed and ordeined. The writings likewise and images of *VIRGIL* and *T. LIVIUS*, hee went within a litle of remooving out of all libraries. The one of these hee carped, as a man of no witte and uerie meane learning: the other, for his verbotitie and negligence in penning his Historie. Moreover, as touching Lawiers, (as if hee meant to take away all use of their skill and knowledge) hee cast out these words many times, *That he would surely bring it to passe, They should bee able to give none other answer nor counsell than according to reason and equitie.*

Hee took from the noblest personages that were, the olde armes and badges of their houses: Fro *TORQUATUS* the collar: fro *CINCINNATUS* the curled lock of haire: & from *CN. POMPEIUS*, of an ancient stocke descended, the surname of *MAGNUS* belonging to that linage. As for King *PTOLEMEUS*, (of whom I made report before) whē hee had both sent for him out of his realme and also honorably intertained him hee slewed all of a sodaine, for no other cause in the World but for that as hee entred into the Theatre to see the shewes and games there exhibited, hee perceived him to haue turned the eyes of all the people upon him, with the resplendent brightnesse of his purple cassocke. All such as were faire, and caried a thick bush of haire growne long, so often as they came in his way, hee disfigured by shaving their heads all behind. There was one *ESCIUS PROCLUS* (whose father had bene a principall captaine of the formost cohort) for his exceeding tall personage and louely fauour withall named (a) *COLOSSEROS*, Him hee caused sodainly to be pulled downe from the scaffold where hee sat, and to be brought into the plaine within the lists: where hee matched him in fight with a sword-fenser of that fort which hee called *Threces*, and afterwards with another, all armed. Now when hee had giuen the foile twice, & gotten the upper hand, hee commanded him forthwith to be pinniond & bound fast, & being put into foule and overworne clothes to be led round about the streets to be shewed unto womē, & so to have his throat cut in the end. To conclude there was none of so base & abiect condition, nor of so mean estate, whose commodities & good parts hee depraved not. Against the great Prelat stiled by the name *K. NEMORENSIS*, because hee had many yeares already enioyed his sacerdotall dignitie hee suborned under hand a comcurrent and aduersarie mightier than himselfe. When as vpon a certaine day of publike games, there was greater applause & more clapping of hands than ordinarie at *POPILIUS* the fenser, manumising his slave for ioy of the fortunate cōbate which hee had made, hee flung out of the Theatre in such hast, that treading vpo his own gown skirt hee came tumbling down the staires with his head forward: chafing and tuming yea and crying out *That the people of Rome, Lord of all nations, yielded more honour, and that out of a most vaine and frivolous occasion unto a sword-fenser, than to consecrated Princes, or to himselfe there in personall presence.*

No regard had hee of chastitie and cleanness, eyther in himselfe or in others. *M. LEPIDUS MNESTER* the *Pantomime*, yea & certain hostages hee kept and loved as the speech went, by way of reciprocall commerce in mutuall impunity, Doing & suffering against kind, *VALERIUS CATULLUS*, a yong gendeman descended from a familie of Consuls degree, cōplained & openly cried out, that

N 4

hee

* Being a Poet.

* Virgil.
* Livy.

35
* Or Ensignes.
* Or Cheine.
* Who afterwards, married the daughter of *Claudius* the Imperour.

* *Hoplomachus*, with shield and helme.
* To the Theatre & *Hoplomachus*.

* To wit, sword fight.
* *Esclavus*, or Champion that vie to fight and play his prizes out of a British or French Chariot called *Esclavus*.

36

* A player counterfeiting all partes, and kindes of gesture.

hee was unnaturally by him abused; and that his uerie sides were wried, and tyred out with his filthie companie. Over and above the incests committed with his owne sisters, and his love so notorious of PIRALLIS that common and prostitute strumpet, there was not lightly a dame or wife of anie worship and reputation, that hee forbore. And those for the most part would he inuite together with their husbands to supper: and as they passed by at his feete, peruse and consider curiously; taking leasure thereto after the maner of those that cheapen and buy wares in ouert market: yea and with his hand chocke them under the chin and make them to looke up, if happily any of them in modesty and for bashfulnesse held downe their faces. And then so often as he lifted, out he goes from the refection roome, and when he had called her unto him apart that liked him best, hee would within a litle after: (even whiles the tokens were yet fresh testifying their wanton worke) returne: and openly before all the companie, cyther praise or dispraise her: reckoning up everie good or bad part of bodie and action in that brutish businesse. To some of them, himselfe sent bills of divorcement in the name of their husbands absent and commanded the same to be set upon the file and stand in publike record.

37

*Or Oiles

In riotous and wastfull (a) expense, he outwent the wits and inuentions of all the prodigal spendthrifts that ever were; as having devised a new found maner and use of baines, together with most strange and monstrous kinds of meats and meales: namely, to bath with hote and cold *ointments: to drinke off and quaffe most pretious and costly pearles dissolued in vinegar: to set upon the board at feastes loaves of bread and other viands to them before his guests, all of golde, saying commonly withall, That a man must either be frugall or els CÆSAR. Moreover for certaine dayes together, he flung and scattered among the common people from the Lovuer of the stately Hall IULIA, mony in peece of no meane ualue. He built moreover tall galiaces of cedar (b) timber, with poupes and sternes beset with precious stones, carying sailes of fundrie colours containing in them barnes large galleries, walking places, and dining chambers of great receipt: with vines also and trees bearing apples and other fruit in as much varietie: wherein he would sit feasting in the very day time among quires of musicians and melodious fingers, and so saile along the coasts of *Campania*. In building of stately Pallaces and mannor houses in the countrey he cast aside all rules and orders as one desirous to do nothing so much as that which was thought impossible to be done. And therefore he laid foundations of piles where the sea was most raging and deep withall, and hewed rocks of most hard flint & rag: plains also he raised even with mountaines & by digging down hill tops levelled them equall with the plaines: all with incredible celeritie: as punishing those who wrought but slowly even with death. In summe, (and not to reckon vp euerie thing in particular) That infinite wealth and masse of Treasure which TIBERIUS CÆSAR left behind him valued at *2700. millions of Sesterces, hee consumed to nothing, before one whole yeare was gone about.

*Pices as septim
or millies

38

Being exhaust therefore and grown exceeding bare, he turned his mind to rapine and polling by fundrie and most nice points: of forged calumnation, of sales, of imposts and taxes. He affirmed plainly, that those held not by lawe and rightfully the freedome of Rome Citie, whose Auncestours had obtained the

the grant thereof in these tearmes, *to them and their posteritie*: unlesse they were sonnes: For, by *Posteriti* i. *Posterity* quoth he, ought to be understood none beyond this degree of descent. And when the Letters-pattens and graunts of IULIUS and AUGUSTUS, (late Emperours of sacred memorie) were brought forth as evidences, he *bewailed the same as olde, past date and of no validitie. Hee charged those also with false valuation and *wrong certificate of their estates, unto whom there had accrued afterward (upon what cause soever) any encrease of subltance. The last willes and testaments of such as had beene principall *Centurions* of the formost Cohorts, as many I say, as from the beginning of TIBERIUS Empire, had left neither the sayd TIBERIUS, nor himselfe Heire, he canceled for their unthankfulnesse: of all the rest likewise, he held the wils as voide, and of none effect: in case any person would come forth and say, that they purposed and intended, at their death to make CÆSAR their Heire. Vpon which feare that hee put men in, beeing now both by unknown persons unto him, nominated Heire among their familiar friends, and also by parents among their children, he tearmed them all mockers and confiners, for that after such nuncupative wils they continued stil alive: and to manie of them he sent certaine *dainties empoisoned. Now such causes as these above-saide he heard judicially debated: having before hand set downe a certaine rate and summe of money, for the raising whereof he sat iudicially in Court: and when that summe was fully made vp, then and not before hee would arise. And (as he was one who in no wise could abide any litle delay) he condemned vpon a time by uertue of one definitive sentence above fortie persons, liable to judgement for divers and sundry crimes: making his boast withall unto his wife CÆSONIA newly wakened out of other sleepe *What a deale he had done, while she tooke her noones repose*. Having published an open port sale of the residue remaining of furniture provided to let out all shews and games, he caused the said parcels to be brought forth and sold: setting the prices thereof himselfe and enhaunsing the same to such a prick, that some men enforced to buye certaine things at an extreame and exceeding rate (whereby they were empoverished and stript of all their goods) cut their owne veines and so bled to death. Well knowne it is that whiles APONIUS SATURNINUS tooke a nap and slept among the seats and stauls where these sales were held; CAIVS put the *Bedell in mind not to let slip and overpasse such an honorable person of Pretours degree as he was: considering quoth he, that with his head he had so often nodded and made *signes unto him, and thus taking that occasion, he never rested raising the price whiles he sat and nodded stil, untill there were fastened upon the man, (ignorant God wote, altogether of any such matter) thirteene sword-fensers, at nine millions of Sesterces.

*Deflates, or
deflates i. he
retracted and
despised.
*Perpetuam edi-
tu Coniugis*Mallum or
Martyr, such
as Marchpance

*Or Crier.

*As it were, to
buy dills & that

In *Gaul* likewise, when he had sold the jewels, ornaments, and household stuffe of his *sisters by him condemned; their seruants also and uerie children at excessive high prices: finding sweetnesse in the gaine growing thereupon and thereby drawn on to proccede in that course, looke what furniture belonged to the old imperiall Court, hee sent for it all from the Citie of Rome. For the cariage whereof, hee tooke vp even the passengers wagons that usually were hired, yea the very jades which serued *mills and backe-houses: In so much, as manie times there wanted bread in Rome: and a number of Termers, such

39
*Luvilla and
Agrippina.*In grinding
Corne, and
carying bread
such

such as had matters depending in lawe, for that they could not make their appearance in Court at their dayes appointed, by absence lost their suits. For the selling of which furniture, there was no fraude, no guile, no deceitful allurements to be devised that he used not: one while checking each one for their avarice, and rating them because they were not ashamed to be richer than he: otherwhiles making semblance of repentance, in that he permitted persons to have the buying of such things as belonged to the Empire. Intelligence was given vnto him, that a certaine wealthy and substantiall man in that province, had paid 200000. sesterces unto his officers (who had the bidding of guests unto his owne table) that by some fittle shift, himselfe might be soited in among other guests: neither was he discōtented that the honor of supping with him was prized so high. The morrow after therefore, as this provinciall man was sitting at a publike portsale, hee sent one of purpose to tender and deliver unto him some frivolous trifle (I wot not what) at the price of 200000 sesterces: and withall to say unto him, *That take a supper he should with CÆSAR, as a guest invited by his owne selfe.*

40 He levied and gathered new tributes and imposts, such as never were heard of before: at the first by the hands of Publicanes; and afterward (by reason of the excessive gaines that came in) by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian cohorts. For he omitted no kind of thing, no manner of person, but he imposed some tribute upon them. For all eates that were to be sold throughout the Citie, there was exacted a certaine taxation & set payment, For actions for suits, for judgements whosoever cōmenced or drawn in writing, the fortieth part of the whole summe in suite went to his share in the name of a tribute: not without a penaltie, in case any one were convinced, to have cyther growen to composition or given the thing in question. The eighth part of the poore porters and Carriers daies-wages: out of the gets also and takings of common strumpets, as much as they earned by once lying with a man, was payed *nomen-tributi*. Moreover to the chapter of the law, this branch was annexed that there should bee liable to this tribute, not onely the parties themselves that by trade of harlotry gat their living, but even they likewise who kept houses of bawderie: As also that *wedded persons should paye for their vse of marriage.

*Nec don et
matrimonia ob-
noxia essent.
Some interpret
this of wedded
folke playing
false & commit-
ting adulterie.

41

After these and such like taxes were denounced by proclamation, but not yet published abroad in writing, when as through ignorance of the written lawe (a) many trespasses and transgressions were committed: at length, upon instant demand of the people, he proposed indeede the act, but written in very small letter and within as narrow a place. so that no man might exemplifie the same or copie it out. And to the end that there might bee no kinde of spoile and pillage which he attempted not, he set up a stews and brothelhouse in the verie Palace, with many roomes and chambers therein distinguished asunder, and furnished according to the dignity and worth of that place. In it there stood to prostitute themselves, married wives, youths and springals free borne. Then sent he all about to the frequented places as well markets as Halles of resort, certaine *Nomenclatours*, to invite and call thither by name, young men and olde, for to fulfill and satisfie their lust. All comers at their entrance payde money (as it were) for usurie and interest. Certaine persons also were appoin-

ted

ted to take note in open sight, of their names, as of such as were good friends increasing the renewes of CÆSAR. And not disdaining so much as the lucre and vantage arising out of hazard and dice play, hee gained the more by cogging, lying, yea and forswearing (of gamesters). And upon a time, having put over to his next fellow gamester his owne course, to cast the dice for him in his turne: out he goes into the court-yard and foregate of the house: where, having espied two wealthy gentlemen of Rome passing by, he commanded them to be apprehended incontinently, and condemned in the confiscation of their goods: which done he returned in againe, leaping for joy & making his vaunt, *That he never had a luckier hand at dice.*

But when he had once a daughter borne, complaining then of his povertie and the heave charges that lay upon him not onely as Emperour, but also as a father, he gently tooke the voluntarie contributions and benevolence of men toward the finding of the girle her food, as also for her Dowry another day. He declared also by an edict, that he would receive new yeares gifts: and so he stood the first * day of Ianuarie, in the porch or entrie of his house PALATINE, readie to take what peeces soever of money came, which the multitude of all sorts and degrees, with full hands and * bosomes poured out before him. Finally, so farre was he incensed with the desire of handling money, that oftentimes he would both walke bare-footed up & down, yea & wallow also a good while with his whole body upō huge heapes of coyned gold peeces, spread here and there in a most large and open place.

* Or a Kalendis
i the first day,
&c.
* Or laps of
their clothes

In militarie matters and warlike affaires he never dealt but once: and that was not vpon any intended purpose: but what time as he had made a progresse to *Mevana*, for to see the sacred grove & river of *Clitumnus*, being put in mind to supply & make up the number of the *Batauians* whom he had about him for his guard, it tooke him in the head to make an expedition into *Germanie*. Neither deferred he this disignement, but having levied from all parts a power consisting of legions and auxiliarie forces; and taken musters most rigorously in every quarter, as also raised & gathered together victuals & provision of all sorts in that quantity, as never any other before him the like, he put himselfe on his journey. Wherein he marched, one while in such hurrie and haste, as that the Pretorian cohorts were forced (against the manner and custome) to bestowe their ensignes vpon the sumpter beasts backs & so to follow after: otherwhiles, after such a slow and delicate manner, as that he would be carried in a litter vpon eight mens shoulders, and exact of the common people inhabiting the neighbour cities adioyning, that the high waies might be swept & watered for the dust, against his coming.

After that he was arrived once at the campe, to the end that he might shew himselfe a sharpe and severe Captaine. Those Lieutenants who had brought aid with the latest, out of divers and dissituate parts, he discharged with ignomie and shame. But in the reuiue of his armie the most part of the Centurions who had already served out their complete time, yea and some whose terme within verry few dayes would have beene fully expired, he deprived of their places: to wit, the leading of the foremost bands, finding fault forsooth with the olde age and feebleness of every one. As for the rest, after hee had given them a rebuke for their avarice, he abridged the fees and availes due for their

42

43

44

* Batavorum,
i. the Batavians.

their service performed; and brought that same downe to the valew of 6000. festerces. And having achieved no greater exploit, than taken to his mercie, ADMIUS the sonne of CINOBELINUS King of the *Britains, who being by his father banished, was fled over sea with a small power and traine about him, hesent magnificent and glorious letters to Rome, as if the whole Isle had beene yeelded into his hands: warning and willing the carriers euer and anon, to ride forward in their wagon directly into the market place and the Curia, and in no wise to deliver the sayd messives but in the Temple of MARS vnto the Consuls, and that in a frequent assembly of the Senate.

45
*De Custodia,
or that were
prisoners and
in vvard

Soone after, when there failed matter of warre, he commanded a few *Germanes* of the *Corps de guard, to be transported & hidden on the other side of *Rhene*, and that news should be reported unto him after dinner in most tumultuous manner, *That the enemy was come*: which done, he made what haste hee could, and together with some of his friends and part of the Pretorian horsemen he entred the next wood: where after he had cut off the heads of trees and adorned their bodies in manner of *Tropæes*, hee returned into the Campe by torch-light. As for those uerily who followed him not in this seruice; he reprovved and checked them for their timorousnesse and cowardise: But his companions and partners in this doury uictorie, he rewarded with a new kind and as strange a name of *Coronets*: which being garnished and set out with the expresse forme of *Sunne, Moone, and Stars* he called (a) *Exploratorias*. Againe, when as certaine hostages were had *away perforce out of the *Grammer* schoole, and privily sent before, he suddenly left his supper, and with his men of armes pursued them as runawaies, and beeing overtaken and caught againe he brought them backe as prisoners bound in chaines; shewing himselfe even in this enterlude also, beyond all measure insolent and intemperate. Now after he was come backe to supper, those who brought him word that the battles were rallied and come forward in safetie, hee exhorted to sit downe to meate armed as they were in their Corselets: yea and aduertised them out of that most vulgar Verse of VIRGIL. *Durarent, Secundisque rebuis se seruarent.* i.

Still to endure in all assaies

And keepe themselves for better dayes.

Moreover, amid these affaires, he rebuked most sharply in a proclamation, the Senate and people both, in their abscence: For *that whiles CÆSAR fought battles and was exposed to so many perils, they could so unseasonably celebrate feastes, haue also the Cirque, The Theatres, and their resting places of solace and pleasure.*

46

Last of all, as if he meant now to make a finall dispatch for ever of the warr having embattailed his armie upon the Ocean shore, planted his balists and other engins of Artillerie in their severall places, (and no man wist the while or could imagine what he went about) all at once he commanded them to gather fish-shells, and therewith to fill their headpeeces and laps, rearming them the spoiles of the Ocean, *due to the Capitol, and the Palatium*. In token also and memoriall of this brave uictorie, he raised an exceeding high turret, out of which as from a warch-towre, there might shine all night long lights and fires for the better direction of ships at sea in their course. And after hee had pronounced

nounced publicly a donative to his Souldiours, even an hundred good Deniers a peece; as if there by hee had surmounted all former precedents of liberality, *Now goe your waies, quoth hee, with joy, Goe your waies I say, enriched and wealthy.*

* As if with
3 La S 6 pence,
they had beene
made for ever.

Turning his minde after this to the care of his Triumph, hee selected and set apart for the pompe (over and above the Captives and runnagare Barbarians) the tallest men of Stature also that were to be found in Gaule: and euerie one that (as hee saide himselfe) was *axiothriambentos*, that is, worthy to be seene in a Triumph, yea and some of the Nobles and principall persons of that Nation: Whom hee compelled not onely to colour the haire of their heads yellow like burnished gold, and to weare the same long: but also to learne the Germanes language, and to beare barbarous names. He gave commaundement also, that the Gallies with three rankes of Oares, wherein hee had embarked and entred the Ocean, should be conveyed to Rome, a great part of the way by land. Hee wrote likewise unto his procuratours and Officers, *To provide the furniture of his triumph, with as little cost as might be: but yet the same in as ample manner as neuer before was the like, seeing they had both might and right to seize all mens goods into their hands.*

48

Before his departure out of that Province, hee intended the execution of an horrible and abominable designement; even to put to sword those Legions, which long agoe upon the decease of AUGUSTUS, had made a commotion: because, forsooth, they had beset both his father GERMANICUS their Captaine, and himselfe also, then an Infant. And being hardly and with much ado reclaimed from such a rash and inconsiderate proiect, yet could hee by no meanes be stayed: but stilly persisted in a full minde and will to *tith them. When hee had summoned them therefore to a publike assembly, unarmed, and without their swords which they had put off and bestowed heere and there, he environed them with his Cavallerie all armed. But seeing once, that many of them suspecting where about he went, slipped away in sundry places for to resume their weapons if any violence were offered, himselfe abandoned the assembly and fled, taking his direct way immediatly to the Citie of Rome; diverting all his bitternesse and crueltie upon the Senate: Whom, (to avert from himselfe the odious rumours of so great and shamefull villanies) hee openly threatned; complaining among other matters that he was by them defrauded and put by his iust and due triumph: whereas, himselfe but a little before, had intimated and denounced upon paine of death, that they should not make nor meddle in any matter about his honours.

* To kill
very tenth man
of them:

49

Being encountred therefore and met upon the way by Embassadors from that most honourable *Order, entreating him to make speed: with a most loud voice, *Come I will.* quoth he, *I will come, I say and this with me heere,* beating off upon the swords *hilt which he ware by his side. He made it knowne also by an Edict, *That he returned in deede, but it was to them alone who wished it, namely, The degree of Gentlemen and the common people. For himselfe would be no longer a Citizen or Prince to the Senate.* He commaunded moreover, *That not one of the Senators should*

* Of Senators

* Or hapt

should meete him. And thus, either omitting quite or putting of his triumph, hee entred the Citie riding ostant, upon his very birth-day: and within foure moneths after came to his end, having attempted and done notable outrages and very great villanies, but plotting still and practising much greater. For hee had purposed to remove his imperiall Court to *Antium*, and afterwards to *Alexandria*: but having massacred first the most choise and chiefe persons of both *degrees. And that no man may seeme to doubt heereof, there were in his secret Cabinet found two bookes bearing diuers titles. The one had for the Inscription *Gladus s. the sword*: the other, *Pugio*, that is to say, *the dagger*. They contained both of them the markes and names of such as were appointed to death. There was found besides, a bigge chest full of diuers and fundry poisons, which soone after being by *CLAUDIUS* drowned in the Seas, infected and poisoned the same, not without the deadly bane of fishes killed therewith, which the tide cast up to the next shores.

50

Of Stature hee was very tall, pale and wan-coloured: of body grosse and without all good making: his necke and shanks exceeding slender: his eyes sunke in his head, and his temples hollow, his forehead broad, and the same furrowed and frowning: the haire of his head growing thinne, and none at all about his crowne: in all parts else hairie he was and shagged. It was therefore taken for an hainous and capitall offence, either to looke upon him as he passed by from an higher place, or once but to name a Goate upon any occasion whatsoever. His face and visage being naturally sterne and grim, hee made of purpose more crabbed and hideous: composing and dressing it at a looking-glasse, all manner of waies to seeme more terrible and to strike greater feare. He was neither healthfull in body nor stooode sound in minde; Being a child, much troubled with the falling sicknesse. In his youth, patient of labour and traualle: yet so, as that ever and anone upon a suddaine fainting that came upon him, he was scarce able to goe, to stand, to arise, to recover himselfe and to beare up his head. The infirmities of his minde, both himselfe perceived, and oftentimes also was minded to goe aside (unto **Anticyra*), there to purge his braine throughly. It is for certaine thought, that poysoned he was with a Potion given unto him by his wife *CÆSONIA*: Which in deede was a love *medicine, but such an one, as crackt his wits and enraged him. He was troubled most of all with *want of sleepe; For, he slept not above three houres in a night: and in those verily hee tooke no quiet repose, but fearefull; and skared with strange illusions and fantasticall imaginations: as who among the rest, dreamed upon a time that hee saw the very forme and resemblance of the sea talking with him. And heereupon for a great part of the night, what with tedious wakefulness and wearinesse of lying, one while sitting up in his bed, another while roaming and wandering too and fro in his Galleries (which were of an exceeding length) hee was wont to call upon and looke still for the day-light.

51

I should not doe amisse, if unto this mindes sicknesse of his I attributed the vices which in one and the same *subject were of a most different nature: to wit, excessive confidence, and contrariwise, overmuch fearefulness.

For,

*Or: *Alexandria* is *Antiochia*, in old *Macedonia*.
*Senators & gentleman.

*An Isle, where grew the best *Ellebor*, a purgative meete for lunaticke & distracted persons.
*Or drinke.
**Infamia*.

*Or person

For, hee that set so light by the Gods and despised them as hee did, yet at the least (a) thunder and lightning, used to winke close with both eyes; to enwrap also and cover his whole head: but if the same were greater and somewhat extraordinary, to start out of his bed, to creepe and hide himselfe under the bedsteede. During his peregrination verily and traualle through *Sicilie*, after hee had made but a scorne and mockerie at the miracles and strange fights in manie parts there, he fled suddainly by night from *Messana*, as affrighted with the smoake and rumbling noise of the top of *Ætna*. And hee that against the Barbarians was so full of threats and menaces, when as beyond the river *Rhene* he rode in a *Germanes* Chariot betweene the Streights, and the Armie marched in thicke squadrons together: by occasion onely that one saide, *There would be no small tremble and hurlyburly*, in case the enimie from any place appeared in sight: forth-with hee mounted on horsebacke and turned hastily to the bridges: but finding them full of Camp-slaves and cariages wherewith they were *choaked as one impatient of any delay, he was from hand to hand and over mens heads conveyed to the other side of the water. Soone after likewise, hearing of the revolt and rebellion of *Germanie*, hee provided to flie; and for the better meanes of flight, prepared and rigged shippes: resting and staying himselfe upon this onely comfort; That hee should yet have Provinces beyond sea remaining for him, in case the Conquerours following the traine of their victorie, either seized the Hill tops of the Alpes (as sometimes the *Cimbrians*), or possessed themselves of the very Citie of *Rome*, as the *Senones* in times past did. Heereupon I verily beleeeve that the murderers of him afterwards devised this shift, namely to hold up his Souldiours with a loude lie when they were in an uprore, and to beare them in hand that hee laide violent hands on himselfe, affrighted at the fearefull newes of the field lost.

*Or guarded

52

As for his apparrell, his shooes and other habite, hee wore them neither after his owne Country-guise, nor in a civile fashion, no nor so much as in manlike manner, nor yet alwaies, I may tell you, sorting with the state and condition of a mortall wight. Being clad oftentimes in cloakes of needleworke and embroidred with diuers colours, and the same set out with pretious stones: in a coate also with long sleeves: and wearing bracelets withall, hee would come abroade into the Citie. Sometime you should see him in his filkes, and veiled all over in a loose mantle of fine *Sendall with a traine: one while going in Greekish *slippers, or else in buskins: otherwhiles in a simple paire of broges or high shooes, such as common Souldiours employed in especiall used. Now and then also was hee scene shod with womens *pumps. But for the most part he shewed himselfe abroade with a golden (a) beard carying in his hand either a (b) thunderbolt or a three-tined (c) mace, or else a warder or rod called (d) *Caduceus* (the ensignes all and ornaments of the Gods) yea and in the attire and array of *Venus*. Now, for his triumphall robes and ensignes hee used verily to weare and beare them continually, even before any warlike expedition: and sometime the cuirace withall of *K. ALEXANDER* the great, fetcht out of his Sepulcher and monument.

*Lawne or Tiffanie.
*Or Pantofles

*Or pinfones

*With three graines like an clepeare:

Of all the liberall Sciences, hee gave his minde least to deepe literature and found

O 2

53

found learning: but most, to eloquence: * albeit he was (by nature) faire-spoken and of a ready tongue. Certes if it had beene to pleade and declame against one, were he angered once, he had both words and sentences at will. His action, gesture and voice also served him well: in so much as for very heate and earnestnesse of speech, uneth was he able to stand his ground and keepe still in one place, yet might hee bee heard notwithstanding of them that stood a farre off. When he was about to make an Oration, his manner was to threaten in these termes, *Namely, That he would draw forth and let drive at his adversarie the keene weapon and dart of his might: studie by candle light; contemning the milder and more piked kinde of writing so farre forth, as that hee said of SENECA, a writer in those daies most accepted, That his compositions which he made were plaine exercises to bee shewed onely: and was no better himselfe, than sand without lime.* His wont was also, to answer by writing the Orations of those Oratours who had pleaded well and with applause: to meditate and devise as well accusations and defences of great persons and waighy matters in the Senate; and according as his stile framed, either to over-charge and depresse, or to ease and relieve every man with his sentence: having called thither by vertue of his Edicts, the degree also of Gentlemen to heare him speake.

The Arts moreover and maiesties of other kinds hee practised right studiously, even those of most different nature. A professed * Sword-fencer he was and a good Chariotier: A singer withall and a dauncer. Fight hee would even in earnest with weapons at sharpe: and runne a race with chariots in the open Cirque, which he built in many places. As for chaunting and dauncing, he was so hotly set thereupon, that hee could not forbear so much as in the publick Theaters and Shew-places, but that hee would both fall a singing * with the Tragædian as he pronounced, and also counterfaite and openly imitate the gesture of the * player, as it were by way of praise or correction. And verily, for no other cause proclaimed hee (as it is thought) a wake or *Vigile* all night long, that very day on which hee was murdred, but that by taking the opportunity of the nights licentiousnesse, he might therewith begin to enter upon the Stage. And divers times daunced he by night: But once above the rest, having raised out of their beds three honourable persons that had beene Consuls, and sent for them at the reliefe of the second watch into the Palace: whiles they were much afraid and doubted some extremity he caused them to be placed aloft upon a scaffold, and then suddainly with a great noise of hantors and sound of hawkes or Cimbals, out commeth he leaping forth with a pallie and cassocke reaching downe to his ankles; and after hee had daunced out the measures to a song, vanished & went his way againe. Now, this man so apt a schollar as hee was to learne all other feates, had no skill at all in * swimming.

55 Looke, whom he tooke a love and liking unto, he favoured them all exceedingly and beyond all reason. MNESTER the famous * PANTOMIME he affected so much, as that he bashed not to kisse him even in the open Theater; and if any man whiles * he was dauncing or acting a part, made never so little noise and interrupted him, hee commanded the party to be pulled out of his place, and with his owne hand scourged him. A Gentleman of Rome chaunced to keepe some sturre whiles the said MNESTER was upon the Stage: unto him

* A laudable exercise in Rome, as may appear before in *Augustus*.
* A Gesturer or dauncer that counterfeited all parts.
* The said MNESTER.

54
* Thrac.

* Or, te

* Or, Agaur.

him hee sent word peremptorily by a Centurion to depart without delay, and goe downe to *Ostia* (there to take Sea) and so to carie unto King PTOLOMEUS as farre as into *Mauritania* his letters in writing tables, The tenour whereof was this, *To this bearer, whom I have sent hither to you, see you doe neither good nor harme.* Certaine Fencers called * THRACES hee made Capitaines over those * Or Retiary, as some think. Others take it to be a generall name of all Sword-fencers. * A faction or crew of fencers opposite to the *Thraciæ* Retiary, whom in respect of the *Thraciæ*, he favoured not. * Praefect fationis. * Or lodging; * Of that green livery. * *Incitatus*, some equi causa, some interpret: otherwise thus. To *Incitatus*, for whose horse like taking *Incitatus* to be the name of the Master, & not of the horse, because in the Poet Martialis, there is mention, on made of *Incitatus* a famous Chariot-rick: & anull-tion. Yet *L. P. Antoninus* erected an Image of gold for on horse that he had named *Volucris* whiles he lived: and a sepulcher when he was dead. And why might not this be a e-ficke Prince be as absurd? * Caligula.

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Germanes that were of his Guard and Squires to his body. As for the * *Mur-millones*, hee deprived them of their armour. One of them named COLUMBUS, fortunèd to foile his concurrent, howbeit hee had gotten before some small hurt: He made no more adoe but put poison into the wound, which thereupon he called COLUMBINUM. So much addicted and devoted was he, to the * greene faction of Chariotiers, that day by day hee would take his supporters and make his abode in their * hostellrie. Upon EUTYCHUS a * Chariot-driver, he bestowed in hospitall gifts at a certaine banquet, two millions of sesterces. To one of their Chariot-steedes named *Incitatus*, for whose sake (because he should not be disquieted), he was wont the day before the games *Circenses*, by his Souldiours to command the neighbours there adioyning to keepe silence, besides a Stable all built of marble stone for him, and a manger made of Ivorie: over and above his caparison also and harnois of purple, together with a brooch or pendant Jewell of pretious stones at his poidrell: he allowed an house and familie of servants, yea and household-stuffe to furnish the same: all to this end, that guests invited in his name might be more finely and gaily entertained. It is reported moreover that he meant to preferre him unto a Consulship.

56 As he rioted thus and fared outrageously, many there were who wanted no hart & good will to assault his person. But after one or two conspiracies detected, when others for default of opportunitie held off and made stay, two at length comploted and imparted one unto the other their designment, yea and performed it; not without the privitie of the mightiest freed-men about him, and the Capitaines of his Guard. The reason was, for that they also, beeing nominated (although untruly) as accessarie to a certaine conspiracie, perceived themselves suspected and odious unto him therefore. For, even immediately, by sequestering them a part into a secret place he brought upon them great hatred, protesting with his sword drawne, *That die he would upon his owne hand, if they also thought him worthy of death.* Neither ceased hee from that time forward to accuse one unto the other, and to set them all together by the eares. Now when these Conspiratours were resolved and agreed to assaile him during the *Palatine* (a) games, as he departed thence out of the Theater at noontide, CASSIUS CHEREA Tribune of the *Pretorian* Cohort tooke upon him to play the first part in this Action: even hee, whom being now farre stept in yeeres * CAIVS was wont to frump and flout in most opprobrious termes as a wanton and effeminate person: and one while, when he came unto him for a watch-word, to give him PRIAPUS or VENUS; another while, if upon any occasion he rendred thanks, to reach out unto him his hand, not onely fashioned but wagging also after an obscene and filthy manner.

Many prodigious signes were seene, presaging his future death and murder. The image of IUPITER at *Olympia*, which his pleasure was to bee disoointed and translated to *Rome*, did set up all on a suddaine such a mighty laughter that

the workmen about it, let their Engines and Vices slip and so ranne all away. And straight-waies came there one in place whose name also was CASSIUS, that avouched, *he had warning and commaundement in a dreame to sacrifice a Bull unto IUPITER.* The (a) Capitol in *Capua* upon the Ides of March was smitten with lightning. Likewise at *Rome* the Porters lodge belonging to the Princes Palace. And there wanted not some who gave their coniecture, that by the one Prodigie was portended danger to the Master of the house from his Guard and the Squires of his person: by the other some notable murder againe, such as in times past had bene committed upon (b) the same day. Also, SULLA the Astrologer, when CAIVS asked his counsell and opinion, as touching the Horoscope of his Nativitie, told him piaine, *That most certaine and inevitable death approached meere at hand.* Semblably the Oracle at *Antium*, gave him a caveat, to beware of CASSIUS. For which very cause, hee had taken order and given expresse commaundement, That CASSIUS LONGINUS Proconsull then in *Asia*, should bee killed: not remembring that the fore-saide CÆRREA had to name CASSIUS. The day before he lost his life, he dreamt that he stode in heaven close unto the throne of IUPITER: and that IUPITER spurned him with the great toe of his right foote, and therewith threw him downe headlong to the earth. There went also for currant prodigies and fore-tokens of his fall; even those occurrents that hapned unto him that very day, a little before he was murdered. As himselfe sacrificed, besprent he was with the bloud of the foule *Phanicopterus*. And MNESTER the skilfull Actour above named, represented that very * Tragædie which whilome NEPTOLEMUS the Tragædian acted at the solemnitie of those games, wherein PHILIP * King of the Macedonians was killed. And when as in the shew or Enterlude entituled (c) LAUREOLUS, wherein the chiefe plaier making hast to get away out of the ruine, vomited bloud, many more of the Actours in a second degree strived a vie to give some triall and experiment of the like cunning: the whole stage by that meanes flowed with bloud. Prepared there was likewise against night another shew, wherein the darke fables reported of Hell and the Infernall Spirits there, were to be exhibited and unfolded by Egyptians and Æthiopians.

58 Vpon the * ninth day before the Kalends of Februarie, about one of the clocke after noone: Doubting with himselfe, whether he should rise to dinner or no? (for that his stomacke was yet rawe and weake upon a surfeit of meate taken the day before), at last by the perswasion of his friends hee went forth. Now, when as in the very * cloisture through which hee was to passe certaine boyes of noble birth sent for out of *Asia* (to sing Hymnes, and to skirmish martially upon the Stage) were preparing themselves, he stood still and staied there to view and encourage them. And but that the leader and chieftaine of that crew, said, *He was very cold*, hee would have returned and presently exhibited that shew. But what befell after this, is reported two manner of waies. Some say, that as he spake unto the said boyes, CÆRREA came behind his back, and with a drawing blow grievously wounded his neck with the edge of his sword, giving him these words before, *Hoc age. i. Mord this:* Whereupon, CORNELIUS SABINUS, another of the Conspiratours, encountered him a-front, and ranne him through in the brest. Others write, that SABINUS, after the multitude about him was voided by the Centurions (who were privie to the Conspiracie) called

*Curia.
* The house of
Amyntar.
* Of some
house represent-
ed upon the
stage.

*Fit actours &
expeditious of
such an argu-
ment.
* 24. of Iannas-
ric.
A.V.C. 794.

*Of Varr.

called for a watch-word, as the maner is of souldiers, and when CAIVS gave him the word, IUPITER, CÆRREA cryed out alowde, *Acciperatum. i.* Here take it sure: and with that, as he looked behind him, with one flash cut his chaw quite thorough: Also as he lay on the ground and drawing up his limmes together cryed still, *That he was yet alive*, the rest of their complices with thirtie wounds dispatched and made an end of him. For, this mot, *Repete. i.* Strike againe, was the signal of them all. Some of them also thrust their swords through his privie members. At the very first noise and outerie, his litter-bearers came running to helpe, with their litter staves: Soone after, the Germans that were the Squires of his bodie came in: & as they slew some of the murderers, so they killed certaine Senatours also that were meere innocent.

He lived 29. yeares, and ruled the Empire three yeares 10. moneths and 8. dayes. His dead corps was conueyed secretly into the Lamian hortyards, where being scorched onely, or halfe burnt in a tumultuary and hasty funerall fire, covered it was with a few turfs of earth lightly cast over it: but afterwards, by his sisters now returned out of exile, taken up, burnt to ashes and enterred. It is for certain known and reputed; that before this Complement was performed, the keepers of those hortyards were troubled with the walking of spirits and ghosts: and in that uery* house wherein he was murdered there passed not a night without some terror or fearefull object, until the uery house it selfe was consumed with fire. There dyed together with him, both his Wife CÆSONIA, stabbed with a sword by a Centurion, and also a daughter of his, whose braines were dashed out against a wall.

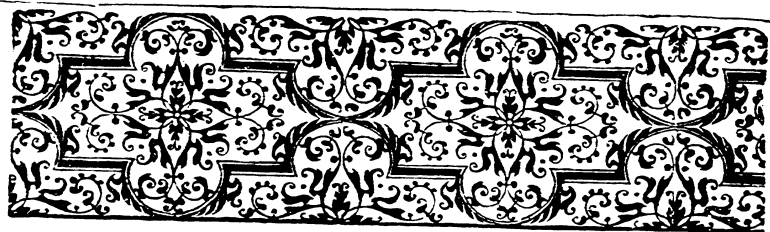
What the condition and state was of those dayes, any man may gather even by these particulars. For neither, when this massacre was divulged and made known abroad, men gave credite by and by thereto; but there went a suspicion, that CAIVS himselfe had feigned and given out a rumour of this murder, by that meanes to sound mens minds, and find, how they stood affected unto him: n^o* yet had those conspiratours destined the Empire to anie one. And the Senators in recovering their antient freedome againe accorded so, as that the consuls assembled them not at the first into the *Curia, because it bare the name *IULIA, but into the Capitol: yea and some of them, when their turnes came to speake, opined, *That the memorie of the CÆSARS should be utterly abolished and razed out*, giving aduise to pull downe their temples. Moreover, this hath bene obserued and noted especially, *That the CÆSARS, who had to their forename *CAIVS, beginning at him first who was slaine in the troublesome dayes of CINNA, dyed all of them a violent death.*

59

*Which hee
called a vault
cloyster, be-
fore.

60

*A new Senat
house in lieu of
Curia Hostilia.
*For now the
name of the
Curia and their
race became od-
ious, as oppres-
sors of the com-
mon weale.
* And yet we
reade not so
much of Cæsar
as of Augustus,
the first of the
Emperours.



THE HISTORIE OF Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæ-

far, written by *Caius Suetonius
Tranquillus.*



1
A.V.C. 714.



*Augustus: and
not by Tiberius
Nero his mon-
arch's sonne.*

Touching DRUSUS father to this CLAUDIUS CÆSAR, which DRUSUS was in times past forenamed DECIMUS and afterwards NERO; dame LIVIA wedded unto AUGUSTUS even whē she was great with child, brought him into the world within three moneths after the said mariage & folke suspected, that begotten he was in adulterie by his (supposed) father in law himself. Certes presētly after his birth, this verse wēt rise in every mans mouth, τοῖς βουχῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς παῖδες,

On persons great this fortune doth attend,

That children they may have at three moneths end.

This DRUSUS in the honorable place of questure and pretureship, being L. Generall of the *Rhetian*, and so forth of the *Germane* warre, was the first Romane Captaine that sayled in the North Ocean: and on the farther side of *Rhene* caſt those trenches of a straung and infinite worke which yet at this

this day be called *DRUSINÆ. Many a time he put the enemy to sword, and when he had driven him as farre as to the inmost deserts, gave not over chasing and pursuing, untill there appeared unto him the likenesse of a *Barbarian woman, more portly than a mortall wight, which in the latine tongue forbade him to follow the traine of victorie anie farther. For which act achieved, he enioyed the honour of a *pety Triumph, and had the Triumphall ornaments graunted unto him. After his pretureship, he entred immediately upon the Consulate: and having enterprised a second expedition thither, fell sicke and dyed in his summer campe, which therupon tooke the name of *CASTRA (s) SCRIBERATA. His corps by the principall Citizens and Burgesſes of the free burrowes and colonies, by the decuries also and orders of the *Scribes (who met them in the way and received it at their hands) was conuied to Rome and buried in Marſ-felde. Howbeit the armie reared in honour of him an honorarie *tombe (or stately herſe) about the which every yeare afterwards upō a certain set day, the souldiers should runne at tilt, keepe jousting and turnament: the Citties likewise and States of *Gaulle*, sacrifice and make publike supplications to the gods. Moreover the Senate among many other honors, decreed for him a Triumphant arch of marble, with Tropæes thereto in the *street *Appia*: as also the surname of GERMANICUS to him and his posterity for ever. Furthermore he is thought to have caried a mind no lesse glorious than civil & popular. For over and above the conquests gained of his enemies, he wan also from the *Royall spoyle: & oftentimes to the uttermost hazard of his life coursed and chased the General of the *Germans* all over the field: neither dissembled he, but gave it out, that one day he would restore unto the *Common-wealth* their ancient state and libertie againe. Whereupon, I suppose, some presume to write, that AUGUSTUS had him in jelousie and suspicion: called him home out of his Province: and because he lingred and delayed his returne, made him awāy by poyson. Which verily put downe I have, because I would not seeme to premit such a matter, rather, than for that I thinke it either true or probable: considering that AUGUSTUS both loved him while hee was alive so entirely, as that he alwayes ordained him fellow-heire with his sonnes, (like as he openly professed upon a time in the Senate house) and also commended him after his death so highly, that in a solemne oration before the bodie of the people he prayed unto the gods. To woucheſafe his owne CÆSARS to be like unto him: and to grant himselfe one day such an end as they had given him. And not contented with this that he had engraven upon his tombe an Epitaph in verse which he himselfe composed, he wrot also the historie of his life in prose. By ANTONIA the yonger, he became father verily of many children, but three onely hee left behind him at his death, namely, GERMANICUS, LIVILLA, and CLAUDIUS.

This CLAUDIUS was borne at *Lyons*, in the yeare when IULIUS ANTONIUS and FABIVS AFRICANUS were Consuls, upon the Calends of *August*, that very day on which the altar was first dedicated there unto AUGUSTUS: and named he was TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS: and a while after, when his elder brother was adopted into the family IULIA, hee assumed into his stile the surname of GERMANICUS. Being left an infant by his father, all the time in manner of his child-hood and *youth, pitcouſly handled

* Or *Drusiana*
Tact.
* Representing
Germanie.

* Called Oration

* The wicked
and mischievous
camp.
* Or Chance-
lois.

* Which the
Greeks call
Genethium i.
an empty tomb

* Or port way.

* Which he
tooke frō their
chiefe generals

handled he was with sundrie diseases, and those tough and such as stucke long by him in so much as being dulled and enfeebled thereby both in mind and bodie, he was not thought in the very progresse of riper age, sufficient and capable of any publike office or private charge: yea and many a day after that hee came to full yeares and had fued out his liverie, hee was at the dispose of another, even under a pedagogue and governour; whom in a certaine booke himselfe complaineth of, terming him a barbarous fellow, and no better sometime than a * mulier, set over him of purpose to chastice and punish him most cruelly for everie light cause & occasion whatsoever. By reason of this his sickness, both at the sword-play which he and his brother ioyntly exhibited in memorie of their Father, he sat as president (not after the accustomed manner) lapt in a cloake; and also upon his commendement day, when he was to put on his virile gowne, about midnight without anie honorable attendance and solemne traine, brought he was in a lictor into the (4) Capitoll.

Howbeit, from his very child-hood, he employed no meane studie in the liberall sciences: And oftentimes gave good prooffe even in publike place of his proceedings in them all: yet could he never for all that reach to any degree of dignity, or yeeld better hope of himselfe for the time to come. His mother ANTONIA, was wont to call him *Portentum hominis*. i. The Monster and fantastical shewe of a man, as if hee had not bene finished but onely begonne by nature: and if shee reprooved anie one for his foolishnesse she would saie, *Hee was more fottish then her Sonne CLAUDIVS*. His Grandmother * AUGUSTRA thought alwaies most basely of him, as who used neither to speake unto him but very feldome, nor to admonish him, unlesse it were in some sharpe and short writing, or els by messengers going between. His sister LULLIA, when she heard that he should be one day Emperour, openly & with a lowd voice detested and wished farre from the people of Rome so hard and miserable a fortune.

And no meruaile: For to the end that it might be more certainly known what opinion his great Vncle AUGUSTUS had of him both * wayes, I have set downe certaine Articles and principall pointes gathered out of his owne Epistles. I have quoth he, my good LIVIA talked and conferred with TIBERIUS as you charged me, about this point, namely, What is to be done to your Nephew TIBERIUS, at the solemnity of the * Martiall Game? Now, wee are both agreed that it must be determined and set downe once for all what course we should take and follow with him: For, if he be * *ἀγρίος*, and as I may so say * *ἀνέκωτος*, what doubt need wee to make, but that he is to be trained and brought by the same opportunities of time and degrees by which his brother was? But if we perceive him * *ἡλιτράδης* *καί, βέλαιος, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῶν σάκων καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῶν φυχῶν ἀγρίων*, we must not misse matter to men, * *τὰ ταῦτα σκώπῃ καὶ μνηστῆρα εὐαδόν* for to deride both him and us. For we shall ever find trouble and vexation enough, in case of every occasion of time presented unto us, we should deliberate, * *καὶ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ ἡμῶν*, whether wee thinke him able to manage honorable Offices in the State or no? Howbeit for the present (concerning such things whereof youle aske mine advise) I mislike it not, that he have the charge of the Priestes dwelling chamber, during these Martiall solemnities as forefayd

* Olim superiorem, tamen a muliere.

* Otherwise called Livia & twice the mother of Drusus.

* His Grandmothers brother by the mothers side.

* As well good as bad.

* In honour of Mars Revenge.

* Sufficient.

* Sound.

* Or Rept.

* To be im-

* To be im-

* To be im-

* To be im-

* To be im-

forefayd, so that he wil suffer himselfe to be admonished and schooled by SILANVS sonne, a man allyed unto him, that he do nothing, which may be noted, or derided. * *Confiscat* That he should behold the games *Circenses* from out of the * *Pulvinar*, in no wise can I allow. For being exposed so, to the sight of men in the very forefront of the Theatre, he wil be eyed and observed: Neither like we in any hand, that he should goe up the Albane mount, or abide at Rome During the Latine Holy dayes. For if he be able to accompany and follow his brother to that mountaine, why is he not as well made Provest of the Cittie the while? Thus, my LIVIA, you have our opinions delivered, as who are fully resolved, that once for a somewhat must be put downe as touching the whole matter, leaſt we be evermore wavering between hope and feare. You may also if it please you impart unto our (niece) ANTONIA thus much of this our letter. Againe, in another Epistle. As for young * TIBERIUS, I for my part wishes you are absent, wil daily invite him to supper, that he may not suppe alone with his Sulpitius and Athenodorus. And I could wish with all my hart that, he would more soundly and lesse *μετὰ δέος* make choice of some special one, whose gesture habite & garge, hee may, slyly soule as heis imitate

ΑΥΤΗ ΛΙΒΙΑ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΩΒΑΝΟΙΣ ΠΑΙΣΙ,

He comes farre short (when he is matched) with men of deepe understanding.

But looke, when his mind is not wandering out of the way, the generosity of his heart appeareth sufficiently. Likewise in a third letter. Your Nephew TIBERIUS my sweet LIVIA, If I doe not wonder, that when he declaimed that he could please and content me, I pray God I be dead. For how he that in his daily talke speaketh so * *ὡς ἄν τις* should be able when he declameth, so deliver his mind and what he hath to say * *ὡς ἄν τις* I cannot see. Neither is there anie doubt to be made, but that after all this, AVGVSTUS ordained and left him indued with no honorable office, save only the Sacerdottall dignitie of Augurs: may he nominated him not so much as his Heire, but in a third degree and descent, even among those that were well neere Strangers: and that in a sixth part onely of his substance: and by way of legacie bequeathed unto him not above 800000. sesterces.

TIBERIUS his unkle conferred upon him when he sued for honorable dignities the Ornaments of Consuls. But when he instantly demanded still, not imaginary but true magistracies indeede, he wrote backe unto him in his writing tables thus much onely, That he had sent unto him * *fortie peeces of golde* to spend at the feast Saturnalia, and to bestow in puppets and trifling gaudes, at the same time. Then, and not before, casting aside all hope of preferment and reall dignities, hee betooke himselfe to rest and quietnesse of life, lying close, one while within hortyardes of pleasure and in a manner house without the Cittie: and lurking other whiles in a withdrawing place out of the way in Campania: And by his daily acquaintance and companie keeping with most base and abject persons besides the olde infamous note of fluggardie and foolishnesse hee incurred an ill name for drunkenesse and dice-play: notwithstanding, that all the while he thus led his life, he never wanted the publike attendance and reverent regard of men seeking unto him.

The order of Gentlemen elected him twice for their patrone, in an embassage that was to be sent & delivered in their owne behalfe: once when the Consuls

* Darkly and confusedly.

* Clearly and plainly to be understood.

* Every one worth 15 s. 7 d. ob. or one hundred sesterces

Consuls required to have the cariage of AUGUSTUS his corps upō their own shoulders to *Rome*: 22. time when they were to cōgratulate with the same Consuls for the suppressing of *Seianus*. Moreover, they were wont in shewes, and in the Theatre, when he came in place, to arise up and lay off their mantels in respectiue honour of him. The Senate also ordained, that to the ordinarie number of the Priests or Guild-brethren called AUGUSTALES, who were by lot chosen, he should be admitted extraordinarily: and soone after, *That his house, which by misfortune of a skare-fire he had lost*, should at the Cities charges be reedified; as also the privilege to deliver his minde and opinion in the Senate, among those who had beene Consuls; which decree of theirs was reversed & annulled: whiles *TIBERIUS alleadged by way of excuse his imbecillity, and promised to repaire the foresaid losse out of his owne private purse and liberality. Yet when hee laye upon his death-bed, he both named him among his heires in a third raunge, and in a third part of his estate, and also bequeathed him a legacie of two millions of Sesterces: yea recommended him besides by name unto the armies, to the Senate likewise & people of *Rome* in the ranke of other his especiall friends and kinsfolke.

*As wee vse to
veile bonet or
do of our hats.

*The Empe-
rour.

*Caligula.

*All haile or
happynesse.
*Caligula

At length under *CAIUS his brothers sonne, who at his first comming to the Empire sought by all manner of enticing allurements, to gaine the good opinion of a bountifull and gracious prince, he began first to beare office of state, and continued Consul together with him for the space of two moneths: and it fortun'd at his first entrance into the *Forum* with his knitches of rods, that an Eagle soaring thereby, settled upon his right shoulder. He was pricked also and allotted unto a second Consulship, against the 4th yeare following. Divers times he sat as president of the solemne shewes in CAIUS his turne: what time, the people with great applause *cryed *Felicitet*, partly to the *Emperours Vncle, and in part to GERMANICUS his brother.

8

Yet lived hee neverthelesse subiect to the contumelious reproches of the World: For if at anie time, hee came somewhat with the latestt and after the houre appointed to a supper, hardly & with much adoe, was there any room made for to receive him, and not before hee had gone round about the tables where guests were set, for to finde a place: Likewise, whensoever he tooke a nap, and fel a sleepe after meate (which was an ordinarie thing with him) the *buffons and jesters about him, made good sport, pelling him with olive and date stones: other whiles also they would by way of merriment awaken him with the clappe of a ferula or lash of some whip. They were wont likewise to glove his hands (as he lay snorring a sleepe) with *his shoes, that as he suddenly awaked hee might rub his face and eyes therewith.

9

Neither verily could he avoide divers dangerous troubles: First in his very Consulship: for, beeing behind hand and over slacke in taking order with the workmen for the making and erecting of NERO and DRUSUS Statues, who were *CAESARS brethren, hee had like to have beene remooved and put out of that honorable office: afterwards, as eyther anie stranger, or one of his own house informed ought against him, he was continually and sundry manner of wayes

*A Copieist:
See Tiberius
Nero Caesar, chap.
61. v. 1. & 2. & 3.
such as would
play Boespece
and hide them-
selves when
they had done
some unhappi-
nesse.

*For whiles
they sat or lea-
ned upon pal-
lets at their
meat they put
off their shoes.
*Ca. in Caligula.

waies molested: But when as the Conspiracie of LEPIDUS & GRATULICUS came to light, being sent among other Embassadours to congratulate CAIUS in the name of the City, hee was in icopardy of his very life: whiles CAIUS chafed and fumed with great indignation, that his Vncle chiefly of all others was sent unto him, as it were to governe a child: In so much, as some have not stuck to report on writing, that hee was turned also headlong into the river in his cloathes and all as he came appaialed. From which time forward, *never* spake hee to any matter proposed in the Senate, but last of all those, that had beene Consuls, as being in reproachfull wife and to his disgrace asked his opinion after them all. There was received likewise against him the examination of a forged will, wherein himselfe also had beene a witnesse and put to his seale. Last of all, hee was forced to disburse eight millions of Sesterces for a fine or Income at his entrance into a new Priesthood: by occasion whereof, his estate being so much decaied, driven he was to those streights, that for his disability to keepe credit and satisfie the debt due unto the Chamber of the City by an (a) Edict of the Citie Treasurers according to the law *Prædatoria* hee *hung up to be sold in *vacuum*.

*His lands and
goods were
forfeited
and so were
published in
table as void
and vacant.

10

Having passed the greatest part of his time in running thorough these and such like troubles, at length in the fiftieth yeere of age, hee attained to the Empire, and that by a strange and wonderfull hap. Being among others excluded by the Conspiratours that layed waite for CAIUS life, what time they voided all the Companie about his person, under a colour as if he desired to be a part himselfe alone in some by-place, this CLAUDIUS had stept a side and retired into a lodging or parlour called *Hermum*: And not long after, being affrighted at the rumour of that murder slily crept forth and conveied himselfe up into a Solar next adioyning, and there hid himselfe betweene the hangings that hung before the dore. Whiles hee lurked close there, a common Souldiour chauncing to runne too and fro that way, espied his feete, and by earnest enquire and asking who he was: hapned to take knowledge of him: who having drawne him forth of the place (when as for feare hee fell downe humbly at his feete and tooke hold of his knees) saluted him by the name of Emperour. From thence he brought him immediatly to his other fellow Souldiours, who as yet stood wavering and wist not what to doe but fare and fume. By them was he bestowed in a Lister: and for that his owne servants were fled scattering heere and there they also by turnes one after another supported the said Lister upon their shoulders: and so was he brought into the (*Prætorian*) Camp, all sad and amazed for feare: pried also by the multitude that met him on the way; as if some innocent had beene haled to execution. Being received within the trench & rampire, lodged he was alnight among the souldiours-watch with lesse hope of his a good deale than confidence. For the Consuls together with the Senate and the cohorts of the citie-souldiers, seized the *Forū* & the Capitol, with a purpose to claime & recover the cōmon libertie: and when himselfe was sent for, by a tribune of the commons into the *Curia* to sit in consultation & give his aduise about those matters that were thought good to be propounded he made answer; *That detested he was perforce and by constraint*. But the next morrow, when as the Senate grewe more colde and slacke in following and

*A gazette;

A.V.C. 794

P

executing

executing their foresaid projects, (by reason of their tedious trouble and discord who dissented in opinion) whiles the multitude also standing round about, demanded by this time one Ruler & * him by name, he called the Souldiours in * armour to an assembly, and suffered them to take their oath of allegiance, and sweare to maintaine his imperiall dignity: therewith promised unto them * 1500 Sesterces a peece: the first of all the CÆSARS, that obliged unto him the Souldiours fealty by a fee and reward.

II

Having once established his Empire, hee thought nothing more deere and behovefull than to abolish the remembrance of those two daies, wherein there was some doubtfull question about the change and alteration of the State. Of all deedes and words therefore, which had passed during that time he made an Act there should be a generall pardon and perpetuall oblivion: which also hee made good and performed accordingly. Onely, some few Colonels and Centurions, out of that crew which conspired against CÆSAR, he put to the sword: as well for example sake, as for that he had certaine intelligence, they required to have him also murdered. Then presently turning and bending his minde to the duties of pietie and kindnesse, hee tooke up no forme of oath, either with more devout religion or oftener, than by the name of AUGUSTUS. He gave order, that for his Grandmother LIVIA, there should by Decree be graunted Divine honours; as also in the stately pompe of the Cirque Solemnities, a Chariot drawne with Elephants, like unto that of AUGUSTUS: Semblably, for the soules of his owne parents departed, publick Dirges and Funerall feasts: and more than so, particularly in the honour of his father Cirque-Plaies and games every yeere upon his birth day: and in memoriall of his mother, a coach to be led and drawne along through the Cirque: and the surname of AUGUSTA, which by his Grandmother was refused. In remembrance of his * brother (to celebrate whose memoriall hee omitted no occasion) hee exhibited a Greeke Comædie at the solemne Games held in Naples: Where, by sentence of the Vmpiers and Iudges he received a coronet therefore. Hee suffered not so much as M. ANTONIUS to passe unhonoured, nor without a thankfull mention and remembrance: protesting one time, and that by an Edi&th, *That so much the more earnest he was, to have men celebrate the Birth day of his father DRUSUS, because upon the same day, his Grandfather ANTONIUS also was borne.* The Marble Arch, decreed verily in times past by the Senate to be erected for TIBERIUS * neere unto the Theater of POMPEIUS, but for let, hee finished. And albeit hee abrogated and repealed all the Acts of CÆSAR, yet the day of his death, although it were the beginning of his Empire, he forbade to be registered among feasts in the Kalendar.

12

But in honouring himselfe he was sparie, and caried a civile modestie. The fore name of Emperour he forbore: excessive honours hee refused: the * E-spousals of his owne daughter, the birth-day also of his Nephew her sonne, hee passed over in silence, onely celebrating it with some private ceremonie and religious complements within house. He restored no banished person, but by the authority and warrant of the Senate. That hee might bring with him into the Curia, the Capitaine of the Guard and * Tribunes of the Souldiours: Item, that those Actes might bee ratified and stand in force, which his Procuratours had set downe in iudging of causes, hee obtained by intreatie. He

* Clandius,
* Armatus, or
armatus, i. him-
selfe armed.
* Quædædam
Sætertia. See
Iosephus.

* Germanicus.

* His Vnkle

* Or solemnity
of nuptiall con-
tract.

* Colonels.

He made suite unto the Consuls for a licence, to hold Faires and Markets, for his owne private Manors and Lands. In Commissions and Examinations of causes held by the Magistrates, he would oftentimes be personally present and sit as one of the Commissioners. To the same Magistrates, when they exhibited any Plaies or Games, himselfe also with the rest of the multitude would arise up, and both with * hand and * voice doe them honour. When the Tribunes of the Commons repaired unto him before the Front of his Tribunal, he excused himselfe unto them, for that by reason of straight roome hee could not give audience unto them otherwise than standing upon their feete. Therefore, within a small time hee purchased so much love and favour, as that when newes came (to Rome) that forlaied and slaine hee was in his journey to Ostia, the people in a great tumult and uprore, fell to banning and cursing both the Souldiours as Traitors, and the Senate also as Paricides: neither ceased they thus to force against them, untill first one messenger, and then another, yea and soone after many more were produced by the Magistrates to the publick Rostra, who assured them that he was alive and approached homeward.

13

Yet continued hee not for all this secured every way from the danger of secret practises and wait-laying: but assailed hee was as well by private persons, as by whole factions and conspiracies, yea and fore troubled in the end with civill beir-ces. For there was a man, one of the Commons, taken about midnight and carried unto his bed-chamber with a dagger. Found there were likewise twaine of the Gentlemens degree, in the open streete with a staffe having * a blade in it, and a Hunters wood-knife waiting for him: the one to assault his person when he was gone forth of the Theater: the other as hee sacrificed at the temple of Mars. Now there had conspired to make an insurrection and to alter the State, GALLUS A SINIUS and STATILIUS CORVINUS, the Nephewes of POLLIO and MESSALLA the Oratours, taking unto them for their Complices many of his owne freed-men and servants. As for civile warre, kindled it was and begun by FURIUS CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS, Lieutenant generall of Dalmatia: but within five daies quenched cleane and suppressed; by reason that the Legions, which had chaunged their oath of allegiance, in remorse of conscience and touch of religion repented; after that upon signification given of a journey to their new Generall, neither the * Æagles could be dight and trimmed, nor the militarie ensignes plucked up and removed.

14

To his first Consulship he bare foure more: of which, the two former joint-lie and immediately one after another: the rest ensuing, with some time betweene, to wit, each one in the fourth yeere: and as for the third, hee had no precedent for it in any other Prince, as being substituted in the voide place of a Confull deceased. A precise Iusticer he was, ministring Iustice, both when hee was Confull, and also being out of that Office, most painfully; even upon the solemne daies instituted for him and his: yea, and otherwhiles upon the auncient festivall daies and such as were religious. He followed not alwaies the pre-script rule of lawes, moderating either the rigour or the lenity of penalties, by equity & reason, according as he stood affected to a cause: for, both unto those he restored their actions & gave leave to cōmense the a new, who in the Court

P 2

before

* By applause
and acclama-
tion.

* Some call this
a Jacobs staffe.

* Ominous &
unlucky signes.

A.V.C. 794
795
800
804

* Of private
matters, as
Prætors and
Centurians.

before private * Iudges had once lost their suites, by claiming more than was due: and also, such as were convicted of some greater deceite and coufenance, he condemned to be cast unto wilde beasts: exceeding therein the ordinarie punishment by law appointed.

15

* And therefore,
ambitious.

Moreover, in the examination, triall, and deciding of controversies, he was wonderous variable: one while circumspect, wary, and of great insight: other-whiles as rash and inconsiderate: now and then also foolish, vaine, and like to one without all reason. When hee reviewed upon a time the Decuries of Iudges, and put whom hee thought good from their Iurisdiction: one of them, who had answered to his name, and concealed the immunity and privilege that he had by the benefit of children, he discharged quite, as a man desirous * to be a Iudge. Another of them being molested and called into question by his adversaries before him, as touching a matter betweene him and them, and pleading withall for himselfe, That it was a case to be tried not extraordinarily (by CÆSAR) but by the common course of Law, and in an ordinary Court of deputed Iudges: he compelled immediatly to handle & decide his owne cause before him: as who in his proper businesse should give prooffe how indifferent a Iudge he would be hereafter in the matter of another. There was a woman that would not acknowledge her owne sonne. Now, when by evidences and arguments alleadged *pro et contra* on both sides: the question rested in eies, a ballance doubtfull; he awarded, *that she should be wedded to the young * man*: arri- so forced her to confesse the truth and to take him for her child. Most ready he was to give iudgement on their side, who made appearance in Court when their adversaries were absent: without any respect and consideration, whether a man slackt and staid by his owne default, or upon some necessitie? One cried out upon a forger of writings, and required, *That both his hands might be cut off*. Hee made no more a doe, but forthwith called instantly, to have the hangman sent for, with his chopping knife and butchers block, to do the deed. There hapned one to be called iudicially to the barre, *For that being a forainer he bare himselfe as a Romaine Citizen*: and when the advocates of both sides grew to some little variance about this circumstance, namely, *Whether the party De- fendants ought to make his answer and plead his owne cause in a gowne * or a * cloake?* he then, as if hee would make exceeding shew of pure and uncorrupt equitie, commaunded him to shift and change his habite often in the place, according as he was either accused or defended. Moreover, sitting in iudgement to decide a certaine controversie, When he had heard what could be said, hee pronounced sentence out of a written table, as it is verily thought; to this effect, *That hee iudged on their side, who had alleadged the truth*. For which pranks hee became base and contemptible, in so much as every where, and openly he was despised. One, to excuse a * wimess, whom CÆSAR * had called for out of a Province, alleadged in his behalfe, and said, *Hee could not possibly come in time and be present, dissimulating the cause thereof a great while*: at length, after manie long demands, *what the reason might be?* Why, quoth hee, *the man is dead at PYTEOLI*. Another when hee gave him thanks, for suffering a person accused to have the benefite of a triall and to bee defended, added more-over these wordes, *And yet this is an usuall and ordinarie thing*.

* As a Citizen
of Rome.

* As a forainer

* Or deponent
* Claudius.

Further-

Furthermore, I my selfe have heard olde folke say, That these Lawyers and Barristers were wont to abuse his patience so much, that as hee was going downe from the * Tribunall, they would not onely call upon him to come backe againe, but also take hold of his gowne lapper and skirt, yea and other-while catch him fast by the foote, and so hold him still with them. And that no man need to mervaille heereafter, there was one of these Greeke Lawyers, who pleading before him, hapned in earnest altercation to let fall these words, *καὶ σὺ γῆρας εἰ καὶ μάταιος εἶ. i. Thou art both old, and a foole besides*. And verily it is for certaine knowne, that a Gentleman of Rome, accused before him for his obscene filthinesse and unnaturall abuse of women, (although untruly) as having an enditement framed against him by his enemies that were mighty: when he saw common strumpets cited and their depositions heard against him, flung his writing steele and the bookes which he had in his hand, with great ubraiding of him also for his foolishnesse and cruelty, even at his very face, so as he ripped and hurt therewith his cheeke not a little.

* Or iudges
ment seat.

He bare also the Censureship: an office that a long time had beene discontinued, after PAULUS and PLANCHUS the Censours: but even this very place he held with an uneven hand and as variable a minde, as the event and successe ensuing. In the review taken of Romaine Gentlemen, hee dismissed without shame and disgrace, a young man charged with many infamous villanies, howbeit one whom his owne father testified upon his knowledge and triall to bee right honest: saying withall, *That he had a Censor of his owne*. To another youth, who was in a very bad name for spoiling of maidens, and adulteries committed with wives, he did no more but give warning, *Either more sparingly to spend him selfe in these young and tender yeeres of his, or else more warily at least-wise, to goe to worke*: adding thus much beside. *For why know I, quoth hee, what wench thou keepest?* And when upon the intreaty of his familiar friends he had taken of the infamous note which was set upon the name of one, *Well, quoth he, let the blot * yet remaine still to be scene*. An honourable man and a principall personage of the Province Greece, howbeit ignorant in the Latine tongue, he not onely raised out of the ranke & roll of Iudges, but also deprived of his freedom in Rome, and made him a meere alien. Neither suffred he any man to render an account of his life, otherwise than with his owne mouth, as well as every one was able, and without a patrone to speake for him. Hee noted many with disgrace, and some of them without their knowledge, as mistrusting no such thing: yea, and for a matter that had no precedent, namely, because without his privy and a passport obtained they went forth of Italy: one also among the rest, for that in the Province he accompanied a king in his traine: alleadging for example, That in his Ancestours daies RABIRIVS POSTUMUS for following of K. PRO- LOMEVS into Alexandria to save & recover the monie which he had lent him, was accused before the Iudges, of Treason to the State. Having assaied to put many more to rebuke with great imputation of the Inquisitors negligence, but with greater shame of his owne: looke whomsoever he charged with single * life, with childlesse estate or poverty, those lightly he found guiltlesse: as who were able to prove themselves husbands, fathers, and wealthy. Certes, one there was, who being accused to have laied violent hands upon himselfe, and wounded his owne body with a sword, stript himselfe naked, and shewed

16
A.V.C. 800
804

* Lituratus
Some
read extra, is
yet the blot re-
trained: mean-
ing the filthi-
nes of the fact.

* For these
matters would
beare action

the same whole and sound, without any harme in the world. Many other Acts he did of speciall note whiles he was Censour as namely these: He commaunded a silver Chariot sumptuously wrought and set out to sale in the streete *Sigillaria*, for to be bought and broken all to peeces openly. Item, in one day he published 20 Edicts or Proclamations: and ij among the rest: In the one whereof hee gave the people warning, *That when their Vineyards bare Grapes plentifully, they should * pick their vessels very well within: in the other*, he did them to understand, *That there was nothing so good against the sting of a Viper, as the juice of the Vg h tree.*

* Or enhuile:

17

One expedition and no more hee undertooke, and that was very small. When the Senate had by Decree allowed him Triumphall ornaments, hee supposing that a bare title of honour was inferiour to the maiestie of a Prince and Emperour, willing also to enterprife some exploit, whereby he might win the due glorie of a complet triumph, made choise before all other Provinces of *Britaine*; attempted by none since *Iulius (CÆsar)* of famous memorie, and at that time in a tumultuous uprose, for that certaine revolts and rebels fled from thence, were not rendred. As he sailed from *Ostia* thitherward, twice had he like to have beene cast away and drowned, by reason of the strong blustering Southerne winde *Circius*, neere unto *Ligaria*, hard by the Ilands (*a*) *Stoechades*. Having therefore travailed by land, From *Masiles* as farre as to the *Cape * Gessoriacum*, he crossed the seas frō thence into *Britaine*: and in very few daies, without battaile or bloushed, part of the Iland yielded to his devotion. So, in the sixth moneth after his first setting forth hee returned to *Rome*, and triumphed with most sumptuous pompe therefore prepared. To the sight of which Solemnitie, hee suffred not onely the Presidents and Governours of Provinces to have recourse into the Citie, but also certaine banished persons. And among the enemies Spoiles, hee set up a navall Coronet, and fastened it to the Finial of his house Palatine, hard by another civick guirland, in token and memoriall of the Ocean by him sailed over and subdued. After his triumphant Chariot rode *Messallina* his wife in a Coach: then followed those gallants also *, who in the same warre had attained to triumphall ornaments: the rest went on foote and in their rich robes garded with purple: onely *Crassus Frugi* mounted upon a brave Courser trimly trapped, and arrayed himselfe in a triumphant mantle of estate, for that now twice hee had achieved that honour.

* Where Calais standerb, or Bellow, as some thinke.

* 16. According to Dio. A.V.C: 797

* Mounted likewise.

* When so ever you read in *Suetonius* (City) absolutely, understood the by *Rome*: *Kat's ex* *ochem*: as one would say, The City of all Cities: A ordinarie phrase in other Roman writers: according as *Virgil* hath finely expressed in this verse *Eclg. 1. Præm quam dicunt, Roman, etc.*

18

Hee was at all times most carefull and provident for the * Citie, especially that the market might bee well served with victuals: what time, the *Æmilian Edifices* (or Tenements) were on fire and continued still burning, hee remained two nights together in the place called *Diribitorium*: and when the multitude of Souldiours and householde servants failed, hee called together by meanes of the Magistrates, the Commons of the Citie out of all the streetes and Parishes to come in and helpe, setting before him his chests full of money: exhorting them to doe their best for the quenching of the fire: and ready for to pay presently every one a good reward according to the paines hee tooke. Now, when corne and victuals were growne very scarce, (such was the continuall unseasonable weather that brought barraineesse) hee was upon

pon a time in the middes of the * market place detained by the multitude and so assayed and pelled what with reviling taunts & what with peeces of broken bread, that hardly & with much adoe he was able to escape, and no otherwise than by a posterne gate, unto the Pallace. Whereupon he devised all the means he possibly could to bring into the Citie provision of corne & victuals, even in the winter season. For, he not onely propoed certaine set gaires to all cornemasters, that would venture for graine, undertaking himselfe to beare all the losse that should happen unto anie of them by tempest: but ordained also great fees and avails for those that would builde ships for such traffique and merchandise, according to the condition and quality of each one. Namely for everie Romane Citizen exemption from the lawe *PAPIA POPPEA*: For enfranchised latines, the freedome of Romane Citizens: and for womē, the priviledge and benefitt of those that had 4. children, which constitutions stand in force and be observed at this day.

* Or Forum.

20

Many works he finished, and those rather for greatnesse, huge; then for use, needfull. But the chiefe and principall were these: The conduit of water begun by *Catius*. Item a *selufe to let out and draine the lake *Fucinus*; and the *haven at *Ostia*: although he knew well enough, that the one (of the twaine) *Augustus* had denied unto the *Marfians* who cōtinually entreated him about it: and the * other intended oftentimes in the desigment of *Iulius CÆsar* of sacred memorie, was for the difficultie thereof layde aside. The two colde & plenteous *fountaines of the water *Clandia*, of which the one beareth the name of *Cæruleus*, the other of *Curtius* or *Albudinus*, as also the *new river of *Anio* he conceived and brought to *Rome* all the way, within stone-work: and then derived and devided the same into many and those right beautiful pooles. He went in hand with the mere *Ficinus* in hope of gaine as well as of glorie: when some there were, who would have bound themselves in covenant and promise, to draine the sayd marish at their owne private charges, in case the grounds being once made drie might be graunted unto them in free-hold. Now, for the length of three miles, partly by digging through the hill, and partly by hewing out the rocke before him, hee finished the channell at last with much adoe and after eleven yeares labour: albeit thirty thousand men were at worke continually about it and neuer rested between. The Pere at *Ostia* before sayd he made, by drawing an arme of the sea about, on the left and right hand both: and with all, at the mouth and entrance thereof, where now the ground lay deepe, raising an huge dam or pile against it. For the surer foundation of which pile, he drowned before hand that snip, wherein the great Obelisk had beene transported out of *Ægypt*: and when hee had supported it with buttresses of many stones, hee planted aloft upon the same an exceeding high watch-towre to the patterne of that *Pharus* at *Alexandria*, to the end that by the fires burning there, in the night season, vessels at sea might direct their course.

* Or Cerr, * Or Perc, * The drawing of the lake Fucinus

* Alterram, the Pere at Ostia, But because there is no mention made in *Iulius Cæsar* life of this Pere or haven, some read for *Alterram* in this place *Cæterum* and then the word *Alterram* before, is meant of the second works of these three, denied unto the *Marfians* &c. *Cæterum* is, but intended oftentimes in the desigment of *Iulius*, &c.

* Or beads: * *Nous anionis*, some read *non opere* is, within new stone work

* Or Cisternes

21

Hee dealt often among the people great doles and Congiaries. Manie shewes and games likewise hee exhibited, and those magnificent: not such onely as were usuall and in accustomed places: but those that were

P 4

were

were, both newly devised and also brought into use againe, whereas they had of auncient time beene discontinued: yea and where no man else before him had ever set forth anie. The games for the dedication of POMPEIUS Theatre, which *being halfe burnt hee had reedified. he gave a signall to begin from out of his *Tribunall erected in the Orchestra: seeing that before time, when hee had sacrificed and done his devotions in the houses above and came downe from thence through the mids of the Theatre and assembly, not one would once arise and give applause, but sat still and kept silence. He set out also the *Secular games and playes, as if they had beene exhibited by AUGUSTUS over soone, and not referred unto their full and due time: and yet himselfe in his owne histories writeth, *That whereas the said solemnities had beene interrupted, AUGUSTUS long after by a most exact calculation of the yeeres reduced them into order againe.* By occasion whereof, *The voice of the cryer was then ridiculous and laughed at,* when after the solemne manner he called the people, *To behold those games and playes, which no man had once seene aircadie, or should ever see againe:* Whereas there survived yet many who had seene them before: yea and some of the adours, who in times past had beene produced, were then likewise brought forth upon the stage. Oftentimes also he represented the Circensian games in the vaticane, and otherwhiles after every 5. * courses hee brought in the baiting of wild beastes. But in the greatest Cirque of all which was beautified with barr-gates of marble stone and goales all gilded (whereas before time they had beene made of soft sand-stone and wood,) hee appointed proper and peculiar places for the Senatours, who had wont before time to behold the same sports here and there. Beside the races for the prize of Chariots drawn with foure steeds. He represented also the warlike *Troie* pastime, & the baiting of Leopards: which the troupe of the Pretorian horse men slew, having for their leaders the Tribunes and the Captaine himselfe. Moreover, hee brought into the shewplace Thessalian men of armes, whose manner is to chase about the cirque, wild buls; until they be tyred: then to mount them, and by the hornes to force them downe to the ground. As for shewes of sword-fencers, hee exhibited them in many places, and after divers and sundrie sorts. One, that was kept every yeare within the *Pratorian* camp, without anie baiting and sumptuous provision of furniture. As for that, which was ordinarily set out and formally with baiting and other preparations in mars field at *Septa*: in the same place likewise, another extraordinary one and of short continuance, which he began to call *Sportula*, because he proclaimed at first when he exhibited it, *That he invited the people thereto, as it were to a sodaine supper and short pittance, such as men use to bid themselves unto.* And in no kind of sport or gaming represented unto them, was he more civile, familiar and better disposed to passe the time away: in so much as putting forth his left hand, he together with the commou sort, would both by word of mouth tell, and with his fingers also number the peeces of gold as he tendred them unto the winners; and many a time by way of exhortation and entreaty provoke the people to mirth; ever and anon calling them *Sirs*: yea, and betweene whiles intermingling bald, and far fetcht jests. As for example, when the people called for one (a) *P. A. LUMBUS to play his prizes, *Hee promised to let them have him, if he were once caught.* This also was but a simple plaine jest although to good purpose and in season

*For, the stage thereof was consumed wth fire
*Of seat of state,

*Which were solemnized once in three years: not one hundred eyes or one hundred and not as some write.
A, V, C, 800,

*Of Chariot races,

*Or, my master: s Dominus.
*The name of a tenier,

season delivered: when he had by a speciall indulgence, granted unto a Champion who fought out of a British chariot, (for whom his foure children made earnest suite and entreaty) *That he should bee freed from that profession of sword-fight; and that with the great fauour and liking of all men, he sent presently an admonition in writing: wherein he aduertised the people, How much they should endeavour to get children, seeing, as they did, in what good stead they served, and how they procured grace even unto a very sword-fencer.* He represented also in Mars field a warlike shew of the winning and sacking of a towne: Likewise the yeelding of the Princes of *Britaine*; where he sat himselfe as president in his rich Coat-armour. When he was about to let out the water of the *mere: *Ficinus*, he exhibited in it a navall fight before: And as they who were to fight this battaile, cryed out unto him, *Ave Imperator, &c. i. All hail O Emperour; They salute thee and wish thy life who are ready to dye:* and he againe made answer, *Auete vos.* After which word given, as if he had pardoned them this skirmish, there was not one of them would fight: he, sitting a good while in doubt and suspense with himselfe, whether he should destroy them all with fire and sword; at length leapt forth of his throne, and running to and fro about the circuit of the sayd lake (not without foule faltering of his legs under him) partly with threats, and in part by way of exhortation constrained them to skirmish. At this brave shew, the Sicilian and Rhodian fleets encountered: eyther of them consisting of *twelve gallies ruled with three ranks of oares a peece. To give the signall of battaile, there was a *Triton of Syluer arising out of the mids of the lake by a fabricke artificially deuised, to sound the trumpet and set them together.

*Or Lake
*This Veibe (Ave) signifies here, farewell or adieu.
But the foundation of the better sense for their own turns, as they had used it before in saluting him. All hail ye a lo.
*Diodorus Siculus.
Some read unde devicentis iugis, and out of Diodorus.
*Resembling Neptune's Trumpet.

22

Certaine pointes about religious Ceremonies, touching the st like- wise of civill and militarie affaires, as also concerning all degrees of persons both at home and abroad. he eyther reformed, or after long disuse forgotten, brought into practise againe, or els instituted and ordained new. In the election and admission of Priests throughout their severall Colledges, hee nominated not one but he tooke his oath first. He observed also precisely that so often as there was an Earthquake in the Citie, the Pretour for the time being should call a publike assembly, of the people and proclaime certain holydaies: Semblably, that upon the prodigious sight of an unlucky *foule in the Capitol, there should be held a solemne procession and supplication: wherein himselfe personally in the right of *High priests* after warning give unto the people from the *Rostra*, did read & pronounce a forme of prayers & they say after him. But from this congregation hee sequestred & removed the base multitude of mechanickall labourers and slaves.

*Whether it were an Owle, or the bird named Incendiarus. See Plin. lib. 10. cap. 13. & 12.

23

The handling of causes and iudiciall pleading in Courts, devided before time into certaine moneths for winter and summer, he conioyned altogether. The iurisdiction astouching feofments upon trust which was wont yeere by yeere, and onely within the Citie to bee committed unto the magistrates, hee ordained to hold by patent for ever: and betooke the charge thereof unto the rulers and governours also of state in every province. That *branch annexed to the lawe PAPIA (4) POPPEA, which emplyeth thus much, That men threescore

*That a Woman under 30. years of age, should not be wedded to a man that was threescore.

*Edicta drogati.

*Grating, that men three score yeeres olde might mary women vnder sicke.

*Wards under age.

*Licenses to be absent a time from Rome.

*Who received 200000 letters ces for talarie or might de spend to much by the place. *i. The Sena- tours robe studded with purple.

*Calpina which therope was called Pro- uincia Quarta. *Fro Augustu- days.

*Latus textilis. *Latus as incele- sur, he gave him the right hand, and went on his left side, *Fro Eutropium

three score yeeres of age are disabled for generation, he altered by an *edict*. He ordeined that unto **Pupils*, the Consuls should extraordinarily appoint Tutors and Guardians. That they also who by the head-Magistrates were forbidden to make abode within any provinces, should bee debarred likewise from the Citie of *Rome* and *Italie*. Himselfe confined some after a strange fashion and without any precedent, inhibiting them to depart above three miles from the City. When he was to treat of any great affaire in the Curia, his manner was to sit in the Tribunes pue just in the midst betweene the Consuls chaires. As for **passports* which the Consuls were wont to be sued unto for, he would have the Citizens to bee beholden unto himselfe onely therefore, and to crave the same at his hands.

24

The badges and ornaments belonging unto the Consuls he granted unto the **Ducenarie* Procuratours and Seneschals of Provinces. From as manie as refused the honorable dignitie of Senatours; he tooke away also the worship of the gentlemens degree. The right to weare the **Laticlave*, (although hee promised at first not to chuse anie one Senatour who could not reckon 4. line- all descents from a Citizen of *Rome*,) he allowed also to a libertines sonne: but with this condition, *if he were adopted before by a Gentleman of Rome*. And fearing for all that, least he should be blamed, he proved and shewed, That euē APPIUS CÆCUS the cheife auncitour and auitor of his owne race, being Censor, elected and admitted into the Senate the sonnes of Libertines: ignorant as hee was, that in the dayes of the sayde APPIVS, and in the times long after ensu- ing, those were called Libertines, *not onely who themselves were manumised and enfranchised, but such also, as were free borne of their progeny*. The Colledge of Questours, instead of pauing the streets and high wayes he enioyned to ex- hibite a game or shew of sword-fencers: and in the lieu of the Provinces, Ostia and **gaule* which he tooke from them hee restored the charge of the publike Treasure in the temple of Saturne: which office in the meane space **betweene*, the Pretours for the time being, or those verely who had been Pretours before had borne. Vnto SILANUS espoused and betrothed unto his daughter, be- fore he was undergrowen and 4. yeeres of age hee granted triumphall orna- ments: but of elder persons to so many, as there is an Epistle extant written in the common name of the Legions wherein they make petition, *That unto the Consuls Lieutenants there might be granted together with the conduct of the armie, the sayde triumphall honours: to the end that they should picke quarrels and seeke occa- sions of warre, they cared not how nor what way*. Moreover to A. PLANTIVS he gave by a decree the pety triumph Ovatio: and as he entred so into the Citie himselfe methim upon the waie: and both when he went into the Capitoll & returned also from thence againe, gave him the better hand. Vnto GABINI- US SECUNDUS, who had vanquished the Cauci nation in *Germanie*, he per- mitted and gave leave to assume the surname CAUCIVS in his style.

25

The horsemens seruice and their places he ordered so by degrees, as that af- ter the charge of a cohort, he granted the leading of a wing: and after the com- maund thereof, the Tribuneship or regiment of a Legion: he ordeined their stipends also: and a kind of imaginary warefare called *Supra-Numerum* (which they

they that were abient might execute) and in name or title onely. By vertue of a decree that passed even from the Nobles them selues, he prohibited all soul- diours professed, to enter into any Senatours houses for to do their dutie and salute them. Those Libertines who bare them selues for *Romane* gentle- men he caused to forfeit their goods and bodies to the state. Such of them as were unthankful and of whom their patrons complained, he deprived of free- dome and made them bound againe: Yea and denied unto their aduocates, for to heare any plea and to sit in iudgment against their owne freed men. When some Masters there were, that put forth their sick & diseased slaves into the Isle of **Aesculapins*, for to avoid the tedious trouble of their cures at home, he made an act and ordeined, *That all such slaves should be free and not returne againe into the hands of their Masters, in case they ever recovered: and if anie Master chose to kill them outright, rather then thus to put them forth, they should be guilty of murder*.^{na} He gave warning by an edict, that no waifaring men should trauele through anie towne in *Italie*, but either on foot or (a) borne in a chaire, or els carried in a litter. In *Puteoli* and in *Ostia* he placed severall cohorts, to put by all mischan- ces of skare-fires. He forbad all persons by condition aliens and forrainers, to take upon them *Romane* names; those I meane onely that distinguished houses and families. As manie of them as usurped the freedome of *Rome-Citie* he beheaded in the **Esquiline* fieldes. The two provinces *Achaia* and *Ma- cedonia*, which TIBERIUS (the Emperour) had appropriated to **him* selfe, hee yeecied up againe into the hands and dispoile of the Senate. The *Ætians* hee deprived of their freedome, by occasion of the mortall discord and variance among them. To the *Rhodians*, who repented for their olde trespasses hee restored their libertie which they had lost. Hee forgave all tributes to the *Ælienses* for ever, as to the first founders and stocke-fathers of the *Romane* Nation: And to that purpose hee red an olde letter in *Greece* written unto K. SELEUCUS by the Senate and people of *ROME*: where- in they, promised to entertaine amitie and league with him upon this condi- tion, that hee would graunt unto the *Ælienses*, their naturall kinsfolke, immu- nitie from all taxes and tributes. **The (b) Jewes* who by the instigation of one CHRESTUS were evermore tumultuous, he banished *ROME*. The Embassadours of the *GERMANES* hee permitted to sit in the (c) *Orche- stra* (with the Senatours) beeing mooved so to doe at their simplicitie and confident boldnesse for that beeing brought into the (d) *Popularia* and perceiving *PARTHIAN*s and *ARMENIAN*s sitting among the Senatours, they of their owne accord had remooved and passed to that quarter: giving out these words withall, that their valour and condition of estate was nothing inferiour to the others, The religion of the *Druside* a- mong the French-men, practising horrible and detestable cruelty and which under AUGUSTUS, *Romane* Citizens onely were forbidden to professe and use, he quite put downe and abolished. Contrariwise, the sacred rites and holy Cæremonies (of *CERES*) called *Eleusinia*, hee attempted to transfe- re out of the Territorie Attica to *ROME*. The Temple likewise of *VENUS* (e) *Erycne* in *Sicilie*, which in continuance of time was decayed and fallen downe, hee caused to bee repavred and built againe at the common charges of the people of *ROME*: Hee made Covenants and league with forraine Kings

Otherwise called Tiberi- na.

*Without the gate Esquiline. *And his loc- c-flours,

*This some thinke is to bee understood of Christians who we find in the Ecclesiast call writers to bee misnamed by the Eri nicke Infidels, Chrestia- an, like as Christ himselfe Chrestus, in Ikorac.

*Porcia.
*Or Fecit.
Sec Livie Lib.

Kings, by the complements of killing a *fowe in the *Forum*, and using withall the sentence or preface that the *Heraulds in old time pronounced: But both these affaires and others besides, the whole Empire also in a manner or a great part thereof he managed not so much after his owne minde, as by the direction and wil of his Wives and childen: beeing verely affected and framed for the most part so, as stood cyther with their profit or good pleasure.

26

When he was a very youth, he had espoused two maidens, namely **AMELIA** **LEPIDA** neice to **AUGUSTUS** once removed, likewise **LIVIA** **MEDULLINA**, furnished also **CAMILLA**, a Ladie descended fro the auntient house of **Camillus** the Dictatour. The former of these twaine, because her parents had offended **AUGUSTUS** she cast off remaining as yet a Virgin: the latter, hee lost by occasion of sicknesse, upon that very day which was appointed for the mariage. After this, he wedded these wives, to wit, **PLAUTIA** **HERCULANILLA**, whose father had triumphed; and not long after, **ARLIA** **PETINA**, whose father had beene Consul. Both these he divorced. **PETINA** upon light offenses and small displeasures: namely, **HERCULANILLA** he put away for her filthy lust and whorish life; as also for suspicion of a murder. After these he tooke to wife **VALERIA** **MESSALLINA**, the daughter of **BARBATUS** **MESSALLA** his cousin german: whom when hee found once, over and beside the rest of her abominable vices & dishonesties, to have been *wedded to **C. SILIUS**, and that with a dourie assured unto her and signed among the *Auspices, he put to death. And in a speech that he made openly before his Pretorian Souldiours, *avowed that because his marriages proved so bad, he resolved to remaine unmarried and live a single life: and if he did not continue so for ever, hee would not refuse to be stabbed by their very hands.* Neither could he endure, but forthwith treat upon conditions of mariage even with **PETINA**, whom long before hee had put away: yea and with **LOLLIA** **PAVLINA** wife some time to **C. CESAR**. But through the enticing allurements of **AGRIPPINA**, the daughter of **GERMANICUS** his owne brother what by the meanes of kissing courtesies, what by the opportunities of other dalliances, being drawen into love and fancie with her, at the next Session of Senate he suborned certaine of purpose to opine and give aduise, *To compell him for to make her his Wife, as being a matter of right great consequence, and which most of all concerned the State: That other men also might be dispensed with and licenced to contract the like * marriages which until that time were reputed incestuous.* And so, himselfe staied hardly one day between, before hee dispatched the wedding: but none were found that followed the precedent, except one libertine & another who had been a principal Centurion in the formost Cohort, at whose mariage even himself in person together with **AGRIPPINA** was present to do him credite and honor.

27

Children he begat of 3. wives. By **HERCULANILLA** he had **DRUSUS** and **CLAUDIA**: By **PETINA** he was father of **ANTONIA**: and **MESSALLINA** bare unto him **OCTAVIA** and a son, whom first he named **GERMANICUS** and afterwards **BRITANNICUS**. As for **DRUSUS**, he lost him at **Pompeij*, before he was 14. yeares of age by occasion that he was choaked with a peare which

*Pompeij im-
puberem amittit.

which in play and pastime beeing tossed aloft into the aire, fell iust into his mouth as he gaped wide for it: unto whom also but few daies before, hee had affianced in mariage the daughter of **SEIANUS**: which maketh mee more to mervaile that some have written, hee was treacherously killed by **SEIANUS**. His (supposed) daughter **CLAUDIA**, who in deede was conceived by his freed man **BOTER**, although shee was borne before the fifth moneth after the di-
uorfe, and began to be nourced and reared, yet hee commaunded to be laid at her mothers dore and starke naked to be cast forth. **ANTONIA** his daughter, he gave in mariage to **CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS**: afterwards to **FAUSTUS SULLA** a right noble yong Gentlemen: & **OCTAVIA** he bestowed upon **NERO** * his wives sonne, notwithstanding she had been promised, & betrothed before unto **SILANUS**. His sonne **BRITANNICUS**, whom **MESSALLINA** bare unto him the twentieth day after he came to the Empire & in his second Consulship, being yet a very babe he recommended continually both to the Souldiours in open assembly, dandling him in his owne hands, and also to the common people at the solemnities of games and plaies, holding him either in his bosome or iust before him, whiles the multitude with great acclamations, all good words and fortunate osies seconded him. Of his sonnes in Law who matched with his daughters, he adopted **NERO**: **POMPEIUS** and **SILANUS** he not onely cast off and reiected but murdered also.

28

Of all his freed men hee esteemed especially **POSIDES** the * Eunuch, unto whom also in his triumph over *Britaine*, among martiall men and valiant Souldiours, he gave a speare * without any iron head: and no lesse account made he of * **FELIX**: whom first he ordained Capitaine over the Cohorts & Cornets of Horsemen, yea and ruler of the Province *Iurie*; the husband (a) of three Queenes. As also of **HARPOCRAS**, unto whom hee graunted a priviledge to be caried in a Litter through the Citie of *Rome*, and to set out (b) Games and Plaies in publick: And besides these, hee affected with much respect **POLYBIUS** the guide and directour to him in his Studies, who oftentimes would walke cheeke by iole betweene the two Consuls. But above all these, he held in greatest esteeme, **NARCISSUS** his Secretarie or enditer of Epistles, and **PALLAS** the Keeper of his bookes of accounts: whom by vertue of a Decree also which went from the Senate, he suffered willingly to be not onely rewarded with rich Fees, but also to be adorned with the Honours of Questure and Pretureship: likewise to get, to pill and poll by hooke and crooke so much, as that when himselfe complained upon a time how little treasure hee had in his Cofters, one made answere unto him not absurdly, *That hee might have store enough and plenty, in case his two * freed men would admit him to share with them.*

29

To these (freed men) and to his wives as I said before, being wholly addicted and enthralled, hee bare himselfe not as an absolute Prince, but as their (a) Minister and Servitour. According as it was behoovefull and commodious to any of these, or stoode with their affection and pleasure, hee graunted honourable dignities, conferred the conducts of Armies, and awarded impunities and punishments: yea, and for the most part, I assure you when himselfe was altogether ignorant and wist not what hee did. And not to reckon

*Emperour
after him.

A.V.C. 806

A.V.C. 103

*Or gelded
man:
*Hæstia pona des-
navit: For his
great valour
forsooth:
*O this Felix
mention is
made in the
Acts of the A-
postles:

*Narcissus and
Pallias.

Q

reckon up particularly, every small thing, to wit, his liberalities and gifts revoked, his iudgements reversed, his Patents & Writings concerning the graunts of Offices either foisted in or plainly altered and chaunged by them: hee slew his brother (a) **APPIVS SILANVS**: the iij **IULIE**, the one daughter of * **DRVSVS**, and the other of * **GERMANICVS** upon bare imputation of a crime, without any ground: not allowing them so much as lawfull triall and libertie to plead in their owne defence: likewise **CN. POMPEIVS**, husband to his elder daughter, and **LVCIVS SILANVS** espoused to the other, (and all through their suggestions and informations). Of which, **POMPEIVS** was stabbed even as he lay in bed with a beloved youth and Catamite of his: **SILANVS** was forced to resigne up his Pretureship foure daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, and to * loose his life in the beginning of the yeere on the very wedding day of **CLAVDIVS** and **AGRIPPINA**. To the execution of 35 Senatours, and above an hundred Romaine Gentlemen so easily was hee induced, as that, when the Centurion brought word backe, as touching the death of one who had bene Confull, saying, *That the deede was done which he had commaunded*, he flatly denied, that he gave any such warrant. Neverthelesse the thing he allowed: whiles his freed men afore-said standing by, avouched, *That the Souldiours had done their devoir, in that they ran willingly of their owne heads to revenge their Emperour*. For, it would be thought incredible if I should relate, How even for the very marriage of **MESSALLINA** with the Adulterer **SILIUS**: his own self sealed the Writings for assurance of the Dowrie, being perswaded and brought thereunto, as though the said wedding was but colourably, of purpose pretended to avert forsooth and translate the danger, that by certaine prodigies were portended to hang over his owne head. 30

Right personable hee was, and caried a presence not without authorize and maieltie, whether he stooode or fate; but especially when he was laid and tooke his repose. For, of stature hee was tall, and nathlesse his body not lanke and slender. His countenance lively, his gray haire beautifull, which became him well, with a good fat and round neck under them. Howbeit, both as he went his hams being feeble failed him: and also whiles he was doing ought, were it remissely or in earnest, many thinges disgraced him: to wit, undecent laughter and unseemely anger, by reason, that hee would froth and flaver at the mouth, and had evermore his nose dropping: Besides, his tongue stutted and stammered: his head likewise at all times, but especially if he did any thing were it never so little used to shake and tremble very much.

31

Concerning his bodily health, as before time he used to be grievously sick, so being once Emperour exceeding healthfull he was and stooode cleere of all diseases save onely the paine of the (a) stomack: in a fit whereof hee saide, hee thought to have killed himselfe.

32

Hee made feasts, and those very great and ordinarily; yea, and in most open and large places, such as for the most part would receive fixe hundred guests at one sitting. Hee feasted also even upon the Sluce of the Lake **FUCIVS**: what time hee had like to have bene drowned, when as the water let out with a forcible violence reflowed backe againe. At everie supper his

his manner was to have also his owne children, who together with other noble mens children as well boyes as girles, should after the olde manner sit and feede at the tables * feete. One of his guests, who was thought to have close-lie stollen away a cup of gold the day before, he reinvited against the morrow: and then he let before him a stone * pot to drinke in. It is reported moreover, that he meant to set forth an Edi&, wherein he would give folke leave to breake winde downward and let it goe (a) even with a crack at the very bound; having certaine intelligence, that there was one who for manners and modestie sake, by holding it in, endangered his owne life.

33

For appetite to meate and drinke his stomacke served him passing well alwaies, and in every place. Sitting upon a time iudicially in **AUGUSTVS** Hall of Iustice, to heare and determine causes, and sending there the steime of a dinner, that was a dressing and serving up for the Priests (a) *Salij* in the temple of * **MARS** next adioyning, he forooke the Tribunall, went up to the said Priests, and there fate downe with them to meate. Lightly you should never have him goe out of any dining roome. but with his belly strutting out, well whittled also and drenched with wine: so, as straightwaies, whiles hee layd him downe along upon his backe and tooke a sleepe gaping, there was a leather put ordinarily into his mouth wide open for to discharge his stomack. Hee tooke very short sleepes: for commonly before midnight hee awaked: yet so, as other-whiles he would catch a nap in the day time, as he sat to minister iustice: and scarcely could bee awakened by the Advocates at the barre, who of purpose raised their voices and pleaded the lowder. Hee was excessively given to the wanton love of women. As for the preposterous abuse of malekind, he was altogether unacquainted therewith. Hee plaied at dice most earnestly (concerning the Art and skill whereof, he published also a little booke) being wont to plie that game even whiles hee was caried up and downe, having his Carroch and Dice-bourd so fitted, as there might be no confusion nor shuffling at all in play.

That cruell he was and given to bloudshed naturally, appeared in great and very small matters. As for tortures used in examinations, and the punishments that (a) **PARICIDES** suffred, hee exhibited and exacted the same to be done without delay, and openly in his owne presence. Being desirous upon a time to behold an execution performed after the auncient manner at **Tibur**, where as, (the malefactours standing bound already to a stake), there wanted the butcherly executioner to doe the feat; he staied there still in the place, and waited untill evening, for one that was sent for out of **Rome**. At all Swordfights, whether they were set forth by himselfe, or by others, he commaunded as many of the Champions as chaunced onely but to stumble and fall therewith, to have their throats cut: especially the Fencers called * *Retiarij*; and why! because forsooth hee would see their faces as they lay gasping and yeelding up their breath. It fortuneth, that a couple of these fighting at sharpe wounded and killed one another: Thereupon hee commaunded little knives to bee made of both their blades, for his owne proper use. Hee tooke such pleasure in those that * fought (b) with wild beasts, as also in the sword-fights ordinarily about noone, that he would by breake of day go downe to the Theater for to be-

Q2

hold

* Or ara Seate at the tables end: * Or carthes pot.

* Revenger, Statute seere to the Hall: for distinction of another Temple, bearing that name, in the Capitoll mount.

34

* The adversa faction to the Murrillones whom hee favored.

* Which combats were usually in the mornings.

hold the one: ~~and~~ at noone dismiss the people to their dinners, and sit it out himselfe to see the other: yea, and besides those that were appointed to such combats, upon any slight and suddaine occasion set some to fight for their lives, even out of the number of Carpentars, Servitours, & such like employed about these games: if happily any of those artificiall (c) motions that goe by vices, or a pageant * in frame, or some such fabrick proved not well. Hee fetcht in also one of his owne * Nomenclatours even in his gowne as he went * to fight for his life.

35

But it passed, how timorous and diffident hee was. At his first comming to the Empire; (how ever as we said before, he bragged and stood upon his civill and familiar behaviour) he durst not for certaine daies goe to any feast, dinner or supper, without Pensionars standing about him with their speares and Iavelins, and his Souldiours waiting at the table: neither visited hee any sicke person, unlesse the bed-chamber where the party lay, were first searched; the beds, bolsters, pillowes, Coverlets and other cloathes were groped, felt, and thoroughly shaken before hand. All the time after, hee appointed evermore certaine searchers for them all, that came to salute him, sparing not one; and such searchers as were most cruell. For, long it was first, and that with much ado, ere hee graunted that women, young boyes in their embroidered coates, and maidens, should not bee handled and felt in this manner: that any mans Attendants likewise or Clerks might not have their Pensheathes and Penknives (a) taken from them. In a civile commotion, when CAMILLUS, (making no doubt but that without any warre at all hee might be terrified) willed him in a contumelious, menacing, and malapert letter, to resigne up the Empire, and to leade a quiet life in private estate, hee called his Nobles and chiefe peronages about him, to counsell, and put to question, whether it were best to hearken unto him or no?

36

At the headlesse report and flying newes of some treason that should bee practised against him, he was so affrighted, that hee went about to lay downe his Imperiall dignity. By occasion, that one (as I related before) was taken with a weapon upon him, about his person as hee sacrificed, in all hast he sent out the Bedels and called the Senate together: before whom, with teares and loud out-cries hee bewailed his owne pitious case, as who no where could make account of any safety: and thereupon for a long time forbore to come abroad. His affectionate love also to MESSALLINA, most fervent though it were he renounced and cast cleane from her, not so much for any indignity of the dishonourable wrongs shee offered unto him, as upon very feare of daungers: as fully perswaded that shee practised to bring the Empire into SILIUS the adulterers hands. At which time in a great fright he fled in shamefull manner to the camp, asking and enquiring all the way nothing else, but whether the Empire remained still safe to his behoofe?

37

There arose no suspicion, there came forth no Author so light and vaine, but gave him a bone to gnaw upon, and put no small toyces in his head: whereby he was forced to beware and seeke revenge. One of those, that had a matter depending in Court before him, taking him a side, when hee came by way of salutation

* Or Pegme
* Prompters of
names.
* With wilde
beasts or o-
therwise.

salutation to doe his duty, avowed unto him, that he dreamed, How hee was killed by one. Then within a while after, the same party, (as if he had now taken knowledge who that one was that should murder him) pointed unto his owne adversarie, even as hee tendered a supplication unto CLAUDIUS; and said, This is he. Whereupon immediatly apprehended he was, and haled to execution. After the semblable manner by report, came APPIUS SILANUS to his death. For, when MESSALLINA and NARCISUS had conspired to worke his overthrow and finall destruction, they complotted thus, that NARCISUS betimes in a morning before day light rushed like a man amazed and astonied into the bedchamber of his Patrone (CLAUDIUS) relating unto him his dreame, namely that APPIUS had laid violent hands upon him: and MESSALLINA for her part, composing and framing her selfe as if shee wondered greatly thereat, reported, *How shee likewise had scene already the same vision for certaine nights together*. And not long after this, word came, (as it was before agreed betweene them) that APPIUS was comming to rush in among them: who in deed had beene bidden the day before to be present at the same instant. Whereupon, as if the said dreame had now proved true and beene plainly represented in effect, order was given for APPIUS, to be endited, arraigned, and to suffer death. Neither doubted CLAUDIUS the morrow after to report the whole storie and the order thereof unto the Senate: and withall to give thanks unto his * freed man, for being so vigilant and watchfull in his very sleepe for his sake.

38 Being privie to himselfe of passionate (a) anger & bearing malice, he excluded them both in an Edict, distinctly promising that the one of them verily should be but short and harmlesse, the other not uniuert nor causelesse. Having sharply rebuked the men of *Offia*, because they had not sent boats & barges to meet him as he came upon the river *Tiberis*: and that in such odious termes as these, *That he was now become base and abiect in their eyes*: ail on a suddaine, he pardoned the upon their submission & readinesse to make satisfaction. Some there were, whom in the very open street he thrust from him with his own hand, comming unto him somewhat out of season. Semblably he confined and banished the Court a Scribe who had been Questour: a Senatour likewise that had borne the Pretureship both of them without their cause heard and altogether guiltlesse: for that the * one pleading in Court as an Advocate against him when he was a private person, had caried himselfe not so modestly as he should: & the Senatour in his *Ædileship* had amerced & fined certaine tenants of his dwelling upō his lands, for selling boiled meats contrary to the law exprefly forbidding so to do: and withall whipped his Bailife comming * betweene (to intercede for them). For which cause also, he tooke from the *Ædiles* their authority to punish the disorder of those that kept Tavernes and victualing houses. But as touching his owne foolishnes, he concealed it not, but gave it out & protested in certaine short orations, That he counterfained himselfe a foole for the nonce during CATIUS daies: because otherwise he should not have escaped, nor attained to that (imperiall) place which hee aimed at and was now entred upon. Howbeit, he could not make the world beleewe so much, untill there was a book put forth within a short time after, entituled *ὑπερβασις*, *i. The resurrection (or Exaltation) of fooles*. The argument and matter whereof was, (b) *That no man*

* Narcissus.
* *Iracundia*.
The manner
is of this Au-
ditor through-
out his story: so
set those points
downe first in a
word, whereon
he meant to
stand, & then in
order to particu-
larize precedes
ly upon the By
which method
of his, it appea-
reth in this
place, that hee
meant by
Iræ, the morose
tanic passion
of anger, which
we call heat &
choler, soone
up & as soone
downe, quickly
kindled and as
quickly quench-
ed by *Iracundia*,
the habite of
inveeterat wrath
continuing still
untill revenge
be had: which
we call malice
and rancour.
Howsoever our
moderne Lexi-
cographers have
in their Dictio-
naries put
downe the con-
trary.
* The Scribe
* To intercede
for them.

saig with folly.

39

Among other things, men wondered at him for his oblivion and unadvisednesse, or (that I may expresse the same in Greeke) his *μεταβολὴ καὶ ἀσέβεια*, i. his grosse over-sight or forgetfulness, and inconsiderate blindness. When MESSALLINA was (by his owne commaundement) killed, within a while, after he was set in his dining parlour hee asked why his * Lady came not? Many of those whom he had condemned to death, the very morrow immediately after, he commaunded to have warning both to sit in counsell with him, and also to beare him company at Dice-play: yea, and by a messenger chid & checked them as drowsie and slothfull for staying so long and making no better haste. Being minded to take AGRIPPINA to wife against all law of God and man, he ceased not in all his speech to call her, *His * daughter and nurceling*: to give out also, *That she was borne and brought up in his bosome*. Having a purpose to admit NERO into the very name of his owne house & family, as if he had not incurred blame enough already for adopting (him) his wives son, having a naturall * sonne of his owne who was now of ripe yeeres, hee est-soones divulged, *That never anyone had beene by adoption inserted or incorporate into the family of the CLAUDII.*

40

He shewed oftentimes so great negligence & carelesnes what he said or did, that he was thought not to know nor consider, either who made any speech, or among whom, or at what time, and in what place? When there was some question and debate about Butchers & Vintners, he cried out in the Senate house, *I beseech * you, my Masters who is able to live without a little piece or morsell of flesh?* and withall described the * abundance of the olde Tavernes (a), from whence himselfe also in times past was wont to bee served with wine. As touching a certaine Questour, who was a Candidate of his and by him recommended: among other reasons why he favoured him, he alleadged this, *Because his Father*, quoth he, *had quickly and in due time given him lying sick, cold water to drinke*. Having in the Senate brought in a woman to depose, *This*, quoth he, *was my mothers freed woman, and she that kept her ornaments, and used to deck and dresse her: But she alwaies tooke me for her Patrone. This have I*, quoth he, *delivered of purpose, because there be some yes in mine house, who think me not to be her Patron*. Moreover, sitting upon the Tribunall, when he was in a great chafe, & the men of Ostia requested at his hands (I wot not what) in the name of their towne; he cried out aloud, *That he knew nothing wherefore he should oblige the unto him: And if any man else*, quoth he, *I also am free and at mine owne liberty*. As for these words of his which now I will relate, they were rife in his mouth daily, yea every houre & minute thereof. *What dost thou take (b) me for* THEOGONIUS and *λογιστάτος?* beside many such foolish termes, not becomming private persons, much lesse a Prince, otherwise not uneloquent nor unlearned: nay, rather one eagerly given to his booke, and a great Student in the liberal Sciences.

41

In his youth, he attempted to write an Historie, exhorted thereto by TITUS LIVIUS; and having the help besides of SULPITIUS FLAVUS. And when he put the same first to the triall & iudgement of men in a frequent auditorie, hardlie & with much a-do he read it through, being often in the while coldly heard, by an occasion that himselfe gave. For, when, (as hee began his reading) there was set up a laughter, by reason that many of the seates brake with the weight of

175

of a certaine corpulent and fat swad, he was not able to hold, no not after the tumult appealed, but est-soones ever and anon call to minde that accident and fall afresh to unmeasurable laughing. During his Empire likewise, hee both wrote much and also rehearsed the same continually by his reader. The beginning of his foresayd historie he tooke from the time presently ensuing the murder of CÆSAR DICTATOR: but hee passed over to the latter dayes: and began againe at the civill pacification: perceiving that it was not left in his power and libertie to write of the occurrents in those former times, as who was often checked both by his * mother and also by his * grandame. Of the former argument he left behinde him two volumes, of the later, fortie-one. Hee compiled of his owne life eight bookes: a report not so wisely and discreetly put downe, as otherwise elegantly penned: *Item*, an Apologie or defense of CICERO against the bookes of ASINIUS GALLUS: a peece of worke full enough of learning. He devised moreover three (a) new characters or letters in the (Latine) Alphabet, and put them to the number of the olde as most necessarie. And having published whiles he was yet a private person, concerning the reason of those letters, one booke: soone after beeing Emperor he easily effected that they should be brought into use also indifferently with the rest. And verely such manner of writing with those characters is now extant to be seene in many bookes of records in Iournels, and titles or inscriptions of works.

42

With no lesse diligence studied hee the Greeke disciplines, professing as any occasion was offered, his affectionate love to that tongue, and the excellency thereof. When a certaine Barbarian discoursed in Greeke and Latine, see you be skilfull, quoth he, in both our languages; And in recommending ACHAIA unto the LL. of the Senate, he sayde it was a province that he affected well and delighted in, for the commerce and society of studies common to him and them: and many a time he answered their embassadors in the Senate, with a long and continued oration (in Greeke). But upon the Tribunall he used very much verses also out of HOMER. CARTES whensoever he had taken revenge of enemie or traytor, he lightly gave unto the Tribune over the Sentinels and guard of his person, calling unro him after the usuall manner for a watchword, none other but this

Ἀνδρ' ἐπαμύναδε ὅτε τις πρότερος ὀχλεῖται

Resist, revenge with maine and might.

When one provokes thee first to fight.

To conclude, in the end he wrote Greeke histories also, to wit twentie books entituled **Tyrrenicon*, and 8. entituled **Carchedomiacoon*. In regard of which histories, unto the aumtint schoole at *Alexandria* he adjoynd another bearing his owne * name: and ordained it was, that every yeare in the on of them his books *Tyrrenicon*; and in the other his *Carchedomiacoon* upon certaine daies appointed therefore should (as it were in a frequent Auditorie) be read whole and through by severall single readers in their turnes.

43

Toward the end of his life, hee shewed certaine signes and those evident enough, that he repented both his marriage with AGRIPPINA, and the adoption

* Antonia the
Triumvirs
daughter.
* Octavia the
wife of Antonie
of Livia Auguste
the her selfe.

* Or Mistres of
the house, De-
mure. Grace,
& so on.

* And in deede
he was her
Vnkle.

* Britannicus.

* Reges, or I
demand of
you:
* Or excessive
number.

* Of Turbine
affaires.
* Of Cartha-
ginian matters:
Called *Cleudi-*
on.

Q4

adoption also of NERO. For by occasion that his freed-men made mention and gave their commendation of a iudiciall proceeding of his, wherein he had condemned the day before, a Woman in the case of adulterie, hee avouched *That the destinies likewise had so ordained, that all his marriages should bee unchaste howbeit not unprossibled*: And soone after, meeting his sonne BRITANNICUS and embracing him *harder and more closely than his manner was, growe apace* quoth hee, and take account of me for all that I have done. *Using withall these Greeke words, ὁ ἑγὼς δ' ἐπείνεταί, *i. Love enforced me.* And when he had fully purposed to give him being as then very young & of tender yeeres his (s) *Virile Robe*, seeing that his stature and growth would beare and permit it, he uttered these words moreover, *To the end that the people of Rome may yet at last, have a true and Naturall CÆSAR.*

44

And not long after this he wrote his wil and signed it with the scales of al the (s) head-magistrates: whereupon before that he could proceed anie further, prevented hee was and cut short by AGRIPPINA. Whom they also who were *privie to her and of her counsell, yet neverthelesse enformers, accused besides all this of many crimes. And verely it is agreed upon generally by all, that killed he was by poyson: but (s) where it should be, and who gave it, there is some difference. Some write, that as he sat at a feast in the (Capitoll) Castle with the priests, it was presented unto him by HALOTUS the Eunuch his taster: others report that it was at a meale in his owne house by AGRIPPINA herselfe, who had offered unto him a mushroome empoisoned; knowing that he was most greedy of such meats. Of those accidets also which ensued hereupon, the report is variable. Some say, that streight upon the receipt of the poyson he became speechlesse, & continuing all night in dolorous torments, dyed a little before day. Others affirme, that at first he fell a sleepe: and afterwards, as the meate flowed and floted aloft vomited all vp, and so was followed againe with a ranke *poyson. But whether the same were put into a messe of thicke gruell, (considering hee was of necessitie to be refreshed with food beeing emptied in his stomacke) or conueied up by a clifstre, as if being overcharged with fulnesse and surfeit, he might be eased also by this kind of egestion and purgation, it is uncertaine.

45

His death was kept secret until all things were set in order about his succession. And therefore, both vowes were made for him as if hee had lyen sicke still and also comicall Actours were brought in place colourably to solace and delight him, as having a longing desire after such sports. He deceased three dayes before the Ides of October, when ASINIUS MARCELLUS and ACILIUS AVIOLA were Consuls: in the 64th yeere of his age, and 14th of his Empire. His funerals were performed with a solemne pompe and procession of the Magistrates: and canonized he was a Saint in heaven: Which honor forlet and abolished by NERO hee recovered afterwards by the meanes of VESPASIAN.

46

Especial tokens there were presaging & prognosticating his death: to wit the rising of an * hairy starre which they call a Comet: Also the *monument of his father D R U S U S was blasted with lightning: and for that in the same yeare

yeere most of the (s) Magistrates of all sorts were dead. But himselfe seemeth not either to have beene ignorant that his end drew neere, or to have dissimulated so much: which may bee gathered by some good arguments and demonstrations. For both in the ordination of Consuls hee appointed none of them to continue longer then the moneth wherein he dyed: and also in the Senate, the very last time that ever he sat there, after a long and earnest exhortation of his children to concord, he humbly recommended the age of them both to the L.L. of that honourable house: and in his last Iudiciall Session upon the Tribunal once or twice he pronounced openly, That come he was now to the end of his mortalitie: notwithstanding they that heard him, grieved to heare such an Offe, and praied the gods to avert the same.

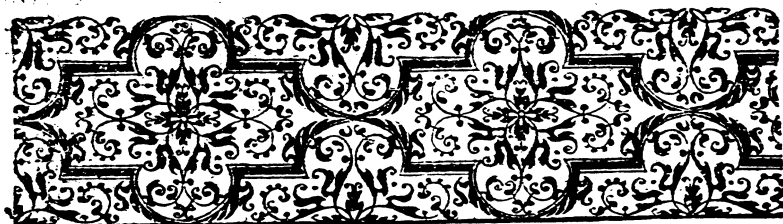


* Matrimonia,
or Wives like
as Comagias pro
comagionibus.

* Or rather,
HO TROSAS,
KAI IASSTAI.
Herbar wound
ded will also
heale. I that
have done thee
wileg will make
amer ds.

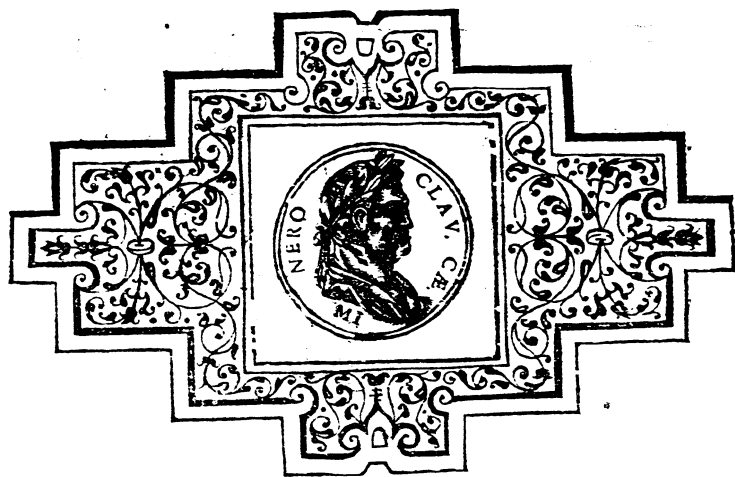
* Confessio: Some
read Confessio.
his quoque even
his owne con-
science.
* Torque.

* The 13th. of
October.



THE HISTORIE OF Nero Claudius Cæsar, vvritten

by *Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.*



A.V.C. 536.
Cæsar and
Pellux relem.
Blig two yong
s. ca.



VT of the Domitian stocke and name, there sprung two famous families, to wit, the *Calpurni* and the *Aenebarbi*: These *Aenebarbi* have for the first Author of their originall, and surname likewise, L. DOMITIUS: whome, as he returned in times past homeward out of the countrey, two yong men twinnes, carying with them a venerable presence and countenance more then ordinary, encountred, by report, and commanded to relate unto the Senate and People of Rome, newes, of that victorie whereof as yet they stood in doubt: and for the better assurance of their divine maiestie stroke his cheekes so, as that therewith they made the hayre

*hayre of blacke, *redd, and like in colour to *brasse. Which marke and badges continued also in his posterity; and most of them have such *red bearded. Moreover, having borne seuen Consulships, triumphed likewise and beene Censors twice, & therewith bin chosen into the ranke of the *Patritij*, they remained al in the same surname. Neither were they known by any other forenames than CNEUS & LUCIUS: & the same in variety worth the noting and obseruation: onewhile continuing either of the sayd names in three persons together: otherwhiles changing alternatively one after another in every descent. For, we have heard say, that the first, second and third of these *Aenebarbi* were forenamed LUCIUS: and againe, the three next following them in order were CNEI. All the rest no otherwise then by turnes one after another had their forenames, first LUCIUS and then CNEI. That many persons of this house descended should be known, I suppose it very pertinent and materiall: whereby it may the better appeare, that NERO degenerated from the Vertues of his Auncestors so, as yet he caried away & resembled the vices of them all, as infused into him and inbred by nature.

*Capit. m. l.
Pitum, Gellius
*Orrudcy.
*Or Copper
*Orruddy.
A.V.C. 593
632
658
660
700
722
781
632
639
663

To fetch the beginning therefore, of this or discourse somewhat farther of his great Grandfathers Grandfather CN. DOMITIUS, beeing in his Tribune much offended at the *Pontifex, for electing any other but himselfe into his fathers place, transferred the right and power of subrogating priests in the roome of those that were deceased, from their Colledges to the bodie of the people. But in his Consulship having vanquished the *Allobroges* and the *Arverni*, he rode through his *province mounted upon an Elephant, whiles the whole multitude of his souldiours attended upon him in a traine after the manner of a solemne triumph. This DOMITIUS it was, whom LICINIUS CRASSUS the oratour in a certaine declamation sayd, *It was no meruaile he had a brasse beard whose face was made of iron, and heart of lead.* His sonne being Pretour was the man, who as *CÆSAR went out of his Consulship (which he was thought to have borne against the *Auspicia and the *lawes*) conuented him before the Senate to be by them examined, tried and censured. Afterwards when he was Confull he attempted to fetch him backe, Lord Generall as he was of an armie, from his forces in *Gaul*: and being by the aduerse *faction nominated his successour in that province, was in the beginning of the civil warre taken prisoner before *Corfinium*: From whence being dismissed and set at libertie, after he had by his comming to the *Massilians* streightly beleagured, much strengthened them, sodainely he forsooke them: and in the end, at the battaile of *Pharsalia* lost his life; A man not very constant and resolute, but with all of a fell and savage nature. Being driven to utter despair, he was so much afraid of death, which for feare he had desired, that after a drawght of poyson hee repented the taking thereof and cast it up againe; yea and enfranchised his Phisitian, who wittingly and of purpose had so tempered it that it might do him no great harme. And what time as CN. POMPEIUS put to question *what should be done to those Neuters* that stood indifferent and sticked to no part: He alone opined, *That they were to be reckoned enemies & proceeded against accordingly*

*Atrousius,
his Grädfater
4 degrees of
*High Priest.
A.V.C. 632
*Gallie Narbon
ensis.
A.V.C. 696
*Iul. Cæsar Di
ctator
A.V.C. 700
*Approbation
of the gods
*The Pompei
ans.

Hee left behind him a sonne, worthy without question, to be preferred before

A.V.C. 720
*Which Q.
Padius made a
gainst the mur-
ders of Cæsar

*The present
state governed
according to
his wil and
pleasure.

A.V.C. 723.

*Dicitur Cal.
by an imagine
of sale to have
bought them
to the behoofe
& use of the
heire
*Censorium,
not Censorium.

*Sonne of M.
Agrippa and
Julia, adopted
by Augustus.

fore all others of his name and linage. This man being among those that were privie to CÆSARS death, and of that conspiracy, standing condemned (though guiltlesse) by the law *Pedia, when he had betaken himselfe to CASSIUS and BRUTUS his neere kinsfolke, after the end of them both, held stil in his hand the fleet committed before time to his charge, yea and augmented the same: Neither yeelded he it up to M. ANTONIUS before his owne side was every where quite overthrowen: which he then did of his owne accord; and so, as that ANTONIUS took himselfe highly beholden unto him therefore. He only also of all those who by vertue of the law stood condemned, being restored into his native countrey, went through the most honorable offices of state: Soone after likewise, when civil diffention was kindled againe and renewed, being in qualiry of Lieutenant to the said ANTONIE, what time the soveraigne Empire was offered unto him by those who were ashamed of *CLEOPATRA, not daring to accept thereof nor yet to refuse it resolutely, by occasion of sodaine sicknesse wherewith he was surprisid, went and sided with AUGUSTUS, and within few dayes after departed this life: being himselfe also noted with some infamie: For, ANTONIE gave it commonly forth, *That for the love of one SERVILIA Nais whom he kept, he fled to Augustus side.*

From him came that DOMITIUS, who soone after had the name abroad to have beene the *chapman of AUGUSTUS goods and substance left by his wil and testamēt: a man no lesse renowned in his youth for good skill in ruling of Chariots & running with them a race, as afterwards for the triumphant ornaments achieved by the *Germane* warre; but arrogant of spirit, wastefull in expence, and therewith cruel. When he was Aedile he forced L. PLANCUS that had beene *Censor, to give him the way. Bearing the honorable offices of Preture and Consulate, hee produced upon the stage to acte a Comical and wanton Enterlude, the gentlemen and dames of *Rome*. He exhibited baiting of wilde beastes both in the cirque and also in every quarter of the City, yea and a shew of sword-fight: but with so great cruelty, that AUGUSTUS was compelled of necessitie to restraine him by an edict, since that no secret warning nor admonition at his hands would prevaile.

Of ANTONIA the elder, hee begat the father of NERO: an impe in all the parts of his life ungracious and detestable. For accompanying *CAIUS CÆSAR in his youth into the East-parts, where he killed a freed-man of his owne, because he refused to quaffe as much as he was commanded, being discharged therefore out of the cohort of his friends, he led his life never a whit more modestly: but both within a village standing upon the street Appia, sodainely put his horses to gallop, and not unwittingly rode over a little child and trode him to death: and also at *Rome* in the midit of the *Forum* plucked a *Romane* gentlemans eye out of his head, for chiding him somewhat over boldly. So false and perfidious beside, that he defrauded not onely the bankers and money changers of the prices of such commodities as they had bought up, but also when he was Pretour put the runners with Chariots besides the prizes of their victories. For which pranks, reproved he was merily even by his owne sister (LEPIDA) and upon complaint made by the Masters of the foure (4) factions hee enacted

enacted, *That from thence forth ever after, the said prizes should be presently payed.* Being accused likewise for *treason to the State and many adulteries, as also for incest committed with his siter LEPIDA a litle before the decease of TIBERIUS, yet escaped he the danger of Law by the alteration of the times, and died at *Pyræ* of (b) the *Drop sic, when AGRIPPINA daughter of GERMANICUS had brought him a sonne named NERO.

6

This NERO was borne at *Antium*, nine moneths after that TIBERIUS departed this world, eightene daies before the Kalends of Ianuarie, iust as the Sunne was newly risen, so as his beames *light well neere upon him before they could *touch the earth. As touching his *Horoscope, many men straightwaies gave many guessees and coniectures of fearefull events. And even a very word that his father DOMITIUS spake, was taken to be a presaging offe. For when his friends by way of gratulation wished him joy of his sonne new borne: he said, *That of himselfe and AGRIPPINA there could nothing come into the world but accursed, detestable and to the hurt of the weale publick.* Of the same future infortune there appeared an evident signe upon his (a) naming day: For CAIUS CÆSAR (CALIGULA) when his siter (AGRIPPINA) requested him to give the Infant what *name he would, looking wistly upon CLAUDIUS his Vnkle, (by whom afterwards being Emperour (the child) was adopted), said he gave him his name. Neither spake hee this in earnest, but merily in boord: and AGRIPPINA scorned and reiected it, for that as then, CLAUDIUS went for a foole, and one of the laughing stocks of the Court. At three yeeres of age he became fatherlesse: and being his fathers heire but of one third part, yet could nor be touch so much as that, full and whole, by reason of CAIUS his coheire who had seized upon and caught up before hand all the goods: and for that his mother also was soone after confined and packt away, he being in manner destitute of all helpe and very needy, was fostered in his Aunt LEPIDAES house under two Pædagogues, a dauncer and a Barber. But when CLAUDIUS was come once to the Empire, hee not onely recovered his *patrimonic, but also was enriched by the inheritance of CRISPUS PASSIENUS his mothers husband, that fell unto him. And verily through the grace and power of his mother now called home againe and restored to her estate, hee flourished & grew so great, that commonly it was bruted abroad, *That MESSALLINA the wife of CLAUDIUS sent some of purpose to take the opportunity of his moones sleep and so to smother and strangle him, as the onely Concurrent of BRITANNICUS, and one that eclipsed the light of his glorie.* Now in the tale it went, besides that the said parties tooke a fright at a Dragon issuing out of his pillow, whereupon they fled backe and forsooke the enterprise. Which fable arose upon this, That there was in deece found the *slough of a serpent in his bed about the bolsters. And yet, this slough he enclosed within a bracelet of gold (as his mother willed him) and wore it a good while after, upon his right arme: and at length, wearie of any memoriall and monument of his mothers flung it away: but in his extreamity and despaire of his estate sought for the same againe, in vaine.

7

In his tender yeeres, and whiles hee was yet a boy of no full growth, hee acted

*Merbo aque
inter cut is: that
kind of cropie
wherein water
runneth be-
tween the fell
and the flesh
all the bodie
over, Lempho
icematis in
Grecke,

*Or shone
*Dis say: hee
was compassed
with the sunne
beames; and
yet no sunne
appeared above
th: Horizon:
*Or Nativitie.

*Forename,

*Fathers
goods

*Her Sonne

*Or skine

acted at the *Circian Games* the warlike *Troy* fight most resolutely, with great favour and applause of the people. In the *eleventh yeere of his age adopted he was by CLAVDIVS & put to schoole unto ANNEVS SENECA, even then a Senatour, for to be trained up in good literature. The report goes, that SENECA, the next night following, dreamed as hee lay in bed, That hee was teaching *C. CÆSAR: and shortly after NERO proved his dreame true, bewraying the fell Romacke and shrewd nature of the said Prince, by the first experiments that he could give thereof. For when his brother BRITANNICVS saluted him after he was once adopted, (as his wonted manner was before) by the name of ENOBARBUS, hee went about to lay this imputation upon him before his Father, that he was some Changeling and no sonne of his as he was reputed. His Aunt LAPIDA likewise being in trouble, hee deposed against, in the open face of the Court, thereby to gratifie his mother her heaue friend; and who followed the suite hotly against her. Being honourably brought into the *Forum, the day of his first plea and Commencement, hee promised publicly for the people a Congiarie, and Donative for the Souldiours. Having proclaimed also a solemne *Iusting, himselfe rode before the Pretorian Souldiours bearing a shield in his owne hand. After this, hee solemnly gave thanks to his Father in the Senate. Before whom being then Consul, hee made a Latine Oration in the behalfe of the *Bononians*, and for the Rhodians and Inhabitants of *Istum*, another in Greeke. His first Iurisdiction hee began as (a) Provost of the Citie, during the celebration of the Latine holidays: What time the most famous Advocates and Patrones in those daies strove a vie, who could bring before him most *accusations and *longest; not (as the manner was) such as were ordinarie and brieve: the expresse commaundment of CLAVDIVS forbidding the same, notwithstanding. Not long after, hee tooke to wife OCTAVIA: and for the good health of CLAVDIVS, exhibited the Cirque Games and baiting of wild beasts.

8

A.V.C.807 Being seventene yeeres olde, so soone as it was knowne abroad that CLAVDIVS was dead, hee came forth to those (of the Pretorian Cohort) that kept watch and ward, betweene the sixth & the seventh *houre of the day: For by reason that the whole day beside was ominous and disinnall, there was no time thereof thought more auspicate and convenient than it, to enter upon the Empire: and so before the Pallace staires being proclaimed and saluted Emperour, he was in a Litter brought to the *Camp: and hastily from thence, after a short speech made unto the Souldiours, conveyed into the *Curia*. From whence he departed home in the evening: and of those exceeding and infinite honours which were heaped upon him, hee refused onely the Title in his stile of *Pater Patrie*, in regard of his young yeeres.

*Father of his Country.

9
*The Emperour,

*Or corps de guard.

Beginning then with a glorious shew of Piety and Kindnes, at the Funerals of *CLAVDIVS, which were most sumptuously performed, he praised him in an Oration and consecrated him a God. In the memoriall of his owne Father DOMITIUS, he did him right great honour. His mother he permitted to have the whole regiment of all matters as well publick as private. The very first day also of his Empire, when the Tribune of the *Sentinels, asked of him a watchword, he gave unto him this Mot, *Optima mater* (*my best mother*) and afterwards many

many a time she accompanied him through the Streetes, in his owne Litter. He planted a Colonie at *Antium*, enrolling therein the old Souldiours out of the Pretorian cohort, & ioyning with them (by translating their habitations) the richest Centurions who had bene Leaders of the formost bands: where also he made a *Pere, or most sumptuous peece of worke.

*Or haven,

10

And to shew a surer prooffe still of his towardnesse, after profession made to governe the Empire according to the prescript rule of AUGUSTUS, he omitted no occasion to shew either bountifullnesse or clemencie, no nor so much as to testifie his gentlenesse and courtesie. Those tributes and taxes which were any thing heaue he either abolished quite or abated. The rewards due unto Informers astouching the Law *Papia*, hee reduced to the fourth part onely of the penalty. Having dealt among the people *400 Sesterces for every poll: to as many Senatours as were most nobly descended (howbeit decayed and weakened in their estates) he allowed yeerely *Salaries, & to some of them *500000 Sesterces. Likewise for the Pretorian Cohorts hee ordained an allowance of Come monethly *gratis. And whensoever he was put in minde to subscribe & set his hand to a warrant (as the maner is) for the execution of any person condemned to die, hee would say, *Oh, that I knew not one letter of the booke*. Manie times he saluted all the Degrees of the Citie one after another, by rote & without booke. When the Senate upon a time gave him thanks, hee answered, (*Do so when I shall deserve*). To his exercises in *Mars* field he admitted the Commons also, yea and declaimed often publicly before them. He rehearsed his owne verses likewise, not onely within house at home, but also in the Theater: and that with so general a ioy of as many as heard him, that for the said rehearsal, there was a solemne proceffion decreed: and some of his said verses written in golden letters were dedicated to IUPITER CAPITOLINUS.

11

Many and fundry kindes of shewes he set forth: to wit, the Iuvenall (a) sports, the *Circian Games*, and the Stage-plays: also a Sword fight. In the Iuvenall pastimes, he admitted old men even those of Consuls degree: aged women also and matrones to disport themselves. At the *Circenses*, he appointed places for the Gentlemen of *Rome* a part by themselves: where hee put also to runne a race for the prize chariots drawne with foure Camels. In the Stage plaies, (which beeing instituted for the eternizing and perpetuities of his Empire hee would have to be called *Maximi*), very many of both *degrees and sexes played their parts upon the Stage. A Romaine Gentleman of very good note & especiall marke, mounted upon an Elephant ranne downe a *rope. There was brought upon the Stage to be acted the *Romaine Comædie of *Afranius* entituled *Incendium*: and granted it was unto the Actours therein to rife all the goods and implements of the house as it burned, and to take the same as their owne. Scattered also abroad there were for the people *Miffils, during the whole time of those Plaies: to wit, a thousand birds every day of all kindes: Cates and viands manifold: Ticquets and Tallies for corne, apparell, gold, silver, pretious stones, pearles, pictures upon tables: slaves, labouring garrons and beasts also tamed: last of all, ships, Isles, lands and possessions, according to their Tallies.

*Gentlemen and Senatours,
*Per Catadromum, for there were Elephants Fambulæ, vide Galb. cap. 6. et Xiphilinum.
*Or Latine,
*Or gifts.

R 2

These

* The forest stage.
A.V.C. 810
* Quadrungens, rather quadragenarius, 40 Senatus, rather Senatus, 60 according to Iustus Lipsius.
* Or great fishes.
* Warlike.
* Or, among.
* To the like.
* Of Nero.
* Or pavilion.
* Or a pallet.

A.V.C. 813
* Or Horse running.

* Where they were wont to sit as Prefects at other games and plays.
* In Orchestra, Senatum, 7, 13, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111, 113, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 219, 221, 223, 225, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 253, 255, 257, 259, 261, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 283, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295, 297, 299, 301, 303, 305, 307, 309, 311, 313, 315, 317, 319, 321, 323, 325, 327, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 355, 357, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 375, 377, 379, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 395, 397, 399, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 417, 419, 421, 423, 425, 427, 429, 431, 433, 435, 437, 439, 441, 443, 445, 447, 449, 451, 453, 455, 457, 459, 461, 463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 483, 485, 487, 489, 491, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501, 503, 505, 507, 509, 511, 513, 515, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529, 531, 533, 535, 537, 539, 541, 543, 545, 547, 549, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565, 567, 569, 571, 573, 575, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585, 587, 589, 591, 593, 595, 597, 599, 601, 603, 605, 607, 609, 611, 613, 615, 617, 619, 621, 623, 625, 627, 629, 631, 633, 635, 637, 639, 641, 643, 645, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655, 657, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 669, 671, 673, 675, 677, 679, 681, 683, 685, 687, 689, 691, 693, 695, 697, 699, 701, 703, 705, 707, 709, 711, 713, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 729, 731, 733, 735, 737, 739, 741, 743, 745, 747, 749, 751, 753, 755, 757, 759, 761, 763, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 775, 777, 779, 781, 783, 785, 787, 789, 791, 793, 795, 797, 799, 801, 803, 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, 817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841, 843, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 855, 857, 859, 861, 863, 865, 867, 869, 871, 873, 875, 877, 879, 881, 883, 885, 887, 889, 891, 893, 895, 897, 899, 901, 903, 905, 907, 909, 911, 913, 915, 917, 919, 921, 923, 925, 927, 929, 931, 933, 935, 937, 939, 941, 943, 945, 947, 949, 951, 953, 955, 957, 959, 961, 963, 965, 967, 969, 971, 973, 975, 977, 979, 981, 983, 985, 987, 989, 991, 993, 995, 997, 999, 1001, 1003, 1005, 1007, 1009, 1011, 1013, 1015, 1017, 1019, 1021, 1023, 1025, 1027, 1029, 1031, 1033, 1035, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1045, 1047, 1049, 1051, 1053, 1055, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1063, 1065, 1067, 1069, 1071, 1073, 1075, 1077, 1079, 1081, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1093, 1095, 1097, 1099, 1101, 1103, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1111, 1113, 1115, 1117, 1119, 1121, 1123, 1125, 1127, 1129, 1131, 1133, 1135, 1137, 1139, 1141, 1143, 1145, 1147, 1149, 1151, 1153, 1155, 1157, 1159, 1161, 1163, 1165, 1167, 1169, 1171, 1173, 1175, 1177, 1179, 1181, 1183, 1185, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1193, 1195, 1197, 1199, 1201, 1203, 1205, 1207, 1209, 1211, 1213, 1215, 1217, 1219, 1221, 1223, 1225, 1227, 1229, 1231, 1233, 1235, 1237, 1239, 1241, 1243, 1245, 1247, 1249, 1251, 1253, 1255, 1257, 1259, 1261, 1263, 1265, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1273, 1275, 1277, 1279, 1281, 1283, 1285, 1287, 1289, 1291, 1293, 1295, 1297, 1299, 1301, 1303, 1305, 1307, 1309, 1311, 1313, 1315, 1317, 1319, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1327, 1329, 1331, 1333, 1335, 1337, 1339, 1341, 1343, 1345, 1347, 1349, 1351, 1353, 1355, 1357, 1359, 1361, 1363, 1365, 1367, 1369, 1371, 1373, 1375, 1377, 1379, 1381, 1383, 1385, 1387, 1389, 1391, 1393, 1395, 1397, 1399, 1401, 1403, 1405, 1407, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1415, 1417, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1433, 1435, 1437, 1439, 1441, 1443, 1445, 1447, 1449, 1451, 1453, 1455, 1457, 1459, 1461, 1463, 1465, 1467, 1469, 1471, 1473, 1475, 1477, 1479, 1481, 1483, 1485, 1487, 1489, 1491, 1493, 1495, 1497, 1499, 1501, 1503, 1505, 1507, 1509, 1511, 1513, 1515, 1517, 1519, 1521, 1523, 1525, 1527, 1529, 1531, 1533, 1535, 1537, 1539, 1541, 1543, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1553, 1555, 1557, 1559, 1561, 1563, 1565, 1567, 1569, 1571, 1573, 1575, 1577, 1579, 1581, 1583, 1585, 1587, 1589, 1591, 1593, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1603, 1605, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1615, 1617, 1619, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1627, 1629, 1631, 1633, 1635, 1637, 1639, 1641, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1653, 1655, 1657, 1659, 1661, 1663, 1665, 1667, 1669, 1671, 1673, 1675, 1677, 1679, 1681, 1683, 1685, 1687, 1689, 1691, 1693, 1695, 1697, 1699, 1701, 1703, 1705, 1707, 1709, 1711, 1713, 1715, 1717, 1719, 1721, 1723, 1725, 1727, 1729, 1731, 1733, 1735, 1737, 1739, 1741, 1743, 1745, 1747, 1749, 1751, 1753, 1755, 1757, 1759, 1761, 1763, 1765, 1767, 1769, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1779, 1781, 1783, 1785, 1787, 1789, 1791, 1793, 1795, 1797, 1799, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1807, 1809, 1811, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1823, 1825, 1827, 1829, 1831, 1833, 1835, 1837, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1845, 1847, 1849, 1851, 1853, 1855, 1857, 1859, 1861, 1863, 1865, 1867, 1869, 1871, 1873, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907, 1909, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021, 2023, 2025, 2027, 2029, 2031, 2033, 2035, 2037, 2039, 2041, 2043, 2045, 2047, 2049, 2051, 2053, 2055, 2057, 2059, 2061, 2063, 2065, 2067, 2069, 2071, 2073, 2075, 2077, 2079, 2081, 2083, 2085, 2087, 2089, 2091, 2093, 2095, 2097, 2099, 2101, 2103, 2105, 2107, 2109, 2111, 2113, 2115, 2117, 2119, 2121, 2123, 2125, 2127, 2129, 2131, 2133, 2135, 2137, 2139, 2141, 2143, 2145, 2147, 2149, 2151, 2153, 2155, 2157, 2159, 2161, 2163, 2165, 2167, 2169, 2171, 2173, 2175, 2177, 2179, 2181, 2183, 2185, 2187, 2189, 2191, 2193, 2195, 2197, 2199, 2201, 2203, 2205, 2207, 2209, 2211, 2213, 2215, 2217, 2219, 2221, 2223, 2225, 2227, 2229, 2231, 2233, 2235, 2237, 2239, 2241, 2243, 2245, 2247, 2249, 2251, 2253, 2255, 2257, 2259, 2261, 2263, 2265, 2267, 2269, 2271, 2273, 2275, 2277, 2279, 2281, 2283, 2285, 2287, 2289, 2291, 2293, 2295, 2297, 2299, 2301, 2303, 2305, 2307, 2309, 2311, 2313, 2315, 2317, 2319, 2321, 2323, 2325, 2327, 2329, 2331, 2333, 2335, 2337, 2339, 2341, 2343, 2345, 2347, 2349, 2351, 2353, 2355, 2357, 2359, 2361, 2363, 2365, 2367, 2369, 2371, 2373, 2375, 2377, 2379, 2381, 2383, 2385, 2387, 2389, 2391, 2393, 2395, 2397, 2399, 2401, 2403, 2405, 2407, 2409, 2411, 2413, 2415, 2417, 2419, 2421, 2423, 2425, 2427, 2429, 2431, 2433, 2435, 2437, 2439, 2441, 2443, 2445, 2447, 2449, 2451, 2453, 2455, 2457, 2459, 2461, 2463, 2465, 2467, 2469, 2471, 2473, 2475, 2477, 2479, 2481, 2483, 2485, 2487, 2489, 2491, 2493, 2495, 2497, 2499, 2501, 2503, 2505, 2507, 2509, 2511, 2513, 2515, 2517, 2519, 2521, 2523, 2525, 2527, 2529, 2531, 2533, 2535, 2537, 2539, 2541, 2543, 2545, 2547, 2549, 2551, 2553, 2555, 2557, 2559, 2561, 2563, 2565, 2567, 2569, 2571, 2573, 2575, 2577, 2579, 2581, 2583, 2585, 2587, 2589, 2591, 2593, 2595, 2597, 2599, 2601, 2603, 2605, 2607, 2609, 2611, 2613, 2615, 2617, 2619, 2621, 2623, 2625, 2627, 2629, 2631, 2633, 2635, 2637, 2639, 2641, 2643, 2645, 2647, 2649, 2651, 2653, 2655, 2657, 2659, 2661, 2663, 2665, 2667, 2669, 2671, 2673, 2675, 2677, 2679, 2681, 2683, 2685, 2687, 2689, 2691, 2693, 2695, 2697, 2699, 2701, 2703, 2705, 2707, 2709, 2711, 2713, 2715, 2717, 2719, 2721, 2723, 2725, 2727, 2729, 2731, 2733, 2735, 2737, 2739, 2741, 2743, 2745, 2747, 2749, 2751, 2753, 2755, 2757, 2759, 2761, 2763, 2765, 2767, 2769, 2771, 2773, 2775, 2777, 2779, 2781, 2783, 2785, 2787, 2789, 2791, 2793, 2795, 2797, 2799, 2801, 2803, 2805, 2807, 2809, 2811, 2813, 2815, 2817, 2819, 2821, 2823, 2825, 2827, 2829, 2831, 2833, 2835, 2837, 2839, 2841, 2843, 2845, 2847, 2849, 2851, 2853, 2855, 2857, 2859, 2861, 2863, 2865, 2867, 2869, 2871, 2873, 2875, 2877, 2879, 2881, 2883, 2885, 2887, 2889, 2891, 2893, 2895, 2897, 2899, 2901, 2903, 2905, 2907, 2909, 2911, 2913, 2915, 2917, 2919, 2921, 2923, 2925, 2927, 2929, 2931, 2933, 2935, 2937, 2939, 2941, 2943, 2945, 2947, 2949, 2951, 2953, 2955, 2957, 2959, 2961, 2963, 2965, 2967, 2969, 2971, 2973, 2975, 2977, 2979, 2981, 2983, 2985, 2987, 2989, 2991, 2993, 2995, 2997, 2999, 3001, 3003, 3005, 3007, 3009, 3011, 3013, 3015, 3017, 3019, 3021, 3023, 3025, 3027, 3029, 3031, 3033, 3035, 3037, 3039, 3041, 3043, 3045, 3047, 3049, 3051, 3053, 3055, 3057, 3059, 3061, 3063, 3065, 3067, 3069, 3071, 3073, 3075, 3077, 3079, 3081, 3083, 3085, 3087, 3089, 3091, 3093, 3095, 3097, 3099, 3101, 3103, 3105, 3107, 3109, 3111, 3113, 3115, 3117, 3119, 3121, 3123, 3125, 3127, 3129, 3131, 3133, 3135, 3137, 3139, 3141, 3143, 3145, 3147, 3149, 3151, 3153, 3155, 3157, 3159, 3161, 3163, 3165, 3167, 3169, 3171, 3173, 3175, 3177, 3179, 3181, 3183, 3185, 3187, 3189, 3191, 3193, 3195, 3197, 3199, 3201, 3203, 3205, 3207, 3209, 3211, 3213, 3215, 3217, 3219, 3221, 3223, 3225, 3227, 3229, 3231, 3233, 3235, 3237, 3239, 3241, 3243, 3245, 3247, 3249, 3251, 3253, 3255, 3257, 3259, 3261, 3263, 3265, 3267, 3269, 3271, 3273, 3275, 3277, 3279, 3281, 3283, 3285, 3287, 3289, 3291, 3293, 3295, 3297, 3299, 3301, 3303, 3305, 3307, 3309, 3311, 3313, 3315, 3317, 3319, 3321, 3323, 3325, 3327, 3329, 3331, 3333, 3335, 3337, 3339, 3341, 3343, 3345, 3347, 3349, 3351, 3353, 3355, 3357, 3359, 3361, 3363, 3365, 3367, 3369, 3371, 3373, 3375, 3377, 3379, 3381, 3383, 3385, 3387, 3389, 3391, 3393, 3395, 3397, 3399, 3401, 3403, 3405, 3407, 3409, 3411, 3413, 3415, 3417, 3419, 3421, 3423, 3425, 3427, 3429, 3431, 3433, 3435, 3437, 3439, 3441, 3443, 3445, 3447, 3449, 3451, 3453, 3455, 3457, 3459, 3461, 3463, 3465, 3467, 3469, 3471, 3473, 3475, 3477, 3479, 3481, 3483, 3485, 3487, 3489, 3491, 3493, 3495, 3497, 3499, 3501, 3503, 3505, 3507, 3509, 3511, 3513, 3515, 3517, 3519, 3521, 3523, 3525, 3527, 3529, 3531, 3533, 3535, 3537, 3539, 3541, 3543, 3545, 3547, 3549, 3551, 3553, 3555, 3557, 3559, 3561, 3563, 3565, 3567, 3569, 3571, 3573, 3575, 3577, 3579, 3581, 3583, 3585, 3587, 3589, 3591, 3593, 3595, 3597, 3599, 3601, 3603, 3605, 3607, 3609, 3611, 3613, 3615, 3617, 3619, 3621, 3623, 3625, 3627, 3629, 3631, 3633, 3635, 3637, 3639, 3641, 3643, 3645, 3647, 3649, 3651, 3653, 3655, 3657, 3659, 3661, 3663, 3665, 3667, 3669, 3671, 3673, 3675, 3677, 3679, 3681, 3683, 3685, 3687, 3689, 3691, 3693, 3695, 3697, 3699, 3701, 3703, 3705, 3707, 3709, 3711, 3713, 3715, 3717, 3719, 3721, 3723, 3725, 3727, 3729, 3731, 3733, 3735, 3737, 3739, 3741, 3743, 3745, 3747, 3749, 3751, 3753, 3755, 3757, 3759, 3761, 3763, 3765, 3767, 3769, 3771, 3773, 3775, 3777, 3779, 3781, 3783, 3785, 3787, 3789, 3791, 3793, 3795, 3797, 3799, 3801, 3803, 3805, 3807, 3809, 3811, 3813, 3815, 3817, 3819, 3821, 3823, 3825, 3827, 3829, 3831, 3833, 3835, 3837, 3839, 3841, 3843, 3845, 3847, 3849, 3851, 3853, 3855, 3857, 3859, 3861, 3863, 3865, 3867, 3869, 3871, 3873, 3875, 3877, 3879, 3881, 3883, 3885, 3887, 3889, 3891, 3893, 3895, 3897, 3899, 3901, 3903, 3905, 3907, 3909, 3911, 3913, 3915, 3917, 3919, 3921, 3923, 3925, 3927, 3929, 3931, 3933, 3935, 3937, 3939, 3941, 3943, 3945, 3947, 3949, 3951, 3953, 3955, 3957, 3959, 3961, 3963, 3965, 3967, 3969, 3971, 3973, 3975, 3977, 3979, 3981, 3983, 3985, 3987, 3989, 3991, 3993, 3995, 3997, 3999, 4001, 4003, 4005, 4007, 4009, 4011, 4013, 4015, 4017, 4019, 4021, 4023, 4025, 4027, 4029, 4031, 4033, 4035, 4037, 4039, 4041, 4043, 4045, 4047, 4049, 4051, 4053, 4055, 4057, 4059, 4061, 4063, 4065, 4067, 4069, 4071, 4073, 4075, 4077, 4079, 4081, 4083, 4085, 4087, 4089, 4091, 4093, 4095, 4097, 4099, 4101, 4103, 4105, 4107, 4109, 4111, 4113, 4115, 4117, 4119, 4121, 4123, 4125, 4127, 4129, 4131, 4133, 4135, 4137, 4139, 4141, 4143, 4145, 4147, 4149, 4151, 4153, 4155, 4157, 4159, 4161, 4163, 4165, 4167, 4169, 4171, 4173, 4175, 4177, 4179, 4181, 4183, 4185, 4187, 4189, 4191, 4193, 4195, 4197, 4199, 4201, 4203, 4205, 4207, 420

was set out to sale. The Christians, a kinde of men given to a new, wicked and mischievous Superstition, were put to death with grievous torments. The sports of Chariotiers, wherein by an old and licentious custome they had been allowed to range up and downe, to beguile folke, to pilfer and steale in merri-ment, were prohibited. The (b) factions of the * *Pantomimi*, together with the Actours themselves were banished and sent away.

*Cunning Ac-
tours, playing
all parts, and
resembling all
gestures.

* Or upper-
moist.
* Or cored
tables.

*Pics or seats,
some expound
this of the Iud-
ges Bench, as if
their sentences
should not be
bought & sold.
* Or Picas.

Against forgers of writings, then first, came up this invention that no books or instruments should be signed unlesse they were boared and had a thred three times drawne through the holes. Provided it was, That in Wills the two * first parts thereof should be shewed as blanks, unto those that came to seale the same: having the Testatours name onely written therein. Item, that no Clerk or Notarie, who was to draw and write another mans will, should put downe any Legacie for himselfe. Item, that they who had sutes depending in Court, should pay the certaine, due fee set downe by Law, for pleading of their causes: but for (a) the * Benches nothing, considering the Chamber of the Citie allowed the same gratis and to be free: Item, that in the pleading & deciding of controversies all causes debated afore time before the Maisters of the Exchequer or Citie Chamber should bee removed unto the Common * Hall, to be tried before the Commissioners and Delegates called *Recuperatores*: Finally, that all appeales from the Iudges should be made unto the Senate.

18

Having no will, no motion, nor hope at any time, to propagate and enlarge the Empire, he thought once to have withdrawne the forces even out of *Britaine*: neither gave he over that intent of his, but onely for very shame; least he might be thought to deprave the glory of his Father (CLAVDIVS). Onely the realme of *Pontus* with the leave of *POLEMON* (a), as also the Kingdome of the Alpes, by the death of King *COTTIUS* hee reduced into the forme of a Province.

19

Two voyages and no more he undertooke, the one to *Alexandria*, the other into *Acchaia*. But his journey to *Alexandria* hee gave over the very day of his setting forth: by occasion that he was disquieted at once, both with a religious scruple and also with some perill. For when hee had gone in procession about all the temples, & sitten downe within the Chappel of *Vesta*, as he was rising up, first the * hem or edge of his Gowne stuck to the seate: and after this, arose so darke a mist before his eyes, that uneth he could see & looke about him: In *Acchaia* hee attempted to digge through (a) *Isthmus*, and in a frequent assembly made a speech unto the Pretorian Souldiours; exhorting them to begin the worke: and having given the signall by sound of trumpet, himselfe first brake up the ground with a * little spade: and when hee had cast up the earth, carried it forth upon his owne shoulders in a scuttle: Hee prepared also an expedition to the Caspian-gates: for which hee enrolled a newe Legion of Italian young Souldiours * fixe foote high: This Legion hee called the *Phalanx* or Squadron of *ALEXANDER* the Great: These particulars premised, partly deserving no blame, and in part worthy even of no meane praise, have I collected together, that I might sever and distinguish them from his villanies and

* Tag, welt or
fringes.

* *Kapellerei*, a
name, the same
that *Dukella* in
Greece: with a
cloven bit.
This by some
Writers, was of
gold.

* *Senum prædix*,
some read *seni*
millium *prædix*:
i. of 6 thous-
and footmen.

and wicked acts, whereof from hence forward I wil make report.

20

Among other arts & sciences, beeing in his childhood trained up in the skill also of musick: no sooner attained he to the Empire, but he sent for *TARPUS* the harper, renowned in those dayes for his cunning above all other. Sitting by him as he played & sung, day by day after supper until it was far in the night, himselfe likewise by little and little began to practise and exercise the same: yea and not to let passe anie meanes, that expert professors in that kind were wont to do, eyther for preserving or the bettering and fortifying of their voices: even to weare before him upon his brest a thin plate or sheet of lead: to purge by clystire & vomit: to abstaine from apples and fruite, with all such meates as were hurtfull to the voice: so long, untill his proceedings stil drawing him on, (a) small and * rusty voice though he had) he desired to come forth and shew himselfe upon the open stage, having among his familiar companions this Greeke proverbe evermore in his mouth, (a) *That hidden musicke was wrought worth*. The first time that he mounted the stage was at *Naples*, where he gave not over singing, (albeit the Theatre was shaken & ready to fall by a suddaine earthquake) before he had finished the song begun. In the same place he chaunted often & many dayes together. Moreover, after some short time betweene taken to repaire his voice (as one impatient of keeping within house) from the baines* there he passed directly to the Theatre: and having in the midst of the Orchestra before a frequent multitude of people feasted and banquetted, made promise in the Greeke tongue, that if he had stipped a little and wet his whistle, he would ring out some note more fully and with a stronger brest: Now, beeing much delighted with the * *Alexandrine* praises in * priet song, who newly in a second (b) voiage had with their fleet conflowed to *Naples*, he sent for more of them out of *Alexandria*. And never the later he chose from all parts youths of Gentlemens degree, and not so few as 5000 of the lustiest and strongest young men out of the commons, who beeing sorted into * factions should learne certaine kinde of shouts and applauses, which they termed (c) *Bombes* (a) *Imbrices* (c) and *Tessas*: also that dextr and trim boyes, such as had the * (f) thickest bush of haire upon their heads, and were set out in most excellent apparell, and not without a ring on their left hands, should give their attendace upon him as he sung. The chieftaines & leaders of these had for their stipend * 400000. sesterces.

* Or hoarse.

* At Naples.

* i. Ditties.
* Tuned and
composed to
the rules and
measures of
Musick, in the
praise of him,
by the mer-
chants of *Alex-
andria* See
cap. 98, August.
* Or crewes,
* *Pinguissima*
came,
* *Upsilon* *anale*
levis or, cleane.
contrarie, as *fin*
anale *levis*,
wearing no
wing: at all.

* A Knights
living.
* Every fifth
yeare.

* Or Colonels,

21

Esteeming so highly as he did of singing, he solemnized at *Rome* also againe the foresaid games called *Neronem* before the day and * time by order appointed. And when all the people called upon him for his (a) celestial voice, he made answer. *That he verily would do them that pleasure (being so willing and desirous as they were to beare him): but it should be in his Hortyards*. Howbeit, when the corps deguarde of the (Pretorian) Souldiours which at that time kept watch and ward seconded the praisers of the common people, willingly he promised to fulfill their minds out of hand in the very place; and without any farther delay caused his owne name to be written in the roll of other professed minstrels and fingers to the harpe. Thus having put his lot into the pitcher with the rest, hee entred the stage when his turne came: and withall the Capitaines of the Guard supporting his harpe after them the * tribunes militarie, and close unto them his

R 4

most

*Wife of Amphion King of Thebes who priding her self in her faire sisters, sonnes and as manie daughters durst compare with Larcus, the mother of Apollo & Diana but she with her arrowes killed them all, & turned her into a stone.
*Foure of the clocke after noone.
*Of other magistrates, who in respect of the Prince are accounted private.
*Larcus, Lydus Xiphilin.
*Or Marques.
*Or young untrained fouldiers.

most inwarde friendes and Minions. Now when hee had taken up his standing, and ended his Proæme, he gave publike notice and pronounced by the voice of CLAVDIVS RUFVS, (no meaner man than of Consuls degree) that he would sing and act the storie of NERO: and so continued hee well neere unto the tenth *houre of the day: which done hee deferred the Musicke Coronet due for the present victorie, together with the residue of that gaming unto the next yeare following: and all because he might have occasion oftener to chaunt. But bethinking himselfe that the time was long, hee ceased not to come ever and anon abroade to shew his skill in open place. Hee stucke not also in *private shewes and games to doe his devoire, even among common Actors and Stage players: and namely, when one of the *Pretours made offer of a milian of Sesterces. Hee sung moreover, disguised, Tragædies of the worthies and gods: of noble Ladies likewise in olde time and of goddesses, having their visards framed & made to the likenesse of his own face & of some woman whom hee loved. Among the rest he chanced the tale of CANACE (b) *travailing in child-birth: of (c) Orestes who killed his owne Mother: (d) of OEDIPUS that plucked out his owne eyes, and of HERCULES (e) enraged.* In the acting of which Tragædie, the report goes, that a *novice placed to keepe & guard the entrie of the stage, seeing him dressed and bound with chaines (as the argument of the sayd Tragædie required) ran in a good to helpe him.

2 2

Exceedingly given hee was of a boy to delight in horfemanship, and with the love of charioting mightily inflamed: and very much would he be talking (forbidden though he were) of the Circeian games. And one time as hee was making mone, and bewailing among his skoole-fellowes, the hard fortune of a chariot driver one of the greene-coate faction, *drawen and dragged by his steedes, being chidden therefore by his schoole-master, he had a lye ready, and said that hee spake of *HÆCTOR. But, as about his first entrance to the Empire, his custome was daily to play upon a cheff-bourd with ivory *horfes drawing in chariots, so he used to resort also *from his retiring place of pleasure, to all the Circeian games even the very least and meanest of them. First by stealth and priuily: afterwards in open sight; so as no man made doubt, but at such a day he would be sure alwaies there to be. Neither dissimuled he that hee was willing to augment the number of the prizes. And therefore the shew of Chariot running was drawen out in length and helde untill late in the evening, by occasion of manie more courses than ordinarie: so as now the Masters of every faction deigned not to bring forth their *crues and companies unlesse they might run the *whole day through. Soone after himselfe also would needs make one and be seene oftentimes to play the Chariotier. And when he had tried what hee could doe, and performed, as it were, his first Actes in (private) hortyardes among verie slaves and the base commons, he proceeded to shew himselfe in the greatest Cirque in all Mens eyes, appointing one of his freed-men to put out a (white) towell for a signall, from the place where Magistrates are wont to doe it. But not content with this, that he had given good proofe of his progresse in these feats at ROME, hee goes, as I sayde before, into ACHÆIA, moved especially upon this occasion. Those Cities and states where solemne gamings of musicke are usually held, had brought up a custome

*Or fore wouled & bruiled in the wheeles running over him. See, Pline. Nat. Hist. lib. 28 cap. 17.
*Who was likewise, Rapin. Hist. lib. 25. P. 17. writeth.
*Or Chariots, to expresse those games Circe-les.
*Steeds, or by way of retiring and recreation.
*Greges either agitated, or chariot drivers: or quadrigari-ori, i. offsteeds both to one effecte.
*Which was their greater game.

custom to sende all the Coronets of harpe-players unto him. This hee accepted kindly, that he not onely admitted at the very first to his presence the Embassadors who brought the same, but also placed them among his familiar guests at the table. And being requested by some of them to sing at supper time, and highly praised with excessive applause, he came out with this speech *That Gracians were the onely skilfull Hearers, and the men alone worthe of his studies.* Neither made he anie longer stay, but tooke his voyage: and no sooner was hee passed over the sea to *Cassiope, but presently he began to sing at the altar there, of IUPITER CASIVS.

*A towne in Corcyra.

2 3

After this, he went to all the games of prise, one after another. For even those that usually are celebrated at most remote and distant times he commanded to be reduced all into *one yeare, and some of them also to be *iterated. At Olympia likewise hee caused, (contrarie to the manner and custome of that place) a game of musick to be held. And least whiles he was busied about these matters, anie thing might either call him away or detain him: when he was aduertised by his freed-man HÆLIVS, that the Citie affaires required his presence, hee wrot backe unto him in these words. *Albeit your counsell to mee as this present and your willing desire is, that I should returne with all speede, yet ought hee gon to advise me and wissher, that I may returne worthy my selfe, that is to say, NERO.* All the while hee was singing, Lawfull it was not for anye person to depart out of the Theatre, were the cause never so necessarie. Whereupon reported it is, that some great bellied women falling into travaile were delivered upon the very skaffolds: yea and many men besides, wearie of tedious hearing and praying him, when the towne gates were shut, cyther by stealth leapt downe from the walles, or counterfeiting themselves dead were caried forth as corpes to bee buried. But how timorously, with what thought and anguish of minde, with what emulation of his concurrents and feare of the Vmpliers, hee strove for the Mastery; it is almost incredible. His manner was to deale with his aduersaries, as if they had been but his equals and of the same condition with him, in this sort: namely, to obserue, watch and mark their behaviours; to ly in the wind for to catch advantage: to defame them vnder hand, other whiles to raile at them & give them hard tearmes as they came in his way: yea and to corrupt with *bribes and giftes such as excelled in skill and cunning. As for the IVDGES and VMPIERS aforesayde, hee woulde speake unto them in all reverence before hee begun to sing, using these tearmes. *That hee had done whatsoever was to be done: Howbeit, the issue and event was in the hand of Fortune: They therefore, as they were wise men and learned ought to except and barre all chaunces and mishaps. Now upon their exhortations unto him for to be bold and venturous,* he would indeed goe away from them better appaied, but yet for all that, not without pensive care and trouble of minde. finding fault also with the silence and bashfull modestie of some, as if the same argued their discontented heavinesse and malicious repining, saying withall. *That he had them in suspicion.*

*Wherein hee further came.
*Solemnized twice in the same yeare.

*Thereby to make them relent and not to do their best.

2 4

During the time that hee strove for to winne anie prise, so strictly obeyed

*Or fleeme &
not with anie
handkerchiefe
*Chaucing.

*Due to him
that had the
lowdest voice.

obeyed hee the lawes of the game, that hee never durst once spir and reach up fleame : and the very swet of his forehead hee wiped away with his^a arme onely . Moreover in the^a acting of a Tragedie, when he had quickly taken up his staffe^(a) againe, which he happened to let fall, being much dismayed and in great feare, least for that delinquencie hee should be put from the stage : by no meanes tooke he heart againe, until an under actor or prompter standing by sware an oth that it was not espied and marked for the shoutes and acclamations of the people beneath . Now, whensoever he wan the victorie, he vfed to pronounce himselfe victour . For which cause, he contended also in every place for the *Criens coronet . And to the end, there should remaine extant no memoriall or token of anie other victours^(c) in these sacred games beside himselfe, hee commanded all their statues, and images to be overthrowen, drawn with a drag and so flung into sinkes and privies . Furthermore, he ran with chariots for the best game in many places , and at the Olympicke solemnities with one that had a teeme of tenne steedes , notwithstanding he reproveth the very same in K. MITHRIDATES as appeared by certaine verses of his owne making . But being once shaken and hoisted out of his Chariot and set therein againe, howbeit not able to hold out, he desisted and gave over, before he had runne the race through . Yet was he crowned neverthelesse . After this, at his departure fro thence, he enfranchised the whole Province throughout : and withall, the Iudges of these Games he endowed with the freedome of Rome, and rewarded with great summes of money . Which benefits of his himselfe published with his owne voice from the middle of the race, upon a day of the Isthmian games.

25

*Or Mantell.
*Made of the
wilde Olive
branches.
*Of Lawrell.
*Isthmian, of
Pine & Neme
an of small ach
or perley.

Being returned out of Greece hee entred Naples ; mounted upon a Chariot drawne with white horses : For that, in the said Citie he had made profession first of his skill, in (musicke) and a part of the wall was cast downe against his comming, (as the manner is of all victours in those sacred games). Semblably rode he into ANTIVM, and from thence into ALBANVM and so forward into ROME . But he entred ROME in the very same Chariot, wherein sometime AUGUSTUS had rode in triumph, clad in a^a purple cloke, and the same garnished with starres embroidered in golde : wearing upon his head the *Olympicke Coronet, and bearing in his right hand the *Pythick : with a pompe and gallant shewe of the^a rest before him, together with their titles and inscriptions testifying, where ? and whom : in what kinde of songe or fabulous argment, hee had wonne : not without a traine also of (a) Applauders following his Chariot, after the manner of those that ride ovant in petie Triumph setting up a note, and crying with a lowde voice, That they were AUGUSTIANS, and the souldiers of his triumph : From thence he rode forward, and having throwen downe the Arch of the greatest Cirque, he passed on through the Velabrum & market place, up to the Palatium and so to the temple of APOLLO . To do him honor all the way as he went, were beasts killed for sacrifice, and saffron estuonnes strewed along the streets . Birdes were let flie, ribbands also and tabels yea and sweete banquetting junkets cast among . As for the sacred Coronets and guirlands aforesayde . He bestowed them in his owne bed-chamber round about his beds : likewise his

his owne stanes poutraied in the habit of an^a harper, and with that marke stamped he his money . And after all this, (so faire was he from letting slacke and remitting one jot his ardent study of his musicke profession) that for the preservation of his voice he would never make speech unto his souldiours,^a but absent : or having^a another to pronounce his words for him, nor yet do ought in earnest or mirth without his^a Phonacus by, to put him in mind for to spare his pipes and hold his handkerchiefe to his mouth : and to many a man hee eyther offered friendship, or denounced enmitie, according as every one praised him more or lesse.

26

His unruly wildnesse, unbridled lust, wastfull riotousnesse, avarice and cruelty, he practised verely at first, by leasure closely, as the trickes of youthfull folly : yet so, as even then, no man might doubt, that they were the inbred vices of nature, and not the errors of young age . No sooner was it twi-light & the evening shut in but presently he would catch vp a cap^(a) on his head, and so disguised, goe into tavernes and victualling houses : walke the streetes playing and sporting all the way, but yet not without shrewd turnes and dooing mischief . For he vfed to fall upon those that came late from supper and knocke them soundly : yea and (if they strugled with him and made resistance,) to wound and drowne them in the sinkes and towne ditches : to breake into petie shops also, and rife them : For he had set up in his house at home a^(b) faire, there to receive the price of the bootie which hee had gotten, and was to bee folde to who would give most and bid best therefore . But many a time at such brawles and skuffings aforesayd, he endangered his eyes, yea and his life too, being once beaten well neere to death by a certaine young^(c) gentleman of Senatours degree, whose wife he had misused with uncleane handling . Whereupon, never after durst he goe abroad into the streets at that houre of the night, without his militarie Tribunes following after him aloofe and secretly . In the day time also, being caried close in^a a chaire into the Theatre, hee would be present in person, and from the vpper^a part of the^a *Proscenium both give a signall to the seditious factions of players (setting them together by the cares) and also behold them how they bickered . Now when they were come once to plaine fight skirmishing with stones and fragments of broken seates, skafolds, himselfe stucke not to fling apace^a at the people in so much as once hee brake the pretours head.

27

But as his vices grewe by litle and litle to get head, he laide aside these wilde trickes by way of sport and in secret : and without all care of concealing and dissimuling the matter, broke out openly to greater outrages . His moales^(a) hee drewe out at length : eating and drinking from noone to midnight, dowfled and fomented oftentimes in cesterne of hote waters, and in sommer season within bathes altered and made colde with snowe . His suppers hee tooke divers times abroad also in publike place, to wit, in the^a *Nau-machia shut up and enclosed ; or in Mars field ; or else in the greatest cirque : where hee was serued and attended upon by all the common Queanes of the Citie, and stinking^(b) strumpets of the stewes . So often as hee went downe the River Tiberis to OSTIA, or sayled a long the Baian^a Creeke, there were provided in divers places of the strond and banks, boothes to baite in,

*Or Mistrell

*i. Per Numbe
by messengers
sent betwixt
*when himself
was present,
*A me dera
tour of his
voice,

*Or hood.

*Or market.

*Or Lister,
*Or left.
*The forestage

*Or among.

*A broad place,
wherein a Na-
val fight had
sometime been
exhibited but
then filled up,
yet it carried the
former name
still.

*Or Bay.

conspicuous

conspicuous brothell houses and taverns; where stood married dames after the manner of hostesses and victualling wives calling unto him: some here, some there on both sides of the bankes, intreating him to land and turne in to them. His manner was also to give warning unto his familiar friends, and bid him selfe to supper: and one of them it cost in sweet meats 4. ^(e) millions of sesterces: and another a good deale more in rose water ^(e) and odoriferous oyles or perfumes of Roses from Syrtium.

28

Over and besides the unnaturall abusing of boyes free-borne, and the keeping of mens wives as his concubines, he forced also and deflowered RUBRIA, a vestale Virgin. ACTE a freed woman he went very neere to have wedded as his lawefull wife: suborning certaine men who had bene Consuls, to avouch and forswear. *That she was of Roiall blood descended.* A boy there was named ^(a) SPORUS, whose Genitories he cut out, & affayed therby to transforme him into the nature of a woman. Him he caused to be brought unto him as a bride, with a dowry, in a fine (yellow) veile, after the solemne maner of marriage: not without a frequent and goodly traine attending upon him: Whom he maintained as his wife. Hereupon there goes abroad a pretie conceited jest of a pleasant fellow. *That it might have bene wel and happie with the World, if his father DOMITIUS had wedded such a Wife.* This SPORUS trimly set out with the jewels, decked with the ornaments of the Empreßes, and caried in a licker, hee accompanied all about the thire-townes of great resort and market burroughes of Greece: yea and afterwards at Rome, up and downe the street Sigillaria, manie a time sweetly kissing him by the way. For, that he had a lust to ly with his owne mother, and was frighted from it by some depraving backefriendes of hers; for feare, least the proude and insolent dame might by this kind of favour grow too mightie, no man ever made doubt especially after that he entertained among his Concubines an harlot, most like in all points (by report) unto AGRIPPINA. It is affirmed moreover, that in times past, so often as hee rode in a licker together with his mother, hee played the filthy wanton, and was bewrayed by the markes and spotted appearing upon her vesture.

29

As for his owne body, CÆTES, he forfeited the honour thereof, prostituting it to bee abused so farre forth, as having defiled in manner all the parts of it, at the last, he devised a kind (as it were) of sport and game: that being covered all over in a wilde beastes skin, hee should be let loose forth of a cage and then give the assault upon the privities of men and women both as they stood tyed fast to a stake: and when he had shewed his rage to the full, be killed, forsooth by ^(a) DORIPHORUS his freed-man, unto whom him selfe also was wedded like as SPORUS unto him: inso much as hee counterfeited the noise and cries of maidens, when they bee forced and suffer devirgination. I have heard of divers, that he was fully perswaded, *No man nor woman was honest, or in any part of their bodies pure and cleane, but most of them dissimuled their uncleannesse and* hee forgave all other faults and trespasses whatsoever.

30

The

30

The fruite of riches and use of money, he tooke to be nothing else but lavish expence: thinking them to be very base niggards and mechanical pinch-pennies, that kept any account or reckoning what they spent and layde out: but such only passing rich and right *Magnificoes*, who mispent and wasted all. He praised and admired his uncle *CAIUS in no respect more, than for that hee had lashed out and consumed in a short space an huge masse of wealth, left unto him by TIBERIUS: Hee kept therefore no meane, nor made any end of prodigall giving and making away all. Hee allowed unto ^(a) TIRIDATES a (thing almost incredible) 800000. Sesterces, day by day, for his expences, and at his departure bestowed upon him not so little as one hundred millions. MENECRATES the harper, and SPICILLUS the sword-fencer hee enfeoffed in the livings, patrimonies and houses of right noble personages, who had triumphed. CERCOPITHECUS, whom hee had enriched with the lands and houses, (as well within the Citie as Countrey) of PANNOS the Vsurer, hee honoured like a Prince at his funerals; and entered with the charges well neere of a royall sepulture. No garments did hee on his backe twice: At hazard when he played, he ventured no lesse than 400000 sesterces at a cast, upon every point or pricke of the chaunce. Hee fished with a golden *net (drawn and knit) with cords twisted of purple and crimson silke in graine. He neuer by report when he made anie journey, had under a thousand carroches in his traine; His mules were shod with silver. His multi-tiers attiaed in fine (red) Canusme cloth: and attended he was with a multitude of *Mazaces and Curreurs gaily set out with their bracelets and riche Phal-lers.

31

In no one thing was hee more wastefull and prodigall then in building. Hee made an house, that reached from the Palatium to the Esquilæ: which at the first he called his *Transitorie: but when it had been consumed with fire and was reedified hee named his golden ædifice. As touching the large compasse and receipt, the rich furniture and setting out whereof, it may suffice to relate thus much. The porch was of such an heighth as therein might stand upright the geantlike image representing his owne person, an hundred and twentie foote high. So large was this house, as that it contained *three galleries of a mile a peece in length. *Zem* a standing poole like unto a sea, and the same enclosed round about with buildings in forme of Cities. It received moreover granings with cornefields, vineyards, pastures and woodes to them stored with a multitude of divers and sundry beasts both tame and wilde of all sorts. In ail other parts thereof, alwaies laide over with golde, garnished with precious stones and *shells of pearle As for the parlours, framed they were with enbowed rovfs; seeled with pannils of Ivorie, devised to turne round & remoue so as flours might be skattered from thence: with a devile also of pipes & spouts to cast and sprinkle sweet oyles frō aloft. But of all these parlours & banquetting roomes, the principall and fairest was made rounde, to turne about continually both day and night, in manner of the *VWorld. The banes within this house flowed with salte water derived from the sea, and with fresh from

S

the

*Quadrages.
HS.

*Which had
bene a great
disparagement

*Or grate.

I wish that both
Suetonius and
Dio had in this
place and such
like been also
together silent.

*Confessed of
themselves and
their owne ac-
cord.

*Quadrages.
Sesterces. Take
Sesterces here
in the newer
gender: other-
wise, it were
but a meane
venture: or
such an one as
Nero: as a-
mounting not
above 3 1/2 S.
6 d. Whereas
now, it ariseth
to 3 1/2 S.
L.
*Auratus est.
Oratus saith
more expressly,
retribu: aureis
*Horse men of
Africke and
Cappadocia.

*As one would
say, the passage
from one hill
to another.
*Or fore-gate.
*Porticus tri-
plex: miliarias
If a mā expōd
it thus: Galleries
with three rows
of pillars, or as
many yles, a
thousand foote
in length, it wold
be more confor-
mable to the truth
I suppose. And
yet the propor-
tion that follo-
weth is very
strange & answer-
able to the vul-
gar & received
exposition.
*Mother of
pearle
*Or heaven

the rivers *Albula*: This ædifice finished after such a fashion as this, when he *dedicated, thus farre forth onely he liked, as that hee sayd, *He now at length began to dwell like a man*. Furthermore, hee began a *poole reaching from *MISENYM* to the *Meere *AFERNVS*, covered all above head, enclosed and enuironed with *Cloistures: into which all the hote waters that were in the *Bathes of Baia* might bee conueied. Likewise he cast a *fosse from the sayde *AFERNVS*, as farre as to *OSTIA*, and the same navigable: that men forsooth might saile in ships, and yet not be upon the sea. This carried in length 160. miles, and bare that breadth, as gallies with 5. ranks of oares might passe to and fro thereupon. For the performing of these workes, he had given commandement, that all prisoners wherefoever should be transported into *Italie*: and that no person attaint and conuict of anie wicked act, should be condemned otherwise, but to worke thereat.

32 To these outrageous expences, beside the trust and confidence he had in the renews of the Empire, put forward hee was upon a certaine unexpected hope also that he cōceiued, of finding a world of wealth: & that through intelligence given unto him by a gentleman of *Rome*, who assured him upon his knowledge, that the rich treasure & old store of siluer and gold both, which *Queen Dido* flying out of *Tyros* caried away with her, lay buried in *Affricke* within most huge and vaste caves under the ground, and might be gotten forth with some small labour of those that would goe about it. But when this hope failed him and came to nothing, being now altogether destitute, & so far exhaust and bare of money, that of necessity even souldiours pay, and the fees due unto olde seruitors in the wars for their seruice must run on stil and be deferred; he bent his mind to promoting of false imputations, to pilling also & polling. First and formost hee brought up this order, that out of the goods of freedmen deceased in steed of the one half, three 4th parts should be exacted & gathered for him, of as many, I say as without publike cause bare that name, which anie of those families did, whereunto himselfe was allied. Afterwards, that their wils should be forsaite & confiscate, who were *unthankful to the Prince. Item, that Lawiers should not escape free & go cleere awaie, who had drawen & written such wils: As also, that all deeds and words should bee brought within the cōpasse of treason: If there could be found bur anie promoter to give information. He called moreover after a long time passed, for the rewards and Coronets due to victours, which ever at any times the Cities & States had presented or decreed unto him at the games of prise. And whereas hee had prohibited the vse of the *Amethist & purple colours, he suborned one of purpose under hand to sell upon *a market day some few ounces thereof, and thereupon made stay of all *occupiers & chapmen whatsoever, & laid them fast. Furthermore, having espied once (as he was singing) a dame of *Rome* frō the skaffolds in the Theatre, attaired in purple forbidden by the *law, himselfe pointed at her (as it is verily thought) & shewed her to his *Procuratours: & presently caused the woman to be haled from thence & turned out, not only of her garments but also of all the goods shee had. He assigned an office to no man, but he used these words with all. *Thou knowest what I have neede of.* Also, *Let us looke to this, that no man may *have anie thing.* To conclude, he robbed the *TEMPLES* of many giftes and oblations: The Images likewise therein made of golde or siluer

*Made his first entrie into it after a solemne and festiual manner.
*Piscinam.
*(Or lake)
*Or Walking places.
*Or ditch.

A, V, C, 818.

*Remembered him not in their wils and made him not an heyre.

*Or violet in graine.
*Or faire.
*Who had bought the saide colours.
*Italia: which Cæsar Dictator made, See in Iul. Cæs. cap. 43
*Proctors or Factors.

*Or possesse.

he melted into a masse: and among the rest, even those of the *Tutelar gods (of *ROME*): which soone after *GALBA* restored & erected againe in their places.

*Apollo Nept une
Iupiter Mars,
Mithras.*

33 As touching his Parricides and murders hee began them first with *CLAVDIVS*: of whose death although he were not principall author, yet he was priue and accessarie thereto. Neither dissimuled he so much, as who afterwards was wont by a greek *by-word, to praise murtherers, (in which kinde of meat *Claudius had taken his bane), as the *foode of the gods. *CERTES*, he abused him after hee was dead in most spitefull and contumelious manner, both in word and deede, every way: taunting and twitting him, one while with his folly, another while with his cruelty. For, in scoffing wise he would say of him that hee had left now (a) morari anie longer among mortall men, using the first sillable of the sayd word long. And many of his decrees and constitutions he annulled as the acts of a doltish and doting man. Finally, he neglected the *place (b) of his funerall fire: suffering it to be *empaled, but with sleight stuffe and low railles of timber. As for *BRITANNICUS*, not so much for enuie that he had a sweeter and pleasanter voice than himselfe, as for feare least another day he should bee more gracious then he among men, in remembrance of his Father, he attempted to make him awaie by poison: This poison, *NERO* had received at the hands of one *LOCUSTA*, a woman who appeached & brought to light diuers cōfectioners of poysons: and seeing it wrought later than he looked it should doe, and prooved not to his mind, by reason that it mooued *BRITANNICUS* to the stoole onely and caused a laske; he sent for the said woman, and beate her with his owne hands: laying hardly to her charge that in steede of a poyson shee had given him a remedie and hollesome medecine. Now when shee alleaged for her excuse that shee gave him the lesse *dose, thereby to colour and cloke the odious fact, which would have bred much anger and hatred: why! then belike quoth he, *I am affraide of ite lawe* **IULIA*. And so hee forced her before his face in his owne bed-chamber to compound and seeth a poison that should be most quicke and of present operation. And then having made triall thereof in a kid, after he saw once that the beast continued five heures before it dyed, he caused the same to be boyled againe and manie times more, and so he set it before a pig. And when the pig dyed presently upon the taking thereof, hee commanded it should be brought into his refection chamber, and given unto *BRITANNICUS* as he sat at supper with him. No sooner had he tasted it but hee fell downe dead. *NERO* readily made a lye and gaue it out among the rest of his guests, that *BRITANNICUS* was surprised by a fit of the falling sicknesse, as his manner was to be. But the next morrow, in all hast hee tooke order for his corps to bee caried forth to buriall, with no better funerals than ordinarie; and that, in an exceeding great storme of raine. Vnto the sayd *LOCUSTA*, for her seruice done, he granted *impunitie: he endued her also with faire lands: yea and allowed her to have schollers for to be trained up under her in that feat.

*Or Prouerbe
*Εὖ καὶ κρῖμα
alluding to the
deification after
his death.

*By a law
*As the manner was for
certaine daies
before the
ashes and reliques were
gathered up

*In quantitie.

*De Veneficiis.

*For her former practise of
poisoning, by
which she
stoode condemned.

34 His owne mother, for looking narrowly into him, & examining his words and deedes somewhat streightly; for seeming also to correct and reforme the

the same, thus farre forth onely at the first he was grieved and offended with, as that eft-soones he made her odious to the world, pretending that he was about to resigne up the Empire* and depart to Rhodes. Soone after, he deprived her of all honour, dignity, and authority: and removing from about her the guard* of Germaine Souldiours that attended upon her person, hee banished her out of the same house with him, and so forth out of the precincts of the Palace: Neither cared he what he did, so he might molest and trouble her: suborning some of purpose, both to disquiet her whiles shee abode in Rome with suites and actions; and also when shee was desirous of repose and ease in a retiring place out of the way, to course her with reproachfull taunts and flouting scoffes as they passed that way either by land or sea. But beeing terrified with her threats and violent shrewdnesse, hee determined to kill and dispatch her at once. Having attempted it with poison thrice, and perceiving that shee was defended with Antidotes & preservatives; he provided a bed-chamber for her, with so ticklish an arched rouse over her head, as beeing easily unioincted, the frame thereof might fall in peeces in the night, and light upon her as she lay a sleepe. When this designe could not be kept close, but was revealed by some of the complices privie thereto; hee devised a ship, so made, as that quickly it should cleave a sunder: that either by the wrack, or fall of the fore-deck aloft, she might come to a mischiefe and perish. And so, making a semblance of a Love-day and reconciliation, hee sent for her by most sweet and kinde Letters, training her unto Baia, there to celebrate with him the solemnity of the *Quinquatrim. And having given order before hand to certaine Maisters of Gallies for to split the* Foise wherein she was embarked, as if by chauce they were run full upon her; he made it late ere he went to the feast, & sat long at it. Now when she was to returne back againe unto Baia; in lieu of that vessell thus shaken and crackt, he put unto her the other abovesaid made with ioints and vices, easie to fall in peeces: and so, with a cheerefull countenance accompanied her (to* the water side) and at the parting also kissed her paps. All the time after, he lay awake in great trouble & feare, waiting for the issue of these enterprises. But when he understood that all went crosse, & that she was escaped to land by swimming; being altogether to seeke what course to take; as L. AGERINUS, her freed-man brought word with great ioy, *How she was escaped alive and safe*; he conveyed privily a dagger close* by him; and as if he had been suborned & hired secretly (by her) to kill him, caused the said AGERINUS to be apprehended and bound with chaines: and withall, his mother aforesaid, to be murdered: pretending, as if by voluntary death she had avoided the odious crime thus detected, and so made her selfe away. Worse matter yet than all this & more horrible, is reported beside, and that by Authors of good credit and who will stand to it: Namely, *That he ran in all haste to view the dead body of his mother when she was killed*: that he handled every part & member of it: found fault with some; commended others: and being thirsty in the meane* time, tooke a draught of drink. Howbeit, notwithstanding hee was hartned by the ioyous gratulation of Souldiours, Senate, & People, yet could he not either for the present or ever after, endure the worrne and sting of conscience for this foule fact; but confesse many a time, that haunted & harried he was with the apparition of his mothers ghost: tormented also with the scourges and burning torches of the Furies.

Moreover,

Moreover, with a sacrifice made by direction of magicians, he assaied to raise* up her soule and spirite, and to intreate the same to forgive him. Verily as hee travailed through Greece, at the sacred Eleusine ceremonies (from the institution and professing wherein all impious, & godlesse, & wicked persons are by the voice of a cryer debarred) He durst not be present. To this parricidy of his mother, he adioyned also the murder of his* aunt. For when upon a time he visited her lying sicke of a* costive bellie, and she a woman now well steeped in yeares in handling the tender downe of his beard new budding forth, chanced, (as the manner is) by way of pleasing speech, to say, *Might I but live to* take up this soft haire when it falls, I would be willing to dye*; he turning to those that stood next unto him, in derision and scoffing manner sayde, *Mary & even straight wayes I will cut it off (for her sake)*, and so made no more adoe but* gave order unto the Phisitian to plye the sicke woman still with* stronger purgatives. For, even before she was through dead, he laide sure hold of her goods, and suppressed her last will that nothing might escape his clutches.

35 Besides* OCTAVIA, he married afterwards two wives to wit, *POPPEA SABINA the daughter of* one who had beene Questor, & the wedded wife before of* a romane Knight: then, STATILIA MESSALLINA, *neice in the third degree removed of* TAURUS, twice Consul, who had once triumphed. For to have & enjoy her, he murdered her husband ATTICUS VESTINUS then Consul, even during the time of that honorable Magistracie. Soone wearie he was of OCTAVIA'S companie & forooke her bed. And when some friends reproved him for it he made answer, that the iewels & ornaments only of a wife ought to content her. Soon after, when he had assayed many times (but in vaine) to strangle her, he put her away, pretending she was barraine. But when the people misliked this divorce, and forbore not to raile upon him for it, he proceeded, even to confine & banish her quite. In the end he murdered her, under a colourable imputation of divers adulteries, charged upon her so impudently and falsely; That al generally who were by torture examined upon the point, stood stoutly to the very last in deniall, he suborned and brought in ANICETUS his own Pedagogue against her; who should slander himselfe with her & confesse that by a wife he had abused her bodie. The twelfth day after the saide divorcement of OCTAVIA, he espoused and married the aforesaid dame POPPEA who he loved intirely; and yet even her also he killed with a* kicke of his heele, for that, being big with child and sickly withall, she had reviled him & given him shrewd words, for coming home so late one night, after his running with chariots. By her he had a daughter named CLAVDIA AUGUSTA, whom he buried when she was a very infant. There was no kinde of affinity & consanguinity were it never so neere, but it felt the waight of his deadly hād. ANTONIA, the daughter of CLAUDIUS, refusing after the death of POPPEA to bee his wife, he slew, under a pretense as if she went about to conspire against him and to alter the state. Semblably, he killed all the rest, that were either allied unto him or of his kinred. Among whom, A. PLANTIUS a young gentleman was one. Whose bodie, after he had by force filthily against kind abused before his death: *Let my mother know quoth he, & kisse my successors sweete lips: giving it out, That he was her welbeloved darling, and by her set on to hope & gape after the Empire.* His sonne in law RUFINUS CRISPINUS, the son of *POPPEA being yet of ten-

S 3

der

* As if he were the cause thereof.
* Militum, et Germanorum, Hic dia duo.

* A feast in the honour of Minerva, beginning five daies before the Ides of March, i. the 11 of March.
* Or Pinnace.

* Or to the staires.

* Betweene his teete, Tacit.

* About midnight it was.

* Damia by his fathers side.

* Ex duricia alui alas enim cibum non transmittit, as Plinius writeth, 2. c. 11.

* As if the world say it I might see thee once a man grown &c. for he came to be

Emperour before he was 19 yeeres olde.

* You must suppose, he sent for the barber first &c.

* As purging was the cure, so it was the colourable means wherby the vvay was killed.

* The daughter of Claudius.

* Or Pompeia as some read

* Titus O. Titus.

* Rufus Crispus.

* In the right line of descent.

* Statilius vvho in Augustus

time built the great Amphitheatre in Rome, bearing

his name A.V.C. 815

* Who had brought him up in his childhood,

A.V.C. 818

* Or Titus

* His wife by Titus Crispus a former husband

*Duester of
Captardhips.

*To cut the
maister veins
of arme and
legs & so to
bleed to death.

*Semea,
*Eparchos Ton
darutharon.

*A squinancie,
*Name'y, Do-
riphorus & Pal-
lac Tacit.

36

der yeeres and a youth under age, because the report went of him, *that in game he would play for *Dukedomes and Empires*, he gave order unto his owne servants for to drowne in the sea, whiles he was there fishing. T u s c u s his nourcesonne he confined and sent away; for that being his procuratour in Ægypt, he had bathed in those baines which were built against his coming. His Preceptor & Schoole-maister SENECA he compelled *to dye: albeit he had sworne unto him very devoutly, (when he made suite many times for a licence to depart the Court, and yeelded up therewith all his goods into his hands) *That he had no cause to suspect him: for he would rather lose his owne life then doe him any hurt.* Vnto BURRHUS* Capitaine (of the garde) he promised a medicine to heale his swollen*throat, and sent him the rank poison Toxicum for it. His*freemen, that were rich and olde, whose favour, friendship & directions had stood him in good steede for procuring unto him in times past adoption, and afterwards the Imperial rule; he cut short every one by poyson, partly put into their meats and partly mingled with their drinks.

With no lesse cruelty ragd hee abroad even against strangers and meere forainers. A blazing hairy starre, commonly thought to portend death and destruction to the highest poures, began to arise, and had appeared many nights together. Becing troubled therewith, and enformed by BABILUS the Aitrologer, that Kings were wont to expiate such prodigious signes with some notable massacre, and so divert the same from themselves, & turne all upon the heads of their Peeres & Nobles, he thereupon projected the death of all the Noblest personages in the Citie. And verily, so much the rather, and, as it were, upon just cause, by reason of two conspiracies by him published & divulged abroad: of which, the former & the greater, bearing the name of *PISO, was plotted and detected at Rome: the latter going under the name of *VINICIUS at Beneventū. The conspiratours had their triall, and pleaded bound with threefold chaines: and as some of them confessed the action of their owne accord, so *others said moreover, *That he was beholde unto them for it, because they could not possibly doe a cure upon him by any other meanes, (disleined as he was and dishonored with all kinde of wicked actes) but onely by death.* The children of the condemned were expelled the Citie, and then, dispatched with poison or hunger-starued. It is for certaine knowen, that some of them with their pædagogues & booke-keepers tooke their bane all at one dinner together, others were restrained for seeking and earning their daily food.

37

After this without all choise and respect, without all measure in his hand, he spared none: he put to death whomsoever it pleased him, and for what cause it skilled not. But not to make long relation of many, It was laid to S A L U D I E N U S O R C I T U S charge, that he had set and let three shops out of his house about the *Forū*, unto the Cities & States abroad for (their Embassadors) for to make their abode & conuerse in. To C A S S I U S L O N G I N U S the lawier (a man bereft of both his eyes) objected it was, that in the antient pedigree of his own house and linage, he had set up againe the images of C. C A S S I U S, one of the that murdered CÆSAR. To P A N T A S T H R A S E A S, for having a sterne & severe countenance like a Pædagogue, When these with other were appointed once to dy, he allowed them no more then one houres respit to live after & because

*And his friends
Pisoniana.
*And his adher-
ents, Viniciani
*And, by name
Sulpiciani Asper.

no

no further delay might come between, he put unto the Chyrurgians (in case they lingred and made no hast) to cure them out of hand, (for that was the term he used) meaning thereby, to cut their veines & let them bleed to death. It is verily thought also, that to a certein great (a) eater * (an Ægyptian borne) that u-
ted to feed on raw flesh and whatsoever was given him, he had a great desire to
cast men alive, for to bee quartered cut in peeces & devoured by him. Being
lified and puffed up, with these as it were, so great *successes, he saide that no
*prince ever knew what he might do: and oftentimes he cast out many words
betokening very significantly, that he would not spare the Senators remaining
behind, but one day utterly rafe that Order & degre out of the comon-wealth,
and permit the gentlemen of Rome & his freed-men (only to rule provinces &
have the conduct of armies. C E R T E S, neither at his coming home nor go-
ing forth any whether, vouchsafed he to kisse any one of them, no nor so much
as once to resalute them: and when with formall complements he entred upon
his worke of digging through *Isthmus*, he wished and praied aloud before a fre-
quent audience, *That the enterprise might speed well and turne to the weale of him-
selfe and the people of Rome*, concealing and suppressing al mention of the Senate.

38 But yet for al that, he spared not the people nor forbore the very wals and
buildings of his country the Citie. When one in common take upon a time
chaunced to say.

(a) ἐμὲ δαυοῖτ' ὅ γὰρ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι

When vitall breath is fled from me,

Let earth with fire imingled be.

Nay rather quoth he ἐμὲ ζῶντι

Whiles vital breath remains in me &c.

And even so he did indeede: for being offended, as it were with the ylfavoured
fashion of the olde houses, as also with the narrow, crooked & winding streets;
he set the citie of Rome on fire so apparantly, that many Citizens of Consuls de-
grece, taking his *chamberlaines in the maner with matches, touchwood and
hurds in their messuages (within the Citie) would not once lay hand on them
but let them alone: yea & certein garners and store houses about his golden
Aedifice (for that the plot of ground on which they were situate, his mind stood
most unto), were by war-engins forcibly shakē, throwē down & fired, by reason
they were built with stone wals. For 6. dayes & 7. nights together ragd he in
this wise making havocke of all, and driving the common-people to take up
their *Innes & shrowd themselves the while about the tombs & moniments of
the dead. During this time, beside an infinit number of (b) houses standing apart
frō others, the goodly ædifices & buildings of noble capitains in old time, ador-
ned still & beautified with the spoiles of enemies, the stately temples also of the
gods, vowed & dedicated by the auntient kings first, & afterwards in the *punick
& french wars; burned all, on a light fire: & in one word, whatsoever remained
from old time worth the seeing & memorable was consumed. This fire, beheld
he daily out of *Mecenas* (c) high toure: and taking ioy (as he sayd himselfe) at the
beautiful flame that it made, chaunted the winning and destruction of *Troie*, in
that Musicians habit wherein he was wont to sing upon the stage. And because
he would not misse, but lay fast holde upon all the bootie and pillage which
possibly hee, could come by, even from thence also, having promised free

*Polyphago cui-
dam. or glutton

*Or prosperitie
*Or none of
the Emperors
knew.

*In Achæia,
nere Cor. mth.
*Comprising
therein the
gentlemens
degre: not
Senatus, populi
Rom. as the
manner had
beene.

*Cubicularesi,
the grooms of
his chamber.

*Or lodgings.

*With the Car-
thaginians.

S 4

leave

leave to cast forth dead karkasses, and rid away the rammell of the ruines; looke what reliques remained of all their goods and substance unburnt, he permitted not one to goe unto it. Finally, not onely by receiving, but also by exacting Contributions from all parts, he beggered well nere the provinces and consumed the wealth of private persons.

39 To amend the matter well, vnto these harmes and reprochfull dishonors (of the State) so great as they were arising from the Prince, there happened also some other calamities by chance and fortune: to wit, a pestilence continuing one autumne, whereby thirtie (a) thousand burials were reckoned in the record of **Libitina*; an unfortunate losse in *Britaine*, wherein two principall townes of great importance were sacked, with great slaughter besides of *Romane Citizens* and *Allies*: A shamefull disgrace received in the East by reason that the *Romane Legions* in *Armenia* were put under the yoke as *Slaves*, and *Syria* was hardly and with much adoe kept in tearmes of allegiance. But a wonder it was to see, and a thing especially to be noted, that amid all these infortunities hee tooke nothing lesse to the heart, than the shrewd checks and reviling taunts of Men: and was to none more milde, than to such as had provoked him, either with hard speeches, or opprobrious verses. Many infamous libels & defamatorie words, both in Greek and Latine, were publicly written, or otherwise cast and spread abroad against him, As for example these.

Νῆρων Ορέστης, ἀλχημαίων μετρηχάσι.

Νέον μιν φονὴν Νέρον ἰδίου μετρηχάσι πεντέφω

NERO, (c) ORESTES, (d) ALCEMEON, did shorten mothers life:

NERO slew *his, when newly her he wedded as his wife.

Quis neget Aeneamagna de stirpe Neronem?

Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem

Who can deny, of great *ÆNEAS* our NERO sprung to be

That rid his mother of her life, as *SIRE (e) from fire did hee.

Dum tendit citharam noster, dum Cornelia Parthus,

Noster erit Paan, ille Hecatebeletes.

*Whiles our NERO bendeth his harpe while *PARTHIAN* his bow;

Our prince shall be *PAEAN*. Hee (f) *HECATEBELETES*.

Roma domus fiet: Vesio migrate Quirites

Si non et Vesio occupet ista domus.

Rome will become a dwelling (g) house: To *Veij* flit a pace.

Quirites, least this house before ye come take up the place.

But no searh made he after the authours hereof, and some of them being by the Appeacher conuened before the Senate, he would not suffer to sustaine any grievous punishment. As he passed by in the open street, *ISIDORVS* the cynick, had checked him alowd in these tearmes, That he vsed to chaunt the calamities of (h) *NAVLIVS* very well, but disposed of his owne goods as badly. And *DATVS*, a plaier of the * *Atellane Comædies* in a certain Sconer singing these words (i) *Augiasine pater i*. Farewel father. *i* *tyrannus pater i*. Farewel ther, had acted the same so significantly, as that hee feigned the one drinking and the other swimming, to expresse thereby the end *of *C. CLAVDIVS* and *AGRIPPINA*: And in the last conclusion of all, with these wordes.

(k) *Ortus vobis ducit pedes*

Now *PLUTO* leadeth forth your feet.

In

in plaine gesture noted the Senate. The * *Actor* & * *Philosopher* *NERO* did no more unto, but banish them *Rome* and *Italic*: either for that he set light by all shame and infamie; or els least in bewraying anie griefe, he might stir up and provoke pregnant wits to worke vpon him.

Well, the world having indured such an Emperour as this, little lesse than 14. yeares, at length fell away & forsooke him cleane. And first the French began, following as the ringleader of their insurrection *IULIUS VINDE*X, who that very time governed the * *Province*, as *Propretour*. Foretold it had been long agoe unto *NERO* by the *Astrologers*, *That one day he should be left forlorne*. * *Of Gaul*. Whereupon this saying was most rise in his mouth.

Τὸ τεχνίον πασα γαίᾳ τέρεται,

An Artizane of anie kinde

In every land will living finde,

So that he might the better be excused and borne withall for studying & practising the art of minstrelsie and singing to the harpe, as a skil delightful unto him now a Prince, and needfull for him another day a private person. Yet some there were who promised unto him so forsake, the governmet of the East parts: and others by speciall name the kingdome of *Hierusalem*: but most of them warranted him assuredly the restitution of his former estate. And being inclined rather to rest upon this hope, when he had lost *Britaine* and *Armenia*, & recovered them both againe: he thought himselfe discharged then and quit from the fatall calamities destined unto him. But sending one time to the Oracle of *APOLLO* at *Delphi*, and hearing this answer from thence (a) *That hee must beware of the yeare 73*, as who would say, *He was to dye in that yeare (of his owne age) and not before*; and divining no whit of *GALBAES* yeeres; with so assured confidence hee conceived in his heart not onely long life but also a perpetuall and singular felicity, that when he had lost by shipwracke things of exceeding price, he stucke not to say among his familiars. *That the *fishes would bring the same againe unto him*. At *Naples* aduertised he was of the rebellion in *Gaul*. Which fell out to be the very same day of the yeare, on which he had killed his mother. But hee tooketh this newes so patiently and carelesly, that hee gave suspition even of joy and contentment: as if occasion had beene offered and presented thereby to make spoyle (by the lawe of armes) of thole most rich & wealthy *Provinces*: and streight waies going forth into the * *Gymnase*, he beheld with exceeding great earnestnesse and delight the wrestlers and champions striving for the prise. At supper time also, being interrupted with letters importing more tumults and troubles still: Thus farre forth onely he grew into choller and indignation, as that he threatned * *mischiefe* to them who * *had revolted*. To conclude, for eight dayes together he never went about to write backe unto any man nor to give any charge or direction at all, but buried the matter quite in silence.

At the last, thoroughly mooved and netled with the contumelious edicts of *vindex* comming so thicke one in the necke of another, he exhorted the Senate, in a letter written unto them, to revenge him and the commonwealth: alleading for an excuse the * *Squinie* whereof hee was sicke: and therefore could not himselfe be present in person. But nothing vexed him so much as this, *That hee was by him blamed for an unskilfull *musician*, and because in

* *An inflammation or swelling in the throte.*

* As we say in the Church booke.

* In whose temple were to be bought or hired, whatsoever pertained to funerals & burials. *Varro* *Plutarch* taketh her for *Venus*.

* To wit Agrippina.

* *Anchise*.

* *Hexameter*, & *Pentameter*.
* *Philosopher*.
* *O evils*.

* Which were very lascivious & licentious.

* Whole son he was by adoption, for some report, he tooke his poison in a cup of drinke & not in a muftom.

* Who was thought to have perished in the sea and indeed he hardly escaped drowning by swimming.

* As they did to *Polyrates* that mighty Tyrant of *Samos*; but it was not long before his fall and destruction.

* *Publike place of exercise*.

* *Malum* an Emphaticall and significant word in this place: like as in *Lucie*, lib. 4.

Malu mihi uis meis misquieuerint. As it he had said, a mischief take these Rebels: or, mischief will come to them.

* *Defessio*, al. *defessio*, as if mischief would fall upon the authors heads

41

*Which was the name of his family, and so had he been called before his adoption.
*Nero Claudius Drusus

*Which it seems he spake ironically, if simply, he meant, in case Vindex interrupted not his sports and the publike felicitie.

steed of NERO, he called him *ÆNOBARBUS. And verely as touching this name appropriate to his house and family; wherewith he was thus in contumelious manner twitted, he professed to resume the same, and to lay away the other that came by adoption. All other reviling taunts and slanders hee confuted as meere false, by no other argument than this. *That unskilfulnesse, forsooth, was objected unto him in that very art, which he had so plainly studied and brought to so good perfection: and therewith asked them if some one by one, whether they had ever known a more excellent Musician than himselfe.* But when messengers came still one after another, in great feare he returned to Rome. And having his hart lightened but a little in the way, with a vaine and foolish profrage by occasion that hee espied and obserued engraven upon a monument, a certaine french souldiour with a Romane knight overmatched in fight and trailed along by the haire (of the head): he at this sight leapt for ioy and worshipped the heavens. Neither then verely, did hee so much as consult in publike with the Senate, or assemble the people: but onely call forth home to his house some of the chiefe and principall persons among them. And having dispatched in great haste this consultation, the rest of that day he led them all about to his musickall water instruments of a strange devise and fashion, not before known: and shewing every one by it selfe unto them, discoursing also of the reason and difficult workmanship of each one, he promised even anone to bring them all forth into the open Theatre, *If VINDEX would give him leave,

42

After that he understood besides, how GALBA likewise & the provinces of Spaine were revolted, he fell downe at once: his heart was then daunted & cleane done: and so he lay a good while speechlesse in a traunce, and ready, as one would say, to goe out of the world. And so soone as he came againe to himselfe, he rent his clothes, beat and knockt his head, saying plainly *That he was utterly undone*: yea and when his nourse came about him to comfort his poore heart, telling him, that the like accidents had befallen to other princes also before him, hee answered againe, *That hee above all the rest suffered miseries never beard of nor known before: Thus in his life time to forgoe and loose his Empire.* Neither yet for all this stricke he faile one whit in laying away or leaving out one jot of his ordinary riot and supine slouthfulnesse. Nay when some little inckling was given of good newes out of the provinces as he sat at a most sumptuous and plentifull supper; hee pronounced even with expresse gesture like a player, certaine ridiculous rimes, and those set to lascivious and wanton measures, against the chieftaines of rebellion: and what were those? even stale stuffe and commonly known already. Being also secretly conueied into the Theatre he sent word unto a certaine Player acting his part with great contentment of them that *saw and heard him, That he did but abuse his *occupations.*

43

*Ocasioned by the Com-motions & revolts abroad
Immediately upon the beginning of this feareful *tumult, it is credibly thought that he intended manie designs and those very cruell and horrible: yet such as agreed well enough with his naturall humour: namely, to sende under hand successours and murderers of all those that were Commanders of armies & regents of Provinces; as if they all had conspired and drawn in one and the selfe same line. *Item*, to massacre all banished persons where soever; and the frenchmen

me every one that were to be found in Rome: those because they should not band & combine with them that revolted: these, as complices with their owne contrie men, and their abettors. *Item* to permit, the armies for to make spoyle and havocke of the Provinces in Gaulle. *Item* to poyson all the Senate generally at some appointed feast. Last of all to fire Rome & let wild beasts loose among the people; that thereby there might be more adoe and greater difficulty to saue the Citie. But being skared from these designments, not so much upon anie repentance, as despaire of their accomplishment: and perswaded with all, that necessarie it was to make a voyage and warlike expedition; the Consuls then in place he depriued of their government before the due time, and himselfe alone entred upon the Consulship in their roomes, as if forsooth, the destinies had so ordained, that Gaulle could not be subdued but by a (sole) *Consul. Having then taken into his hands the *knitches of rods, when after meat he withdrew himselfe aside out of his dining chamber, leaning upon the shoulders of his familiar friends, hee protested, that so loone as ever he was come into the Province: he would shew himselfe unarmed before the armies: and do nothing else but weepe. and after he had once by that meanes reclaimed the authors of the Revolt and brought them to repentance, sing merrily, the day following, songs of triumph with them that reioyced with him. Which songs quoth hee ought with all speede even now to be composed for me.

*As sometime Cn. Pompeius Magnus was, for the like exploit.
*The Consular authoritie.

44

In the preparation of this warlike voiage, his speciall care was, to choose forth meete wagons for the cariage of his musickall instruments; to cut & poll the concubines which hee carried out with him like men: and to furnish them with battaile axes and little bucklers after the Amazonian fashion. This done, he cited the Citie-tribes to take the militarie oth: and when no seruicceable me would answere to their names, he enjoyned all Masters to set forth a certaine number of bond-seruants, neither admitted he out of the whole family & household of every mā, but such only as were most approved, excepting not so much as their stewards or clarkes and secretaries. He commanded likewise all degrees to allow and contribute toward this expedition part of their estate according as they were valued in the Censors booke: and more than so, The tenants inhabiting private messuages and great houses standing by them selues, to pay out of hand in yearely pension to his exchequer. Hee exacted also with great skornefulnesse and extremitie, good money rough and new coyned, siluer fine and full of risings: golde pure and red as fire. In so much, as most men openly refused the paiement of all contributions: demanding in a generall consent, that what monies foever promoters had received for their informations, should rather be required backe againe at their hands.

*Surlineffe.

45

By the dearth likewise of corne, looke what hatred was conceived against the *gainers, the same grewe heaue upon him. For it fell out by chance that in this publike famine word came of a *Ship of (a) Alexandria, how it was arrived freight with a kinde of dust for the wrestlers of NERO his court. Having thus stirred up & kindled the hatred of all the world against him, there was no contumelious despire but he sustained. To one statue of his, just behind the crowne of the heade, was set a *chariot with an Imprese in Greeke to this effect

*i. Cornemū-gers lucrantium
*Or the fleets it selfe, nauis pro classe as clauis in nave by the figure Synechdocha

*Alluding to his Chariot running.
*A Sacbell
*Ego quid potius
*Culcum
*Pillars
*Gallus est cum
cāiāno exiitisse

fect, Now (b) in truth, and not before is the combat. And againe, Now or never bale and drawe. To the necke of another, there was tyed a lether-^{*}bagge, and therewith this title, ^{*}What (a) could I doe? But thou hast deserved a verie ^{*}lether (e) budge indeed. This writing also was fastned upon the ^{*}Columnnes, Now with his chaunting hee bath awakened the French. And by this time manie there were who in the night season making semblance of chiding and brawling with their seruants, called often for a VINDE.

46

*Presaging foretokens
*Uminum.

*The stately sepulchre of Avenlus.
*Furit day.

*All this hapned upon the new-yeares day.

Beside all this, he tooke affrights at the manifest ^{*}portents as well newe as old, of dreams, of (a) prodigies and of ^{*}Offes. For where as before time, he was never wont to dreame, when he had mured his mother once there appeared visions in his sleepe, him thought hee saw the helme of a ship wrested out of his hand as hee steered it: and that by his wife OCTAVIA hee was haled into a very narrow and blinde place: one while that he was covered all over with a multitude of winged anrs; another while, that the images of grave men descended of noble houses dedicated in POMPEIUS Theatre, went round about him, and debarred him from going forward. Also, that his ambling gueling, wherein hee tooke most delight, was in most parts transfigured into the forme of an ape: But having his head only sound and entier, did set up a lowde and shrill voice neighing. Out of the ^{*}Mausoleum, when all the dores thereof flew of their owne accord open, a voice was heard calling him by name. Vpon the ^{*}Calends of Ianuarie, his domestical gods, garnished and adorned (as they weare), at the verie time when the sacrifice was in preparing, fell all downe. And as he was observing the signes by bird flight, SPORUS presented him with a ring for a newe yeares gift: in the pretious stones whereof, was engraven the ravishing and carrying away of PROSERPINA. At the solemne nuncupation of his vowes, when as a great and frequent number of all degrees were already assembled together, the keyes of the Capitoll could hardly be found. What time as out of his inuective oration against VINDE these wordes were rehearsed in the Senate: *That such wicked persons should suffer punishment*, they all cryed out with one voice. *Trasces A VGVSIE*. i. Thou shalt so doe O AUGUSTUS. This also had bene obserued, that the last Tragædie which he acted and sung in publike place, was OEDIPUS the banished, and iust as he pronounced this verse

ὅρα μὲ ἀνὰ γὰρ οὐρανὸν ὄμιτρον, πῶς τινος

How can I chuse but death desire,

Thus bidden by wife by mother and Sire?

*he fell downe.

47

*Decidisse ordine i, stayed & gave over.

*See the annotation upon this place.

In this meane while, when newes came that all the other armies also rebelled, the letters delivered unto him, as hee sat at dinner hee tare in peeces, overthrew the table, and two cuppes (of Chrystall) out of which hee tooke the greatest pleasure to drinke, and which he called Homericos, for certaine verses of ^{*}(a) HOMER engraven and wrought upon them, he dashed against the paved floure. Then, after he had received a poision of LOCUSTA & put it up in a golden boxe, he went directly into the hortyards of the *Servitij*: where

where, having sent before his most trusty freed-servants unto OSTIA for to rig and prepare a fleet to sea, hee founded the Tribunes and Centurions of the guard, whether they would beare him company and flie with him, or no: But when some of them made it coy and kept some halting: others in plaine termes refused; and one also cried out aloud,

Vsque adeo (b) mori miserum est?

What! is it such a miserie

To leave this life and so to die?

He cast about, and thought of many and sundry shifts? Whether hee should goe as an humble suppliant unto the Parthians, or to GALBA? or whether it were best for him, arrayed all in blacke to come abroad into the Citie, and there in open place before the ROSTRA, with all the rull and piteous moane that hee could possibly make, crave pardon for all that was past? and unlesse hee could turne the peoples harts unto ^{*}mercy, make suite to have if it were but the (c) Deputy-ship of Egypt granted unto him. Certes, found there was afterwards in his Cabinet a Speech of his owne penning, as touching this Argument. But men thinke hee was scared from this enterprize, as fearing least before he thither ^{*}could come, he should be pulled in peeces. Thus, putting off all farther cogitation of this matter unto the next day, and ^{*}awakened about midnight; when he understood that the guard of his Souldiours was retired and gone, hee leapt forth of his bed, and sent all about to his friends. But because no word was brought back from any of them, himselfe accompanied with a fewe about him went to every one of their lodgings: Where finding all dores shut, and no body to make him answer, he returned to his bed-chamber. By which time, his Keepers also and Warders were slipt from thence: but they had stollen away first the hangings and furniture of his chamber, yea and set out of the way the box afore said with the poision. Then straight-waies he sought for SPICILLUS the ^{*}Sword fencer, or any other common hackster ^{*}Mirmillanens. he cared not who, by whose hand he might receive his deaths wound. But finding none. Well, quoth he, And have I neither a friend, nor a foe? And so he runnes forth, as if he would have throwne himselfe headlong into Tiberis.

48

But having reclaimed once againe that violent moode, hee desired some more secret retyring place, wherein he might lurke a while and recall his wits together. And when PHAON his freed man made offer unto him of a Farme house of his, that he had by the Citie side, about foure miles off, betweene the high-waies *Salaris* and *Aumentana*, bare footed as hee was and in his ^{*}shirt hee cast over it a ^{*}Single waist-coate. And so covering his head, and holding an hand kercheife before his face, to horseback hee went; having not above foure persons in his companie; of which ^{*}SPORUS made one. And being by & by affrighted with an Earthquake & lightning that flashed against his face, he heard with all, an out-cric & shout (from the Campe hard-by), of the Souldiours offing all mischief to him & all good unto GALBA: Yea, & one of the passengers that he met, saying, *These be they that pursue NERO*, as also another asking, *What times in Rome of NERO*? Now by occasiō that his horse under him senting a dead caraffe that was throwne out in the way, started and flung at on side, his face was discovered, and himselfe knowne of one MISSICUS a *Pretorian* Souldiour, who

*And to suffer him for to enjoy the Empire
*To the *vestra*
*Or starting out of his sleepe

*Mirmillanens

*Single waist-coate

The rest were Phaon Epaphroditus and Neophytus.

who saluted him by his name. When they were come to the next Lane, turning out of the Rode way, their horses they forsooke and turned them up: and so among thickets of shrubs, rough bushes and briars, with much ado through a narrow path within a reed plot, and not without clothes spread under foot, he gat as length as farre as to the wall of the Country house above said over & against him. There, when the said PHAON perswaded him to bestow himselfe the meane while, within a pit, from whence sand had beene cast forth, Nay, quoth he, I will never goe quick * under ground: and so, after he had staid a little (while there was a secret way a making to let him into the ferme house), he laded up water with his owne hand out of a ditch under him, minding to drink: and this, quoth he, is NARCISSUS * decocted water. After this, because his cloake was torne among the bushes and briars afore said, he rid it from the prickly sprigs that were runne through and stuck therein, and so creeping upon all foure through a straight and narrow hole digged in the wall for him, received hee was into the next backe room: Where he laid him downe on a pallet made of a simple scant matrice, and an olde over-worne cloake cast over it for a coverlet. Now when hunger came upon him, and thirst with all the second time, the browne and counfe bread verily which was offred unto him he refused; but of warme water he dranke a pretty draught.

49

When as each one called then instantly on every side upon him, to deliver him selfe with all speede from the reproachfull contumelies and abuses, whereto hee was hourly subject, he commaunded a grave to be made before his face, and gave a measure therefore according to the iust proportion of his body: and therewith, if any peeces of marble stone might be found about the house, to be laid in order: That water also and wood should bee gotten together for his dead body to be washed anone therewith: weeping at every word he spake, and inferring ever and anon this pittifull speech, *Quis * artifex Perco!* What an excellent Artificer am I? and yet nowe must I die. Whiles some stay was made about these complements, PHAON * Coutrier brought certaine letters which hee intercepted and snatcht out of his hands. And reading therein that hee had his Dome by the Senate, To be an Enemie to the State: That he was laid for all about to be punished, *More maiorum. More maiorum!* quoth he. what kinde of punishment is that! and when he understoode, it implied thus much, *That the man so condemned, should be stript all naked, his head * locked fast in a forke, and his body scourged with rods to death;* he was so terrified therewith, That hee caught up * two daggers which hee had brought with him: and trying the points of them both how sharpe they were, he put them up againe, making this excuse, *That the fatall houre of his death was not yet come.* And one while he exhorted SPORUS to begin for to lament, weepe and waile: another while he intreated hard, *I had some one of them would kill him selfe first, and by his example besee him to take his death.* Sometime also he checked and blamed his owne timoroussesse in these wordes, *I live shamefully and in reproach, & πένη Νέραν, & πένη. νικην δὲ ἐν τοῖς ποταμοῖς. ἀνὰ ὕψη βουτῶν. It becomes not NARCISSUS, it becomes him not. In such cases as these hee had neede to be wise and sober: Goe to man, plucke up thy heart and rouse thy selfe.* Nowe by this time approached the Horsemennere at hand, who had a warrant and precept to bring him alive. Which when hee perceived, after hee had with trembling and quaking

* For feare of
losing his feete,
or of being
heard to goe.
* Or into my
grave.

* Or fodder:
* Plinie reporteth, lib 31 cap.
3. That Nero
desire to see
water first, then
within a glasse
to see it stand
in snow, where-
by it became
exceeding
cold: partly by
the snow, & in
part by the
former decoction.
A delicate drinke
in the heate of
Summer.

* Meaning his
singular skill in
Musicke, for
which pittie it
was he should
ever die.
* Or else, what
manner of art-
ificer am I
now become,
thus to prepare
mine owne fu-
nerall.
* Or Footman
* Or let.
* Or rapier.
* Acte: pro ac-
cumine thucrodis.

quaking uttered this verse.

* ἔκπλον μὲ ὠμυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος ἤσπερ βάλλει.

The trampling noise of horses swift resoundeth in mine eares.

He let a * dagger to his throat, whiles EPAPHRODITUS his * Secretarie lent him his hand to dispatch him. When he was yet but halfe dead, a Centurion brake in upon him, and putting his cloake upon the wound, made semblance as if hee came to aide and succour him: Vnto whom he answered nothing but this, *Too late. And is this your loyaltie and allegiance?* In which very word he yeilded up his breath, with his eyes staring out and set in his head, to the great feare and horrour of all that were present. He had requested of the companie which attended upon him, no one thing more earnestly than this. *That no man might have his head severed from the body but that in any wise he might be burnt whole.* And IULIUS a freed man of Galba, who not long before was delivered out of prison (into which he was * cast at the beginning of the first * tumult) permitted * to much.

50

His funerals were performed with the charges of 200 000 Sesterces: His corps was caried forth (to buriall) enwrapped within white cloathes of Tinsel, woven with goldwire betweene, the very same that hee had wore upon the Calends of Ianuarie. His reliques, ECLIOGE and ALEXANDRA his two Nources, together with ACTE his Concubine bestowed within the monument belonging to the house of the DOMITII his Auncestors: Which is to be scene out of Mars field, * situate upon the Knap of an hill within their Horryards. In which Sepulcher his chest * made of Porphyrite Marble, with an Altar (as it were) or table of white Marble of Luna standing upon it, was enclosed round about with a fence of Thasian Marble stone.

51

Hee was for stature almost of * complet height. His body full of specks and freckles, and foule of skinn besides. The haire of his head somewhat yellow: His countenance and visage rather faire, than lovely and well favoured. His eyes gray and somewhat with the dimmest. His neck full and fat. His belly & paunch bearing out: with a paire of passing slender spindle shanks: but withall, he was very healthfull. For, being as he was so untemperate and most royotously given, in 14 yeeres space, he never fell sicke but thrice: yet so, as hee neither so bare drinking of wine, nor any thing else that hee used to doe. About the trimming of his body and wearing of his cloathes so nice, as it was shamefull: in so much as hee would alwaies have the bush of his head laide and plaid by curles in degrees: but what time as he travailed in Achaia, hee drew it backward also from the crowne of his head * and wore it long. For the most part, he ware a dainty and effeminate pied garment called *Synthesis*: and with a fine Lawneck Kercheif bound about his neck he went abroad in the Streetes, ungirt, untrussed, and unshod.

52 Of all the Liberall Sciences in manner, he had a tast when he was but a child. But from the Studie of Philosophie his mother turned his minde; telling him, It was repugnant to one who another day was to bee a Sovereigne: and from the knowledge of auncient Oratours, his Maister SENECA withdrew him, because hee would hold him the longer in admiration of himselfe. And therefore, being of his owne accord readily enclined to Poetry, he made verses voluntarily and without paine. Neither did he (as some think) set forth other mens Poems as his owne.

T 2

There

* Homer Iliad x
spoken by
Nestor
* Or rapier
* Or his Master
of requests.

* By Nero
* Occasioned
by the rebellie
In Gaulle and
Saine.
* For he might
do a l in al with
Galba. See Galb.
14

* Or Cophin

* Within a Circle
of sixe footes.

* As you may
see in y coines
of
Ocho the Empe-
rour. Statius
callet this *syn-
thesis* come. i.
lib. 1. Sylv.
* haply inimi-
tation of Apollo
(who was in-
troussed, and is
called by Homer
therefore
καταπεπλεγμένος)
because there
especially he
professed Mus-
ick, whereof
Apollo is the
Patron.

There haue come into mine hands writing tables and bookes containing verses very famous and well knowne abroad, written with his owne hand: so as a man may easily see they were not copied out of other bookes, nor yet taken from the mouth of any other that indited them, but plainly penned as a man would say, by one that studied for them, and as they came in his head, so put them downe: so many blots and skrapings out, so many dashes and interlinings were in them.

53 No small delight he had beside in paintings and most of all in forging and mool-
ding counterfaytes. But above all, he was ravished and lifted up with popularity & praise of men: desirous therefore to imitate & equal them, who by any meanes pleased the humours & contented the minds of the comon people. There went an opinion and speech of him, that after he had gained the Coronets for his muscical feares performed upon the stage, hee would at the next five yeares revolution, go unto the Olympicke games, and contend for the prise among the Champions there. For, he practised wrestling continually. Neither beheld he the Gymnicke games throughout all Greece otherwise, than sitting below within the * Stadium, as the manner of the ludges and Vmpires of such masteries: and if any *aires of them drew to farre backe out of the appointed place, to plucke them with his own hands into the middle againe. He had intended moreover (since he was reputed to have equalled A P O L L O in singing and matched the Sun in chariotting) to imitate also the worthie acts of H E R C U L E S. And men say, there was a Lion prepared, which he, all naked should either with his club braine, or els with streight clasping beetweene his armes throttle and crush to death within the Amphitheatre, in the sight of all the people.

*Or the lifts
*Or couples
matched.

54 Certainly, a little before his ende he had openly made a vowe, *That in case he continued still in good and happie estate, represent he would likewise at the games, in his owne person after victory obtained, an Organist and player upon water instruments, upon the flute also and hautboys, yea and a bagpiper, and on the last day (of the said games) an actor of Enterludes: what time he would aunce and gesture Turnus in Virgill.* And some write, that P A R I S the actor was by him killed, as a concurrent that stood in his way and eclipsed his light.

55 A desire he had, (foolish and inconsiderate though it were) of eternity and perpetuall fame. And therefore, abolishing the old names of many things & places, hee did upon them new, after his owne. The moneth Aprill also hee called *Neronens.* He ment moreover to have named Rome, *Neropolis.

*Nero's City.

56 All Religions whersoever he had in contempt, unlesse it were that onely of the *Syrian goddess. And yet soone after he despised her so farre, that hee polluted her with urine: by occasion that he was wonderfully addicted to an other superstition, wherein alone hee continued and persevered most constantly. For having received in free gift, a little puppet representing a young girle, at the hands of a meane commoner, and *obscure person, as a remedy, forsooth, or defenlative against all treacheries and secret practises: and therevpon straight waies chauncing to discover a conspiracie, he held it for the soveraine deity above all, & persisted honoring & worshipping it every day with 3 sacrifices. Nay he would haue men believe, that he foreknew things to come by advertisement & warning given fro her.

*Aftergate or
Affaire the
same son
think that Iuno
*Her image
*or unknown
to him.

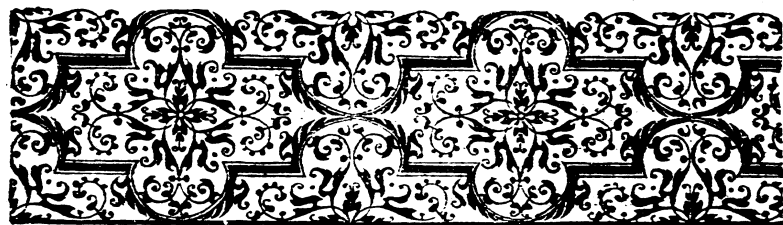
Some

Some few moneths before he lost his life, he tooke regard also of the Skill in prying into beasts entrailles. Which he observed in deede, but never sped well therewith, nor gained thereby the favour of the Gods.

He died in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age; that very day o' the yeere, on which in times past he had murthered his wife O C T A V I A: & by his death brought so great joy unto the people generally, that the Commons wore * Caps, and ranne sporting up and downe throughout the Citie. Yet there wanted not some, who a long time after decked his Tombe with gay flowers that the Spring and Summer doe affoord: and who, one while brought forth his Images clad in robes embroidered with purple gards before the *Rosira*: otherwhile published his Edicts, as if he had bene yet living and would shortly returne to the great mischiefe of his enemies. Moreover, V O L O G E S U S King of the Parthians, when he sent his Embassadors unto the Senate for to treat about the renewing of league and Alliance with them, requested this also very earnestly, *That the Memoriall of N E R O might be still solemnized.* To conclude, when twenty yeeres after his decease (whiles I my selfe was but a young man) one arose among them (no man knew from whence? nor of what condition?) who gave it out, *That hee was N E R O*, (so gracious was his name among the Parthians,) he was mightily upheld and maintained, yea and hardly delivered up againe.

57
A.V.C. 821
*Or Bonnets, to
itselfe free-
dome recover-
ed.
*Namely, the
Calpurnius
A/petrus, to be
executed for a
lying counter-
feit.





THE HISTORIE OF Servius Sulpitius Galba, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*
quillus.



Chap I
* Or line:

* Which pro-
ved white, as
also the whole
breed of them.
Die:

THE * Progenie of the CÆSARS ended in NERO. Which, that it would so come to passe, appeared verily by many signes, but by two of all other most evident. As LIVIA in times past immediatly after her mariage with AUGUSTUS, went to see a Mannour house and land of her owne in the veientane Territorie, it fortuned that an Eagle soaring over her head let fall into her lap a white hen, holding in her bill a Lawrell branch even as she had caught it up. And thinking it good to have both the foule kept, and the said branch set in the ground: behold there came of the one such a goodly broode of * chickens, that even at this day the very house aforesaid is called *Ad Gallinas*: and sprung of the other so faire a row of Bay trees, that all the CÆSARS when they were to ride in triumph gathered from thence their

their Laurell * guirlands. And as the manner was, that when any of them triumphed, they should pricke downe straight waies others in the same place: so it was obserued likewise, that a little before the death of every one the tree by him planted, did mislike and die. In the last yeere therefore of NERO, not onely the whole grove of bay trees withered to the very roote, but all the hens there died euery one. And anone after the Temple of the CÆSARS being strucke with lightning, the heads withall of their Statues fell downe all at once, and the Scepter of AVGVSTVS was shaken out of his hands.

After NERO succeeded GALBA, in no degree allied unto the house of the CÆSARS: but without all question a right noble gentleman of a great and auncient * race: as who in the titles and Inscriptions over his owne Statues wrote himselfe alwaies the * Nephew once remooved of Q. CATVLVS CAPITOLINVS: and being once Emperour did set up also in his * Haule the Lineall processe and race of his house, wherein he derieth his descent from the father side, from IVPITER and by his mother from PASIPHAE, the wife of King MINOS.

To prosecute the Images and Laudatorie testimonials belonging to the whole stocke & linage in generall were a long peece of worke: those onely of his own family wil I briefly touch. The first of all the SVLPITII, why? and wherupon he bare the surname of GALBA? there is some doubtfull question. Some thinke it came by occasion of a Towne in *Spaine*, which after it had bene a long time in vaine assaulted, hee at length set on fire with burning brands besmeared all over with Galbanum: others, for that in a long sicknesse which hee had, hee vsed continually Galbeum, that is to say, a cure with remedies * enwrapped within wooll: some againe because hee seemed to be very fat, and such a one, the French doth name GALBA: or contrariwise, in regard that he was as slender, as are those creatures* (or wormes) which breede in the trees called *Esculi*, and be named *Galba*. This familie one SERVIVS GALBA who had bene Consul, and in his time most eloquent, ennobled first, and made renowned, who by report, ruling the province of *Spaine* as Prætour, having * treacherously put to sworde 30000, LVSTITANES, was the cause of the * Viriatine warre. His Nephew being maliciously bent against IVLIVS CÆSAR (whose Lieutenant he had bin in *Gaule*) for a repulse that he tooke in suing to be Consul, ioyned in the conspiracy with CASSIVS & BRVTVS: for which condemned he was by the law *Pedia*. Frō this man descended immediately the Grandfire and father of this GALBA the Emperour. His Grandfather for his booke and learning was more famous, then for any dignity in common weale that ever he attained unto. For, he arose no higher, than to the degree of a Prætour: but many histories he wrote, and those not slightly nor negligently composed. His father bare the honourable office of Consul: a man very low of stature and withall crouchbacked: and having but a meane gift in Oratory yet used he to plead causes industriously. Two wives he had, MVMIA ACHAICA the neipce of CATVLVS, and once remooved of LVCIVS MVMIVS, who rased and destroyed *Corinth*: likewise LIVIA OCELLINA, an exceedingly welthy Ladie & a beautiful. Of whom for his noble blood sake it is thought he was (a)woed: yea, & somewhat the more hotely, after that, (upon her importunate suite) hee stript himselfe once out of his clothes in a secret place before her, and revealed the imperfection of his bodie, because he would not seeme to deceive her, for want of knowledge. By ACHAICA, he had issue CAIVS and SERVIVS

* And branches
which they
held in their
hands, *Plus*,
* *Plus* laith the
very lame,

2
AVC. 821
* Or penegree
* *Proneptum*
* Or Court
yard.

3

* A gumme or
harcezed iuice
ysling out of
the roote (when
it is wounded)
of a plant cal-
led *Ferula*.
* Like vnto
those round
rods which
women in stead
of their gales
vie under their
clothes beneath
the waist called
in *Laine* *Gal-
bei*.
* Resembling
magots.
AVC. 610
* *Prospia* accor-
ding to M. *Tal-*
lus in *Bruto*.
Some expound
* otherwise,
namelie for
their treachery.
Livia.

* 7000 As *Fal-*
eris. *Max* laith
AVC. 710.
* Of *Viriatius*
the Capitaine
thereof.

AVC. 775

disquieted as well with the civil mutinies, among the soldiers, as tumultuous commotions of the barbarous inhabitants. Which commission he discharged with great regard of severe discipline & execution of justice even in very small matters. A soldier of his there was, who during the expedition above said, in a great dearth and scarcity of Corne, was accused to have sold a residue remaining of his owne allowance, to wit, a * Modious of wheat, * for one hundred deniers: whereupon hee gave straight commandment, that when the said souldier began once to want food, no man should be so hardy as to relieve him. And so for hunger he pined to death. As for his civill jurisdiction and ministering justice: when there grew some question and debate about the proprietarie and right owner of a labouring beast, and slight evidences and presumptions on both sides were alledged: as simple witnessnes also produced and therefore hard to devine and guesse of the truth: he made this decree, That the beast should be led * hoodwinked unto the poole where it was wont to be watered: and when it was unhooded againe, he awarded and pronounced the said beast to be his, unto whom of the own accord he returned directly after the had drunke.

8

For his brave exploits atchieued both in *Africke* then, and also in *Germanie* afore time he received the honour of tryumphall Ornaments and a triple Sacerdottall dignitie; being admitted among the * *Quindecimvirs*; into the guild and confraternitie of the (a) *Titij*: and the Colledge or societie of the Priests (b) *Augusta*. And from that time unto the midt well neere of *NEROES* Empire, he lived for the most part private in some retiring place out of the way: yet so as he never went forth any journey, (were it but for exercise by way of * Gestation) but he tooke forth with him in a wagon going hard by, to the valew of a million of *Sesterces* in gold untill such time, as making his abode in a towne called *Fundi*, the Regencie of a province in *Spaine* named *Tarracensis*, was offered unto him. And it fortun'd, that when he was newly arriv'd and entred into that province, as hee sacrificed within a publike temple, a boy among other Ministers holding the * Censer, sodainly had all the haire of his head turned gray. Now there wanted not some who made this interpretation, *That thereby was signified a change in the states*; and *that an old man should succede a younge*, even himselfe in *NEROES* steed. And not long after, there fell a * Thunderbolt into a * lake of *Cantabria*: and found there were immediatly twelve axes: a doubtlesse taken prefiging Soveraine Rule.

9

For 8 yeares space he governed that province variably and with an uneven hand. At the first, that he was, severe, violent, and in chastising verily of trespasses beyond all measure extream. For he caused a Banker, for unfaithfull handling and exchange of money to lesse both his hands, and to have them nailed fast unto his owne shop board: A Guardian also he crucified, for poysoning his ward, whose heire he was in remainder. Now, as the partie *DELINQUENT* called for the benefit of law, and avouched in his plea, *That he * was a Romaine Citizen*; *GALBA*, as if he would alay his punishment with some * comfort and honour: commanded the crosse already made to be changed, and another to be reared far higher then the ordinarie: and the same laid over with a white colour. By little and little he grew to be slouthfull, carelesse and Idle because he would minister no matter unto *NERO* for to worke upon: and for that (as himselfe was wont to say)

* Much about our peck.
* 3 l. s. 6. d. sterl.

* As some horse or mule
* Covered all over the head.

* *Sacris facibus* du, or *S-billinis* libris *spicundus* i. to oversee sacrifices and divine service or to peruse the propheticall books of *Sibylla*. They were in number 15.
* Carrying in a light litter or chaire.
* Incense *Penne*
* Or dint of lightning.
* *Lucum*, al. *Lucum*, a groue.

* And therefore not to be crucified.
* *Solatio* or *homenere*, or comfortable honor.
* *Hec diano*.

say) *He was compelled to render an account of his owne Idleness*. As hee held the ludicall *Assises* at new *Carthage*, he had intelligence that * *Gaule* was in a tumult. And whiles the * *Emballadour* of *Aquitaine* besought him earnestly to send aide, the letters of *VINDEX* came in the very nick: exhorting him to frame and carie himselfe as the deliverer and protectour of *Mankind*, even to take upon him to be their general Capitaine. He, making no longer stay upon the point, accepted the offer, partly for feare and in part upon hope. For he had both found out the warrants of *NERO* sent privily unto his Agent and procuratours there, as touching his death: and also much confirmed and strengthened he was, as well by most luckie Auspices and *Offes*, as by the prophesie of an honest Virgin: so much the rather, because the very same verses containing the prophesie, the priest of *IVPITER* at *Clunia*, had two hundred yeares past (by warning and direction given him in a dreame) fetched out of an inward and secret vault of the Temple, delivered them likewise by a maiden which had the spirit of prophesie. The meaning and effect of which verses was, *That one day there should arise out of Spaine the soveraigne Prince, and Lord of the whole world*.

Therefore, when he had mounted the Tribunall, as if hee intended then the * manumising of slaves, and set before him in open sight very many portraicts and Images of such as had bene condemned and killed by *NERO*: whiles their stood also in his presence a * boy of noble blood, whom he had sent for of purpose out of one of the *Balear* Islands hard by, where he was * exiled: he bewailed the state of those times. Whereupon being with one accord saluted * *Emperour*, yet he professed himselfe to be the Lieutenant onely of the Senate & people of *Rome*. After this, having proclaimed a Cessation of ludicial pleas for the time; out of the Commons verily of that Province, he entrolled both Legions and Auxiliaries, over and above the old armie, which contained on Legion, two cornets of horsemen, & three cohorts: but out of the better sort, to wit, the Nobility and Gentry; such I meane as for wisdom & age wet before the rest, he ordained a body of a Senate: unto whom men should have recourse, touching matters of greater importance, as need required. He chose forth also young gentlemen, for the knights degree, who continuing still the wearing of (gold) Rings should be called * *Evocati*, & kept watch and ward instead of (sworne) * Soldiers about his lodging and bedchamber. Hee sent out his Edicts also in every Province, counselling and perswading all and some to joyne with him in these designements: and (proportionally to the means that every one had) to helpe and promote the common cause. Much about the same time, in the fortification of a towne which he had chosen to be the Capitall seate of the warre, a Ring was found of Antiqueworke, in the Gemme or stone whereof was engraven the expresse resemblance of (a) victorie together with a (b) *Trophee*: And soone after, a ship of *ALEXANDREA* freight with armour, arrived * before *Dertosa*, without pilot, without mariner or passenger: that noe man might make any doubt, but that this warre was just, lawfull, and undertaken with the favour and approbation of the Gods. But lo, sodainly and unlooked for, all in manner was dashed and put out of frame. One of the two Cornets of horsemen above mentioned; as bethinking themselves and repenting that they had changed their military oath was at the point to fall away and forsake him as hee approached the Campe, yea and hardly kept in their allegiance to him: Certaine slaves also, whom (being prepared a forehand to doe him a mischief) hee had received

* For, they be stirring spirits, that are locked into a State.
* A.V.C. 821
* France
* Or Lieutenant

10
* Enfranchises
sing.

* Some noble
mans sonne of
Rome
* By Nero
* or L. General

* As if they
had tierced
their full time,
and were now
called forth as
gaire by way
of border
* When virally
were rings of
iron.

* *Dertosa* as
lit: al. *Dertosa*
appears killed
down the tide:
as the wind
did drive it

received as a present at the hands of a freed man of NERO, mistooke little of killing him, as he passed through a crosse lane to the Baines for to bath. And surely done the deed they had, but that as they exhorted and encouraged one another not to *overslip the opportunitie presented. they were overheard: who being examined and asked, upon what occasion they spake such words? were by torture forced to confesse the truth.

* Omission of, and it is to loose.

Besides these daungers so great, there fel out (to helpe the matter well) the death of VINDEX. wherewith being most of all amazed, and like to a man utterly forlorne, he went within a litle of renouncing this world and forgoing his owne life. But by occasion of messengers comming with newes from the Citty in the verie instant, no sooner understood he that NERO was slaine, and all men in general had sworne alleageance unto him, but he laide away the name of Lieutenant and tooke upon him the title of CAESAR. So, he put himselfe on his Journey clad in his Coatearmour, with his dagger hanging downe from about his necke iust before his breast: neither tooke he to the use of a gown and long robe againe, before they were surprisid and suppressed, who made insurrections and rose up in armes against him: namely, at Rome NYMPHIDIVS SABINVS Capitaine of the Pratorian guard: in Germanie FONTEIVS CAPITO & in Africke CLODIVS MACER, y: Lieutenants.

* Notwithstanding that upon the death of Nero, he was declared Emperour at Rome.

There had a rumour beene raised before of his crueltie and covetousnesse both: for punishing the Cities of Spaine which were somewhat slacke in comming to fide with him, by laying very heavy tributes and taxes upon them: some of them also by dismanteling and raising their wals: likewise for putting to death certaine Presidents and Procuratours together with their wives and children: as also for melting a Coronet of gold weighing 15. pound: which the men of Tarracon from out of the old Temple of IVPITER had presented unto him: and commaunding that the three ounces which wanted of the full weight should be exacted and made good. This report was both confirmed and also increased upon his first entrance into Rome. For when he would have compelled the servitours at Sea (whom NERO had made of mariners and oatenen, full and lawfull souldiers) to returne againe to their former state and condition: when they made refusall, and besides called malapertly for their Aegle and other militarie ensignes: hee not onely sent in, among them a troupe of horsemen and so trode them under foote; but also executed with death euery tenth man of them. Semblably, the Cohort of Germanes which in times past had beene by the CAESARS ordained for the guard of their persons, and by many good proofes were found most trustie, hee dissolved: and without any auailes and recompence for their service sent them home againe into their Country: pretending that they stood better affected unto C. N. DOLABELLA (neere unto whose Horthyards and gardens they quartered) than to him. Moreover, these reports also (whether truly or falsely I wote not) went commonly of him by way of mockerie. That when there was a more plentifull supper than usual served up before him, he gave a great grone thereat. His Steward verily in *ordinary cast up his bookes and rendred unto him a breuiary of all reckonings, and accoumpts. For his great care and serviceable diligence, hee reached unto him a dish of *pulse. But when CAIVS the minstrell played upon the Harbois and

* Ordinaris Dispensatori or this one Ordinaris his steward.
* As of pease or beanes &c.

the Harbois and pleased him wondrous well, hee bestowed liberally upon him for his labour five good Deniers, and those he drew with his owne hand out of his privie purse.

At his first comming therefore, he was not so welcome. And that appeared at the next solemnitie of vublick Shewes. For when as in the Atellane Comædies, (some had begun a most vulgar Canticle with this verse,

St: Venit Io Simus a villa, &c.

* St: See; Our SIMUS that Country clowne
Is from his Fenne now come to towne.

The Spectatours all at once with one accord and voice, sung out the rest in manner of a respond: and repeating withall the said verse oft, as the fore-burden of the Song, acted (and with gesture) noted him.

14

Thus verily with farre greater favour and authoritie obtained hee the Empire than menaged it when he was therein; notwithstanding, hee gave many proofes of an excellent Prince: But nothing so acceptable were his good Acts, as those were odious and displeasing wherein he faulted and did amisse. Ruled he was according to the will and pleasure of three persons: whom dwelling as they did together and that within the Palatium, (readie evermore at his elbow and in his care) men commonly called his Pedagogues. These were, TITUS * IUNIUS, his Lieutenant in Spaine; a man infinitely covetous: CORNELIVS LACO, who being of his Counsell and assistance was advanced by him to be Capitaine of the guard: one for his arrogancie and *luskiness intollerable: and a freed man of his, ICELVS; who but a litle before, being honoured with the *golden ring, and endowed with the surname MARTIANVS, looked now for to bee the Provost and Capitaine of the Pretorian Gentlemen and Knights Degree. Vnto these men, I say, playing their parts and committing outrages correspondent to their vices in divers kinds, hee yeilded and wholly gave himselfe to be abused so much, as that scarcely he was like himselfe, but alwaies variable: one while precise and neere, otherwhiles as remisse and catelesse; more ywis, than became a Prince elected, and a man of those *yeeres. Some honourable persons of *both degrees he condemned upon the least suspicion, before their cause was heard. The Freedome of Rome Citty hee seldome graunted to any. The priviledge and Immunitie due to those who had three children, hee gave to one or two at most with much ado: nor to them verily, but for a certaine time limited and set downe. The Iudges making tunc for to have a sixth Decurie adioyned unto them, hee not onely demed slady, but also this benefite of vacation graunted unto them by C. AULIVS. That they should not be called forth to sit in the Winter (a) season, and at the beginning of the yeere, hee took from them.

* Or pence, 3 S. d. ob. English.

13
* See Tarnish Address, &c.
* Hust or whist, an interjection of silence.

* Or Vinea.

* Secordia, or fortifines.
* Knighthood.

* Summa equorum gradus, or summa equestria ordinis.

* 73
* Gentlemen and Senatours.

It was thought also, that hee purposed to determine and limit the Offices belonging to Senatours and Gentlemen, within the compasse of two yeeres: and not to bestow the same but upon such as were unwilling and refused to take them. The Liberalities and bountifull *Donations of NERO, hee tooke order by a Commission directed into *fiftie Gentlemen of Rome, for to bee revoked: yea, and the same to bee exacted for his behoofe, allowing out thereof

* Which are mounted according to Tacitus into six & vices milles 2200 millians.
* Tacitus faith thereof 30.

V

thereof not above the tenth part: with this straight condition moreover, *That if Actors upon the Stage, or Wrestlers and Champions otherwise, had sold any such donation given unto them aforesaid, the same should be taken from the Buiers, since that the parties who had sold the same had spent the money, and were not sufficient to repay it.* Contrariwise, there was not anything, but by the meanes of his followers, Favorites and freed men, hee suffred either to bee purchased for money, or graunted freely for favour: as for example, *Customes, Imposts, Immunities, Punishments of the Innocent, and Impunitie of Malefactours.* Moreover, when as the people of Rome called upon him for iustice, & namely to have HALOTUS and TIGELLINUS executed, the onely men of all the bloud-hounds and instruments of Nero that wrought most mischief, he saved them from daunger: and besides, advanced HALOTUS to a most honourable Procuratorship: and in the behalfe of TIGELLINUS rebuked the people by an Edict, for their crueltie unto him.

16

* Propriam
verbi ordinibus
offendit.

Having heereby given offence and * discontentment, to the States and Degrees in manner all, yet he incurred the displeasure and ill will most of the Souldiours. For, when his Provofts had promised and pronounced unto them, (what time they sware alleageance unto him), a greater Donative than usually had beene given, hee would not make good and ratifie the same; but est-soones gave it out, *That his manner had ever beene to choose and not buy his Souldiours.* And as, upon that occasion verily hee angered all his Souldiours wheresoever: so, the Pretorians and those of his guard he provoked moreover with feare, and nettled with offering them indignities; namely, by removing and displacing most of them one after another, as suspected persons, and the adherents of NYMPHIDIUS. But the forces of higher *Germanie* grumbled and fumed most of all, for being defrauded of their rewards for service performed against the French and *Vindex*. They were the first therefore that durst breake out into open disobedience: and upon the Newyeeres day refused to take an oath and binde themselves in alleageance unto any other than the Senate of Rome. They intended also to dispatch forthwith an Embassie unto the Pretorian guard, with these advertisements and messages from them, *Namely, That they were displeased with an Emperour made in Spaine: and therefore themselves should elect one, whom all the Armies in Generall might allow and approve.*

17

* Scilicet, ut
superius habetur.

No sooner heard he this newes, but supposing that hee was become contemptible, not so much for his olde age, as his childlesse estate; hee presently out of the thick throng and middle multitude that came to salute him, caught hold of PISO FRUOI LICINIANUS, a noble young Gentleman and of excellent parts; one whom in times past he had made right great account of, and * alwaies in his will remembered as Inheritour to succede in his goods and name: Him he now called Sonne, him he presented unto the Pretorian Campe; and there before a publick assembly, adopted. But of the fore-saide Donative not a word all this while, no not at that very time. Whereby he ministred unto M. SALVIUS OTRO better occasion and readier meanes to accomplish his enterprises within fixe daies after this Adoption.

Many

18

Manie prodigious sights and those presented continually even from the verie first beginning, had portended unto him such an end as ensued. When all the way as hee journeyed, beasts were sacrificed to doe him honour in every towne on both sides, it chaunced that a Bull stoned with the stroke of the Butchers axe, brake the bond wherewith hee stood tied: and ranne full upon his Chariot: and rising up with his (fore) feete, all to be spreint and drenched it with blood. As he alight out of it, one of the guard and Pensioners about him, with the thrusting of the throng had like with his speare to have wounded him. As he entered also the Citie of Rome and so passed forward unto the *Palatium*; hee was welcomed with an Earthquake, and a certaine noise resembling the lowing of a beast. But there followed after these, greater Prodigies still and more searchfull. He had selected and layed by it selfe out of all his Treasure, a iewell set thick with pearle and pretious stones, for to beautifie and adorne his Goddesse Fortune at *Iusculum*. This Jewell (as if it had beene worthy of a more stately and sacred place), all of a suddaine hee dedicated to VENUS in the Capitoll, and the next night following he dreamt, that he saw Fortune making her moane and complaining, how shee was defrauded of the gift intended and meant unto her: threatening withall, that shee her selfe also would take away what shee had given him. Now, being affrighted with this vision, when in great hast hee was gone apace to *Iusculum*, and had by breake of day sent certaine before of purpose to provide an expiatorie * sacrifice for this dreame, he found nothing there but warme embers upon the altar herth, and an olde man all in * blacke sitting hard by, * holding in a dish of * glasse, Frankincense, and in an earthen cup, wine. Observed also it was, that upon the Kalends of Ianuarie while hee sacrificed, his coronet fell from his head: As he tooke his *Auspices*, the pullets flew away. And upon the Solemne day of the fore-said Adoption, when hee should make a Speech unto the Souldiours, the * Camp-Throne stood not, (as the manner was) before his Tribunal; (such was the forgetfulness of his Ministers) and in the Senate, his Curule chaire was placed wrong, with the back toward him.

19

But before he was slaine, as he sacrificed that morning, the Southfayer oftentimes warned him to beware of daunger: For murderers were not farre off. And not long after hee tooke knowledge that OTRO was possessed of the * Campe. And when most of those about his person perswaded him still to make what speed hee could and goe forward thither (for why? by his authority and presence hee might beare sway and prevaile) hee resolved to doe no more but keepe close within house: to stand upon his guard, and to fortifie himselfe with the strength of his legionarie Souldiours, in many and divers places quartered. Howbeit, hee put on a good linnen * Jack: although hee seemed to acknowledge, that in small speed it would stand him, against so many sword-points. But being borne in hand & seduced with rumours which the Conspiratours had of purpose spread abroad to traine him out into the open street: whiles some few rashly affirmed, *That all was dispatched; The rebels & seditious persons defeated: and the rest coming in great frequency with joy & gratulation ready to do him all the obsequious service they could:*

V 2

He

Hee to mee them went forth; and that with so great confidence as that unto a Souldiour who made his boast, *He had slaine OTHO, hee answered, And by whose warrant?* This advanced he as farre as into the Market-place. There, the Horsemen having commission and commaundement to kill him: When they had voided the common people out of the way, and put their horses forward through the Streetes, and espied him a farre off, staid a while: but afterwards, setting spurres to againe, fell upon him and slew him outright, forsaken as he was of all his traine and followers.

20

There be that report, How at the first uprore, hee cried aloud: *What meane yee my fellow Souldiours?* I am yours, and yee are mine: and withall promised (to pay) the Donative: But, many more have left in writing, that of himselfe he offered them his throat, and willed them (since they thought so good) to mind that onely which they came for, even to strike and spare not. A strange and wonderfull thing it was, that of those who were there present not one went about to helpe their Emperour: and all that were sent for, reiected the messenger, saving onely a guidon of Germane Horsemen. These in regard of his fresh demerite (in that hee had tenderly cherished and made much of them being sicke and feeble) hastned to the rescue: Howbeit they came too late, by occasion, that beeing ignorant of the streetes and places they tooke a wrong way and were hindered. Killed hee was at the * Lake *Cyrtius*, and there left lying even as hee was; untill such time as a common Souldiour as he returned from foraging and providing of corne, threw downe his load and cut his head off. Now, because hee could not catch hold of the haire of his head (so bald hee was) hee hid it in his lap: and anone thrust his thumbe into his mouth and so brought it to OTHO: who gave it to the * Scullians, Lackies & * Varlets that follow the Campe. These sticking it upon a speare caried it, not without reproachfull some all about the Campe setting up ever and anone this Note, * GALBA, *thou lovely CUPID take thy time, and make use of thy fresh and youthful yeeres:* Provoked they were, especially to such malapert trumps and floutes, because some daies before there ranne a rife report abroad, that unto one who commended that visage and person of his, as continuing still fresh, faire, and vigorous, he made this answer,

ἔτι μοι μένος ἐμμένει δόξῃσι.

I have yet still

My strength as will.

At their hands, a freed man of PATROBIUS NERONIANUS, bought the same for one hundred (a) peeces of gold and flung it into that very (b) place, where, before time his * Patron by the commaundement of GALBA, had bene executed. At length (late though it was) his Steward ARGIVS buried both it and the trunk of his body within his owne private Hortyards in the way *Aurelia*.

21 Of full stature he was: his head bald: his eyes gray, and his nose hooked: his hands and feete by reason of the gout growne exceeding crooked; in so much as uneth he was able either to abide shooes on the one, or to turne over, or so much as hold his bookes with the other. There was an * excrescence also of flesh in the right side of his body; and the same hung downward so much, as hardly it could be tied up with a * trusse.

22 A great feeder and meate-man by report, he was. For in Winter time hee used to eate before day light: and at supper to bee served so plentifully, that the reliques and reverſion of the board being gathered together into heapes, hee commanded

* The place, whereſomtime: that lake was.

* Or water: beaers and wood purveyers for the Souldiours.
* Galba, *Cypido*, &c.

* Homer, *Iliad*. 5
Diomedes to
Siheneles.

* Patrobius,

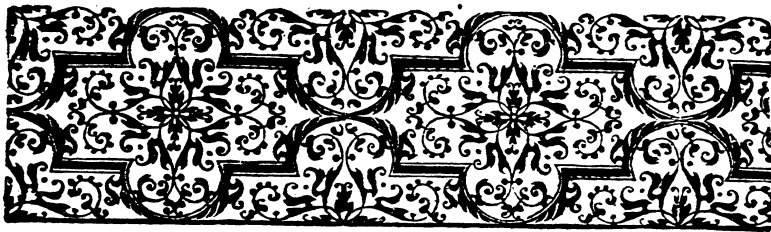
* Or bunch,

* Or swathing band.

maunded to be caried round about and distributed among those that stood waiting at his feete. Given he was over much to the unnaturall lust of Male-kind: but such chose he (and none else) for his Dearlings, as were stale-thick-skins and past growth. It was reported that in *Spain* when ICELUS one of his olde Caramikes brought him word of NEROES end, he not onely received him in open sight with most kinde kisses, but intreated him without delay to be * plucked, and so led him * Made smooth at one side out of the way.

23 He died in the 73 yeere of his age, and seventh moneth of his Empire. The Senate as soone as lawfully they might, had decreed for him a Statue standing upon a Columne adorned * with the Stemmes and beake-heads of ships, in that part * *Refractae* of the Mercate-steed of *Rome* where hee lost his life: But VESPASIAN repealed that Decree: as being thus conceited of him, That he had suborned and sent under hand out of *Spain* into *Iurie*, certaine of purpole to murder him.





THE HISTORIE OF Marcus Salvius Otho, vvrit-

ten by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*
quillus.



Chap. I

THE Auncestors of Otho had their beginning in a towne called *Ferentinum*; extract out of an auncient and honourable family, even from the Princes of *Hetruria*. His grandfather M. SALVIUS OTHO having for his Father a Gentleman of *Rome*, and for his mother a woman of base condition (and whether shee was free-borne or no? it is uncertaine) through the favour of LIVIA AUGUSTA, in whose house he had his rising and growth, was made a Senatour, and exceeded not the degree of a Pretour. His Father, L. OTHO by his mothers side of right noble blood descended, and thereby allied to many great kinreds, was so deere and in face so like unto TIBERIUS the Emperour, that most men beleaved verily, hee was his owne sonne. The Honourable Offices within the Citie: the Proconsulship of *Asia*, and other extraordinarie places of Conduct and Com-

maund,

maund, hee managed most severely. Hee adventured also in *Illyricum* to proceed so far, as to put certaine soldiers to death, for that in the commotion of CAMILLVS upon a touch of conscience they had killed their *Captaines and provosts, as authors of the revolt and rebellion against CLAVDIVS, and verily this execution himselfe in person saw performed in the Campe (a) even before the *Principia*: notwithstanding that he knew they were for that service advanced to higher places by CLAVDIVS. By which act of his as he grew in glory, so hee decreased in favour. And yet the same he soone recovered againe, by detecting the perfidious plot of a Romaine Knight, whom by the appeachment of his own servants he found to have attempted the death of CLAVDIVS. For, both the Senate endowed him with an honour most rare and seldome scene, to wit his owne statue erected in the *Palatium*; and also CLAVDIVS when he ranged him among the Partitians, and in most honourable tearmes praised him added these words withall, *Hee is a man, than whom I would not wish I assure you to have better Children of mine owne.* Of ALBIA TERENTIA a right noble and gallant Lady he begat two sonnes, LVCIUS TITIANVS, and a younger forenamed MARCVS, and carying the surname of his father: a daughter also hee had by her, whom as yet not mariageable, he affianced unto DRVSVS the sonne of GERMANICVS.

*Or his. i. Cæs
millas,

i. Otho.

2

This OTHO the Emperour, was borne the 4. day before the Kalends of May, when CAMILLVS ARRVNTIVS and DOMITIVS AENOBAREVS were Con-
suls. From the very prime of his youth, hee was roitous, wild and wanton: in so much as his father twinged him well and soundly for it: reported also to use night walking; and as he met any one either feeble or cupshotten or overcome with drinke to catch hold of him, lay him upon a soldiers gaberdine, and so (b) to roffe and hoist him up into the aire. Afterwardes, upon his fathers death, a certaine Libertine woman of the Court, a dame very gracious (because hee would make the more benefit by following and courting her as his mistress) he pretended love unto: albeit an old trot shee was in manner doting for age. By her meanes winding himselfe into the favour of NERO, he easily obtained the cheife place among his minions and favorites (such was the congruence of their humours and dispositions) and as some write by mutuall abusing also of one anothers bodie against kind. But so mightie hee waxed and bare such a side, as that in consideration of a great peece of money agreed upon, he presumed to bring into the Senate house for to give *thanks, a man of Consular degree, who stood condemned for extortion, even before hee had fully obtained his *restitution.

*For pardon
*Restoring to
his former
state.

3

Being now, as he was, privie and partie to all the counsels and secret designs of NERO: he to avert all manner of suspicion, that very day which NERO had appointed for the murdering of his mother, entertained them both at supper with most exquisite, and the kindest welcome that might be. Semblably, Dame POPPEA SABINA, being as yet but the paramour of NERO, whom he had newly taken from her *husband, and committed in the meane *while unto himselfe upon trust for to keepe, under a *colour of mariage hee received: And not content herewith that he alienated her hart from NERO and used her body, hee loved her so entirely, that he could not endure NERO himselfe to be his *Corrival. Certes, it is thought of a truth, that not onely the messengers who were sent to fetch her, came

*Refus Cris
*vntill he could
put awaie Otho

*So writeth
P. March But
Tacitus differ
eth from this
Narration.
*Partner with
him in love of
that Mistress
came

came againe without her: but also that one time he kept NERO himselfe without doors standing there and cooling his heeles, with threats also and prayers intermingled, demanding his *pawne which hee had left with him, but all in vaine. Whereupon after the said mariage broken and dissolved, sent out of the way hee was under a pretence of an Embassage into *Portugal*: Which course was thought sufficient for feare least his proceeding to any sharper punishment might have told *tales abroad and marred all the play showbeit as secretly ceneued as it was, out it came and was made knowne by this Distichon.

Cur Otho mentito sit quaritis exul honore?

Vxoris Maecius coeperat esse sua.

Exil'd in shew of Embassage was OTHO. Aske yee, why?

With his owne wife begon he had to act (a) adulterie.

Having beene afore time in no higher place then Questour, yet governed hee a province for the space of x yeeres with singular *moderation and *abstinence.

4 As occasion at length and opportunitie of *revenge was offered, he was the first that combined with GALBA in his attempts. At which very instar himself also conceived hope of the Empire & great the same was, no doubt; considering the condition and state of those times, but greater somewhat by reason of SELEVCVS the Astrologers words: who having long before warranted him that he should survive NERO, was then of his owne accord come unlooked for & promised againe that shortly also he should be Emperour. Omitting therefore no kind of obsequious office & ambitious popularity even to the very meanest: looke how often he invited the *Emperour to supper, he wold deale throughout the Cohort that the warded, to every man a peece of *gold: & no lesse carefull was he to oblige unto him one way or other, the rest of the soldiers. And when one of them went to law with his neighbour about a parcell of ground in the skirts and confines of both their lands, he being chosen Arbitratour, bought the whole land for the said souldier and enfeoffed him in it. So as now by this time there was scarce one, but both thought and said that he alone was worthy to succede in the Empire.

5 Moreover he had fed himselfe with hopes to have been adopted by GALBA & that looked hee for daily: But after that PISO was preferred and himselfe disappointed of his hope, he turned to plaine violence: pricked thereto, over and besides the discontentment of his mind, by occasion that he was so deeply indebted. For he stucke not to professe, *He was not able to stand, unlesse he were Emperour: And it skilled not whether he were overtrowne by his enemy in the field, or fell under his creditors hands at the Barre.* Some few daies before, he had fetcht over one of CÆSARS servants in a millene of Sesterces for the obtaining of a Stewardship: & with the helpe of this sum of mony, enterprised he so great a proiect. At the first he committed the matter to 5. *souldiers employed in *Espiall*: then to x. others whom they had brought forth with them, to wit every man twaine. To each one of these he payd in hand x thousand *sesterces, & promised 50000 more. By these were the rest solicited, & those not very many: as making no doubt but presuming confidently of this that a number besides would be ready in the very action to second it.

6 He had minded once, presently after the adoeption (of PISO) to seize their campe into his owne hands, and so to set uppon GALBA as hee sat at supper in the Pallace: but therelative regarde hee had of the Cohort, which then kept watch and warde, hee checked this intent of his: for feare least the same should

*pledge or
gaze, to wit
Poppas.

*How Nero
had beene ex-
cluded & shut
out of doores
&c.
* 1j, V. c.

*Without
rigour
* Without pil-
ling, poisoning &
extort on.
A. V. C. 821
* Of Nero.

* Galba.
* 15, S. 7. D.
ob. English,

* Specul. tribus
* 100, Aurei:
very Aureus
being 15, S.
7, D. ob.

should incurre the intolerable hatred of the world: considering, by the guard of that very Cohort, CAIVS had beene slaine before, and NERO perfidiously betrayed afterwards. Moreover, exception was taken against the middle time betweene, partly vpon a *superstition that hee had, and in part by direction from SELEVCVS. Well then, vpon a *day appointed, after warning given aforehand unto those that were privie to the conspiracie, for to attend him in the market place at the golden (a) *Miliarium* under the Temple of Saturne, hee saluted GALBA in the morning, and (as the manner was) beeing received with a kisse, was present also as hee sacrificed and heard the Soothsayers predictions. Which done, a freed man of his brought him word that the Architects were come (this was the watchword agreed upō between the) wherupō as if forsooth he were to look upon an house that was to be sold, he departed, gat him quickly away through the backe side of the Palace, and hied a pace toward the place appointed. Others say, that hee feigned himselfe to have an ague, and willed those that stood next to him to make that excuse in case he were asked for. Then lying hidden within a womans *Lifter, he hastened to the Campe: and for that the Lifter bearers were tired and faint, hee alighted on the ground and beganne to runne a foote: but by occasion that his shooes latchet was slacke, he stayed behinde, untill such time as without any further delay, he was taken up on mens shoulders, and by the raine and Company there present saluted Emperour; and so with lucky acclamations among drawn swords, came as farre as to the *Principia whiles every one all the way hee went adhered unto him, as if they had beene all privie and party in the conspiracy. There, after he had dispatched certaine away to kill both GALBA and PISO, he to win the soldiers hearts by faire promises, protested before them all assembled together, *That himselfe would haue and hold no more, then iust that which they would leaue for him.*

7

This done, as the day drewe toward evening he entred into the Senate: and briefly laying before them a reason of his proceeding, as if he had beene caried away perforce out of the market place and compelled to take the Empire upon him (*which he would administer according to the generall will and pleasure of the al), to the pallace he goeth. Now when as beside other sweet & plausible words delivered by such as did congratulate and flatter him, he was by the base common people called NERO, he gaue no token at all that he refused it: nay rather as some haue reported, euer in his patents, graunts and missives which he first wrote unto certaine presidents & gouernours of Prouinces, he added unto his stile the surname of NERO. This is certain, he both suffered his *images and *Statues to be erected againe in their own places: & also restored his Precursors & freed men to the same offices that they had enjoyed before. Neither, by his imperiall prerogative and absolute power subscribed he any, thing, before a warrant for fiftie *millians of Sesterces to the finishing of (NEROES) golden house. It is said that the same night being affrighted in his sleepe hee groned very sore, and was by his seruitors that ran thick into the chamber found lying on the bare floore before his bed: also that hee assaid by all kind of propitiatorie sacrifices and peace offerings to appeale the *spirit of GALBA, whome hee had seene in his sleepe, to thrust and drive him forth: Semblably, the morrow after as he was taking his *Auspices, there arose a sodaine tempest wherupon

* Scrupulosity,
15 January

* Crete
chaire, wherein
women use
to be caned.

A. V. C. 822
* A principall
place within
the Camp.

* Which either
were of wax, or
painted
* Commonly
of brasse stone
or such solid
matter.
* quingenties
is or Sesterth
m

* Or Ghost.
* by observing
the faced
Birds:

hee

hee caught a grievous fall, and oftentimes hee mumbled this to himselfe.

Τί ποῦ μοι καὶ μακροὶς αὐτοῖς.

For, how can (a) I (whose blast is short)

With these long hautboies fully sort?

8

And verily about the same time, the forces and Armies in (a) *Germanie* had sworne feallie and allegiance unto VITELLIVS, which when he understood, hee propounded unto the Senate, *That an Embassage might be sent thither, to aduertise the that there was an Emperour chosen already, and aduise them with all to peace and concord: yet, by entercourse of messengers and letters between, he made offer unto VITELLIVS to pertake equally with him in the Empire, and accept of a marriage with his daughter:* But when there was no way but one and that by open warre: seeing that

now a readie the Capitaines and forces which VITELLIVS had sent before, approached hee had good prooffe what loyall and faithfull hart, the pretorian souldiers caried towards him, even to the utter ruine and destruction well neere of the most honourable degree of Senators. Nowe decreed it had * beene, that by the Sea seruitours the * armour should be conueied over and sent backe (to *Ostia*) by shipping. And as the said armour was in taking forth out of the armorie in the Campe, at the shutting of the Evening, some (souldiers) suspecting treacherie and treason; raised a tumult and gave an Alarum: wherewith sodainly all of * them without any certaine leader to conduct them, ranne to the Palace, calling hard to have the * Senate massacred: and when they had repelled some of the Tribunes who assaied to repress their violence; and killed other of them, all embroied in blood as they were, and askinge still where the Emperour was? they rushed in as farre as into his banquetting rowme, and never rested untill they had seene him. Then set he forward his expedition lustilie: and beganne with more haile then good speed; without any care at all of religion and the will of God: as having onely stirred and taken those sacred * shields (b) called *Ancilia*, and not bestowed them quietly againe in their due place (a thing in olde time held ominous and ever presaging ill lucke): Besides, the very same day it was, upon which the priests and ministers of (*Cybele*) the mother of the Gods, beganne to lament, wepe and waile: to conclude, when all signes and tokens, were as crosse as possibly they might be. For not onely in the beast killed for sacrifice unto Father * *Dis*, he found the Inwards propitious (whereas in such a sacrifice as that the contrarie had beene more acceptable) but also as his first setting out, staied he was by the inundation, and swelling of the riuer *Tiberis*. Attherwenie miles ende likewise, he found the high way choaked and stopped up against him with the ruines of certaine houses fallen downe.

9

With like inconsiderate rashnes, albeit no man doubted but that in good policy, the warre ought to have been protracted, because the enimie was distressed as well with famine, as the streight wherein he was pent, yet resolved hee with all speed, to hazard the fortune of the field and to trie it out by fight; as one, either impatient of longer thought and pensiveness hoping that before the coming of VITELLIVS most part of the businesse, might be dispatched, or else because hee could not rule his souldiers calling so hotely upon him to give battaile. Yet was not he present in that conflict but staied behind at *Bryxellum*. And verily in three several skirmishes

skirmishes, which were not great, to wit, upon the Alpes, about *Placentia* and at *Castoris*, * (a place so called) he wan the victorie: but in the last battaile of all, (which was the greatest) he lost the day, and was by a treacherous practise vanquished, namely, when upon hope of a partly pretended, as if the souldiers had been brought out of the Campe to treat of conditions of peace: sodainly and unlooked for, even as they * saluted one another, there was no remedie but fight it out they must. And straight wayes in a melancholy, he conceived a resolution to make himselfe away (as many are of opinion and not without cause) rather for shame, than he would not be thought to persevere in the maintenance of his soveraine dominion with so great jeopardie of the State and losse of men, than upon any dispaire or distrust of his forces. For still there remained a puissant armie whole and entier, which he had detained with him for tryall of better fortune: and another poure was coming out of *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Mesia*. Neither verily were they discomforted so much daunted and dejected, but that, for to be revenged of this disgrace and shamefull foile, ready they were of themselves, and alone without helpe of others, to undergoe any hard adventure whatsoever.

10 In this warre served mine own father SVETONIVS LENIS, in qualitie of a Tribune of the thirteenth Legion, and by degree a Senator * of the seconde rancke. He was wont afterwards very often to report that OTHO even when hee lived a private person, detested all civile warres so farre forth, that as one related at the table the ende of CASSIVS and BRVTVS, he fell a quaking and trembling therat. Also, that he never would have beene GALLAS concurrent, but that he confidently thought, the quarrell might have ended without warre. Well then, upon a new accident incited he was to the contempt of this present life, even by the example of a common and ordinary souldier: who reporting this overthrow of the armie, when he could of no man have credite, but was charged one while with the lie, another while for his feare and cowardise (as who was run away out of the battaile) fell upon his owne sword at OTTAVVS feete. At which sight, hee cryed out aloud and said, *That he would no more cast so brave men and of so good desert into danger*. Having exhorted therefore his owne brother, his brothers sonne & every one of his freinds severally, to make what shift they could for themselves, after hee had embraced & kissed them ech one, he sent them all away: And retrying himselfe into a secret towne, two letters he wrote full of consolation unto his sister, as also to MESSALLINA, NEROES widow, whom he had purposed to wed, recommending the reliques of his bodie and his memoriall. And looke what Epistles soever hee had in his custody, he burnt them all, because they should breed no man any danger losse, or displeasure with the conquerour. And out of that store of treasure which hee had about him, he dealt monie to his domestical seruitours.

11 Being now thus prepared and fully bent to die, perceiving by occasion of some hurlyburly, which while he made delay, arose, that * those who began to slip away & depart, were (by his souldiers) rebuked as traitors & perforce detained. Let vs quoth he, prolong our life yet this one night. Upon which words and no more, hee charged that no violence should be offered to any, but suffering his bedchamber (dore) to stand wide open until it was late in the evening, he permitted all that wold to have acceffe unto him. After this having allayed his thirst with a draught of cold water he caught up two * daggers, & when he had tryed how sharpe the points of them both were, and layed one of them vnder his * pillow; & so the dore being fast shut

* Tacitus collecteth it *Castorum*, or rather *Castorum* of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

* By the name of *Commisum*: in *ipsa conspectu* *salutis* *ipse*. Some read in *ipsa conspectu* *ipse* as they were in consultation.

* Or Colonel, * *Angusticlavus*.

* i. The Senators.

* Or rapier
* Or bed-head
he

* For *Fabius Pictor* and *Annius Cecina* were come with a power out of *Germanie* into *Italie*.

* By *Otho* & the Senate.

* With which the 17th cohort (set for out of the Colonie *Ostia* before to *Rome* should be armed.

* The Pretorians or guard Souldiers.

* Who to the number of four score, with many Lances were at supper that night with *Otho* and by the souldiers suspected to have plotted his death.

* Or *Mars*.

* *Gallus*.

* The infernal God so named *quasi dives* is rich as *Pluto*, of *Plutus* riches because all things arise out of the earth and fall into it againe.

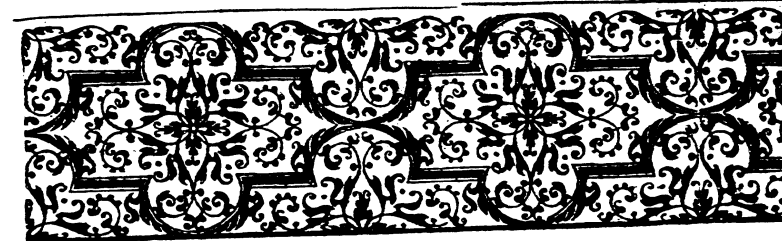
he tooke his rest and slept most soundly. Wakening then at last about day light and not before, with one onely thrust under his left pap he stabbed himselfe. And whē at the first grone that he gave, his seruants brake in, hee one while concealing and another while discovering the wound, yeelded up his virall breath; and * quicklie (according as he had given charge before) was brought to his funerall fire: in the yeere of his age 38. and the 95 day of his Empire.

*For feare his head should be severed from his bodie &c. A, V, C, 822.

*Or counterfeited cap of false haire.

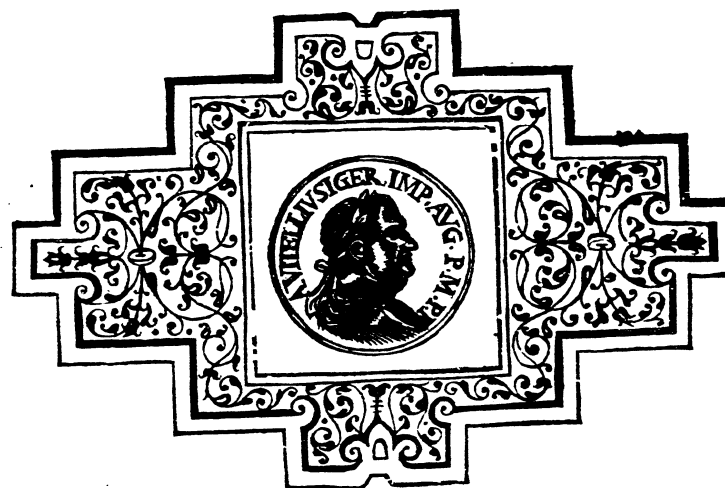
12 Vnto so great a mind & generous courage of OTHO, neither was his person habite answerable: For he was by report of a meane and low stature: feeble feet he had besides, and as crooked shanks. As for his manner of attire, as fine and nice he was well neere as any woman: his bodie plucked and made smooth; wearing by reason of thin haire a * perrucke, so fitted and fastened to his head, that no man there was, but would haue taken it for his owne. Nay his very face he was wont euery day to shave and besmeere all ouer with (a) soked bread. Which devise he tooke to at first, when the downe began to bud forth, because he would neuer haue a beard. It is said moreover, that many a time hee openlie celebrated the diuine seruice and sacred rites of Isis, in a religious vestiment of linnen. VVhereby, I would thinke it came to passe, that his death nothing at all consonant to his life was the more wondered at. Manie of his souldiers who were present about him, when with plentifull teares they had kissed his hands and feete dead as he lay; and cōmended him with all for a most valiant man, and the onely Emperour that ever was, presently in the place, and not farre from his funerall fire, killed themselves. Many of them also, who were absent, hearing of the newes of his end, for very greife of heart ran with their weapons one at another to death. Finally most men who in his life time cursed and detested him, now when he was dead highly praised him: so as it came to be a conimon and rise speech abroad. That GALBA was by him slaine: not so much

for that he affected to be Soueraigne Ruler as because he desired to restore the State of the Republike, and recover the freedome that was lost.



THE HISTORIE OF Aulus Vitellius, vvritten by

Caius Suetonius Tranquillus.



AS touching the Originall and beginning of the VITELLI, Chap. 1
some write this, others that; and all as contrary as may be:
reporting it partly to be auncient and noble; and in part now
start up and obscure, yea and very base and beggerly. Which
I would suppose to have hapned by meānes of the flatterers
and backbiters both, of VITELLIUS the Emperour: but
that I see there is sometime variance and diversity about the
very condition of that family. A little booke there is extant of one (a) Q. EULO-
GIUS his making, written unto Q. VITELLIUS, Questor to AUGUSTUS C. E-
SAR of sacred memorie: wherein is contained thus much, That the Vitellij descen-
ded from FAUNUS K. of the Aborigines and Lady VITELLIA (who in many places
was

Exat Q. E-

legi, &c.

was

was worshipped for a Godde^(f) reigned over all Latium: That the off-spring remaining of them, removed out of the Sabines Country to Rome, and were taken into the ranke of the Patritij: That many monuments giving testimony of this race, continued a long time, to wit, the high way VITELLIAREACTING FROM * IANICULUM to the sea: like wife a Colonie of the same name, the defence and keeping whereof against the Equiculi, they in times past required, with the strength and puiſſance of their owne family: Moreover, that afterwards in the time of the Samnites warre, when a garrison was sent * into Apulia, some of the Vitellij remained behind at Nuceria: and their progenie many a yeere after returned to Rome and recovered their Senatours degree.

Contrariwise, more Authors there be, who have left upon record, that their Stock-father was a Libertine. CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others as well as hee, doe write That the same man was also a very * Cobler: whose sonne having gotten more by * chaffering (a) at a price for the confiscate goods of men * condemned, and by games arising of (a) undertaking mens suites, of a common naughty pack, the daughter of one ANTIOCHUS a Baker, begat a sonne, who proved afterwards a Gentleman of Rome. This dissonance of opinions I leave indifferent for men to beleve which they will. But, to the purpose; PUBLIUS VITELLIVS borne in Nuceria, (whether he were of that auncient lineage, or descended from base parents and Grandfathers) a Romaine Gentleman doubtlesse, and a Procurator under AUGUSTUS of his affaires, left behind him foure sonnes, men of qualitie all and right honourable persons; bearing also their Fathers * surname: and distinguished onely by their forenames, AULUS, QUINTUS, PUBLIUS and LUCIUS. AULUS died even when he was Consull: which dignity he had entred upon with DOMITIUS the Father of NERO CÆSAR: a man very sumptuous otherwise in his house and much spoken of for his magnificent suppers. QUINTUS was displaced from his Senatours estate, what time as by the motion and perswasion of TIBERIUS there passed an Act: That such Senatours as were thought insufficient should be culled out and removed. PUBLIUS a Companion and Dependand of GERMANICUS, accused and convicted C. N. PISO his * mortall enemy, and the man who murthered him: And after the honourable place of Prætour, being apprehended among the Complices of SEIANUS Conspiracie and committed to the keeping of his * brother, with a penknife cut his owne veins: and after that, not so much repenting that hee sought his owne death, as overcome with the earnest intreatie of his friends about him, suffred his wounds to be bound up and cured: but in the same * imprisonment hee died of sicknesse. LUCIUS, after his Consulship being * Provost of Syria: with passing fine slights and cunning deuises trained and entised forth ARTABANUS King of the Parthians, not onely to parly with him, but also to worship and adore the Standard, of the Romaine Legions. Soone after, together with CLAUDIUS the Emperour, he bare two ordinarie Consulates, one immediatly upon another, and the Censureship also: likewise the charge of the whole Empire, whiles CLAUDIUS was absent in the expedition of Britaine, he sustained: an harmlesse person; active and industrious: howbeit blemished with a very bad name, for the love (b) he bare unto a Libertine woman: whose spetle mixed with honey he used as a * remedie (and that not closely and seldome but every day and openly) washing therewith his * pipes and throat. He was besides of a wonderfull glavering nature and given to flatteries. He it was, that first by his example brought up the order to * adore CAIUS CÆSAR as a God, what time as being returned out of Syria, he durst not come

* Or canſey.
* An hill on the other ſide of Tiberius, ad-oyning to Rome by a bridge.
* B. the Romaines.

* Suborem veteramentarium.
* Or proſcrib'd and cut-law'd:
* Sellionibus & cegularibus.

* Which as O-mithus ſaith was Nepos A.V.C. 785

* Of Germanicus Cæſar: A.V.C. 773

* Aulus, A.V.C. 788
* Or reſtraint of liberty and duſſeſſe.
A.V.C. 788
* Or Præſident
A.V.C. 787
796
800
805
797

* A Colliſion.
* Arterias.
* Or ſalute after a devout manner.
* Caligula.

come into his preſence otherwiſe than with his head * covered, turning himſelfe about, and then falling downe proſtrate before him at his feet. And becauſe he would omit no artificiall meanes to curry favour with CLAUDIUS, a Prince ſo (b) addicted to his wife & freed men, he made ſuit unto MESALLINA, as if it had beene for the greateſt gift ſhee could beſtow upon him, to doe him the grace that he might have the D'offing of her ſhoes: and the (c) right foote pompe which he had drawne off, hee caried in his boſome continually betweene his gowne and inward clothes: yea, and many times would kiſſe the ſame. The golden images alſo of NARCISSUS and PALLAS hee reverently honoured among his domeſticall Gods. This was a word likewiſe of his, when he did congratulate CLAUDIUS at the exhibiting of the * Secular plaies, *Sep ſacras*. i. Many a time may you this doe. He died of a (d) paſſey, the very next day, after it took him: leaving behind him two ſonnes, whom SEXTILIA his wife a woman for her vertue highly approved, and of no meane parentage deſcended, bare unto him. Them he ſaw both, Conſuls, and that in one yeere, yea and the ſame throughout; for that the younger ſucceeded the elder for fixe moneths: When hee was departed this life, the Senate graunted unto him the honour of a publick funerall: a ſtatue likewiſe before the Roſtra with this Inſcription, *Pietatis immobilis erga principem*. i. * Of conſtant devotion and irremoveable pietie to his Prince.

* Which be the reuerent geſtures vi'd in worſhipping the Gods Sec. Plin. l. 38. cap. 3.

* So called, becauſe they were ſolennized but once in an hundred, or an hundred & x. yeeres A.V.C. 768

3 AULUS VITELLIVS the ſonne of LUCIUS, and Emperour, was borne the * eighth day before the Calends of October: or, as ſome will have it, the * ſeventh day before the Ides of September, when DRUSUS CÆSAR and NORBANUS FLACCUS were Conſuls. His * Nativity foretold by the Aſtologers, his parents had in ſuch horrour; that his father endeavoured alwaies what he could, that no Province whiles he lived ſhould be committed unto him: and his mother what time he was both ſent unto the Legions and ſaluted * Lord Generall, ſtraight-waies lamented as if then he had beene undone for ever. His childhood & flower of youth hee ſpent at Caprea among the Strumpets and Caramites that TIBERIUS kept there: Himſelfe noted alwaies with the ſurname of * SPINTRIA, was thought alſo by ſuffring the abuſe of his owne body to have beene the cauſe of his fathers riſing and advancement.

* Sabendi (a man).
* 24 September
* 7th, Of September.
* Or fortune by the Horſcope of his Nativity.
* Or Emperour
* A deuiler of new faſhions & formes of filthie vncleanneſſe

4 All the time alſo of his age enſuing ſtained as he was with all manner of reproachable villanies, ſo hee caried a principall ſway above others in the Court, grown into familiar acquaintance with CAIUS for his love to chariot running, and with CLAUDIUS for his affection to dice-play: but in greater favour he was a good deale with NERO, both in the ſelfe ſame regards afore-ſaid, as alſo for this eſpeciall demerite, in that being preſident at the ſolemnity called *Neronæum*, when NERO was deſirous to ſtrive for the priſe among the Harpers & Muſicians, but yet durſt not promiſe ſo to do, (notwithſtanding all the people called inſtantly upon him) and thereupon went out of the Theater: hee pretending that hee was ſent Embaſſadour unto him from the people perſiſting ſtill in their earneſt requeſt, had called him back and ſo brought him in the end to be entreated.

5 Through the favourable indulgence therefore of three Emperours, being ad-vaunched not onely to right honourable offices of State, but alſo to as high Sacred all dignities, he managed after all theſe the Proconſulate of Africk, & executed the charge of ſurveying and ſupravizing the publick works: but with mind and reputation both, far unlike. For in his Province he demeaned himſelfe for two yeeres

together with singular *innocencie* and integrity; as who after his brother succeeded in his stead, staid there still in quality of his Lieutenant. But in his office within the Citie, he was reported to have secretly stolen away, the oblations, gifts and ornaments of the Temples; to have embecilled and chaunged some of them; yea, and in lieu of gold and silver to have foisted in Tinn and Copper.

6

* Deceased:

Hee tooke to wife *PETRONIA* the daughter of one that had beene Confull, by whom hee had a sonne with one eye named *PETRONIANUS*, Him being by his * mother ordained her heire upon condition that he were freed once out of his fathers power, he manumised in deede: but soone after (as it was thought) killed: having charged him besides with parricidie, and pretending withall, that the poison which was provided to worke that mischief; hee upon remorse of conscience had drunke himselfe. After this, he wedded *GALERIA FUNDANA*, whose father had beene Pretour: and of her body also begat children of both sexes: but the male child had such an impediment of stutting and stammering, that little better he was than dumbe and tonguelesse.

7

* Venetie, which
Gaibalikewise
with them fa-
voured.
A.V.C. 821

* Forin such,
tenants dwelt,
whereas the
Lord himselfe
kept beneath,
* Tooke for
reast.

By *GALBA*, sent he was contrary to all expectation into the Low-Countries of *Germanie*: furthered as it is thought by the voice and favour of *T. VINIUS* a man in those daies most mighty; and unto whom long before, he had beene wonne by favourizing the * faction (a) unto which they both were equally affected: but that *GALBA* professed plainly, that none were lesse to be feared than those who thought of nothing but their victuals onely, and that his greedy appetite and hungry belly might bee satisfied and filled with the plenteous store that the Province did yeeld. So that evident it was to every man, that he chose him in contempt rather, than upon any speciall grace. This is for certaine knowne, that when he was to goe forth, he wanted provision for his journey by the way; and for the maintenance of his family was driven to those hard shifts and extremities, that minding up his wife and children (whom he left at *Rome*) in a little upper * lodging that hee * rented: and let out his owne dwelling house for the rest of the yeere: yea, and tooke from his mothers care a pearle, which he laid to gage: and all for to defray the charges of that voyage. As for a number verily of his Creditours, who waited for him as ready to stay his passage: and among them, the *Sinuessanes* and *Formians*, whose publick imposts, tollage, and renewes he had intercepted and converted to his owne use, he could not be rid of; but by terrifying them with an action of the case: serving one of them, and namely a *Libertine* (who very eagerly demanded a debt) with proesse upon an action of batterie, as if he had stricken him with his heele; and would not withdraw the suit before he had extorted from him fiftiethousand Sesterces. In his coming toward the Campe, the armie maliciously bent against the Emperour, and ready to intertaine any revolt and change of State, willingly and with open armes received him, as a gift of the Gods presented unto them from heaven above; the sonne of one thrice Confull; a man in the vigour and strength of his yeeres; of a gentle disposition besides, and of a frank and prodigall heart. Which opinion and perswasion, being of old conceived and settled in mens heads, *VITELLIVS* had augmented by some fresh proofes lately given of himselfe: kissing all the way as hee went along every meane common Souldiour that hee met: so courteous and affable above all measure, to the very mulitiers and wayfaring passengers, in every Inn and baiting place, that he would

in

in a morning betimes aske them one by one, whether they had yet broken their fast? and shew unto them even by his belching, that hee had beene at his breakfast already.

8

Now when hee was entred once into the Camp, no suit denied he to any man: nay, of his owne accord hee tooke off their marks of ignominie who stood in disgrace; dispensed with those that were obnoxious to the Lawes for wearing poore and sullied garments; and forgave condemned persons their punishments. Whereupon, before one moneth was fully come and gone, without all respect either of day or time, when the very evening was now shooting in, suddainly by the Souldiours called forth he was out of his bed-chamber: and clad as he was in his domesticall and home-apparell, saluted by the name of *Imperator*, and caried round about through the most frequented and populous * townes, holding in his hand the naked sword of *IULIUS* (Dictator) of famous memorie: which beeing taken out of the temple of *Mars*, was at the first gratulation presented by one unto him. Neither returned he into the * Pretorium, before the dining room was on a light fire, by occasion of the chimney there, where it first caught. And then verily, when all besides were amazed and in great perplexity upon this adverte and ominous accident; *Be of good cheere*, quoth hee, *it hath shined faire upon us*: and no other speech at all made hee unto his Souldiours: After this, when the armie also of the higher Province, consented now by this time with the other, (that armie meane which had revolted before from *GALBA* & sided with the Senate): the surname of *GERMANICUS* generallie offred unto him hee gladly accepted; the addition of *AUGUSTUS* he put off; and the stile of *CÆSAR* hee utterly for ever refused.

A.V.C. 822

* Vico, or
street: of Colo-
nia Agrippina
where all this
was done, as
some write.
* The L. Ge-
nerals lodgings.

9

And soone after, when newes came unto him that *GALBA* was slaine; having settled the State of *Germanie*, he divided his forces thus; sending one part thereof * before, against *OTH*; and minding to leade the rest himselfe. Vnto the armie which was sent before, there hapned a fortunate and luckie signe: For on the right hand, all on a suddaine flew an Eagle toward them: and when shee had fetched a compasse round about the Standerds and Ensignes, hovered softly before them as they marched on the way. Contrariwise, as himselfe removed and set forward, the Statues on horseback, erected in many places for him, all at once suddainly brake their legges and tumbled downe: and the guirland of Lawrell, which most devoutly he had done about (his head) fell from it into a running river. Within a while after, as he sat iudicially upon the Tribunall to minister Iustice at * *Vienna*, a Cock first settled upon his shoulder, and anone perched upon his very head. Vpon which prodigious sights, ensued an event correspondent thereto. For the Empire which by his Lieutenants was confirmed and established unto him, he by himselfe was not able to hold.

* Under the
conduct of *Fab-*
ius Pales by
the Alpes and
of *Cæcina*, over
the Apennine.

* In Fraunce
within the pro-
vince *Narbon-*
ensis.

10

Of the victorie before *BEBRIACUM* and the death of *OTH*, he heard whiles hee was yet in *Gaul*: and without delay, whosoever belonged to the Pretorian Cohorts, hee by vertue of one edict called and discharged all, for the most daun-

* In betraying
Gallath in
Soveraigne.
* Or Tribunes.

gerous precedent and example that they had * given, commaunding them to yeeld up their armour into the * Marshalls hands. As for those hundred & twenty, who so

X 3

Suppli.

Supplications exhibited unto OTHO hee had found, such I meane as claimed rewards for their good service in killing GALBA, hee gave commaundement they should be sought out and executed every one. A worthy beginning I assure you, and a magnificent: such as might give good hope of an excellent Prince, had hee not menaged all matters else, according to his owne naturall disposition and the course of his former life, rather than respecting the maiestie of an Emperour. For no sooner put he himselfe in his iourney, but he rode through the midst of Cities in Triumphant wife: and passed along the great rivers in most delicate barges, garnished and adorned with Coronets of sundry sorts: Faring at his table most sumptuously and served with all manner of dainty Viands: observing no discipline either of household servitour or of Souldiour: but turning the outrages, villanies and licentious pranks of them all to a iest: who, not content with their ordinary diet allowed and provided for them in every place where they came at the common charges of the State; looke what slaves or Aliens it pleased them, they manumised and made free: but paid as many as withstoode them with whipping cheere, blowes, knocks, bloudie wounds oftentimes yea, and otherwhiles with present death. When hee came into the fields where the * battaile was fought:

* Before Briti.
 * Some con-
 clude y former
 p: iode heare,
 and begina
 new sentence
 thus: *Peri-
 tate* Or, with
 like vanitie &c.
 * M. Orlonius,
 * T. larche.
 * Or Maufolm
 * Or wake.
 * Or among
 the Standards
 and other En-
 signes: *interfig-
 ra et Exilla,*

and some of his traine loathed and abhorred the putrified corruption of the dead bodies, he stuck not to harten and encourage them with this cursed speech: *That an Enemy slain had a very good smell, but a Citizen farre better.* Howbeit to qualifie and allay the strong savour and sent that they cast, hee poured downe his throat before them all, exceeding great store of strong wine, and dealt the same plentifully about, * with as much vanity as insolent pride. When he beheld the Stone, under which OTHO lay intred, with an Inscription * in his memorial: *Worthy was he of such a monument,* quoth hee. And the very same dagger where- with he had killed himselfe, he sent to COLEIN for to be dedicated unto MARS. Certes, upon the top of the *Apennine Hill*, hee celebrated a sacrifice, with a * *Vigil* all night long.

II

At length hee entred the Citie with warlike sound of trumpet, in his coate-armour, and with a sword girt unto him, among * Ensignes, Banners and Flags: his followers and dependants clad in militarie cassocks, and the armour of all his fellow Souldiours discovered in open view. Thus neglecting more and more from time to time, all Law of God and man, upon the very disastrous day (a) *Aliensis*, he was installed in the Sacredotall dignity of High Priest. Hee ordained, that the solemn assembly * for Election of Magistrates should be held every tenth yeere; and himselfe bee perpetual dictatour. And to the end that no man might doubt what patterne hee chose to follow for government of Common-weale, calling a frequent number of the publick Priests about him in the middle of *Mars* field, hee sacrificed to the Spirit and ghost of NERO: and at a solemn feast openly put the Harper in minde singing as he did to his great contentment, for to say somewhat also of * DOMITIVS (b): And as he began to chaunt *NEROES* Canticles, he was the first that leapt for ioy and clapped his hands withall.

12

Having in this manner begun his Empire, a great part thereof he administred no other wise, than according to the advise & pleasure of the basest Stage-plaiers and

* Or Folk
 more.

* *Nero,*

and chariotiers that could be found: but especially of *ASIATICVS*, a freed man of his owne. This *ASIATICVS* when he was a very youth had in mutuall filthines with him abused his owne bodie: and afterwards lothing that abominable sinne, runne his way. Now, finding him once at *Puteoli* selling of a certaine drinke made of * water and Vineger; first he laied him by the heeles, and hung a paire of fetters at his feete: but forthwith * loosened him and intertained him as his derling *againe*. After which a second time being offended with his contumacy & malapert * stubbornesse: hee sold him to one of these common fencers that went from market to market, and by occasion that he was vpon a time put of to the last place in a sword fight for to play his prizes: at unwares he privily stole him away: and no sooner was hee gone into his province but he manumised him. The first day of his Empire, as he sat at supper, hee dubbed him knight of *Rome*: and gave him the golden Ring: notwithstanding that the very morning before, when all the souldiers intreated in his behalfe, he detested so foule a blot to dissteine and discredite the worshiptfull degree of knighthood.

13

But being given most of all to excessiue bellie cheere and crueltie; he devided repast into three meales every day at the least, and sometime into foure, to wit, Breakfast, Dinner, Supper and * *rere-bankets*; able to beare them all very well, * After supper: hee used to (a) vomit so ordinarily. Now his manner was to send word that hee would breake his fast with one (freind) dine with another, &c. and all in one day. And everie one of these refections, when it stood them in least, cost * 40000 *Sesterces*. But the most notorious and memorable suppet above all other was that, which his brother made for a welcome at his first comming (to *Rome*) at which by report were, served up to the Table before him two thousand severall dishes of fish the most daintie & choifest that could be had, & seven thousand of foule. And yet, even this (as sumptuous as it was) himselfe surpassed at the dedication of that * platter, which for the huge capacitie therof he vied to call the targuet of *Minerva*. and *Ανδρα Πόλις* i. the theild of the Cities * *protectresse*. In this he hudled and blended together the livers of (b) * *Gilthead*s: the delicate braines of *Pheasants* & *Peacocks*: the tongues of the Birds *Phoenicopterie*: the tender small guts of *Sea-lampries* fet as farre as from the *Carpathian* sea and the straights of *Spaine*, by his Captaines over *Gallies*. And, as a man that had not onely a wide throat of his owne to devour much, but also as greedie a stomach to feede both unreasonably and also grossly of what ever came next hand, he could not so much as at anie sacrifice whensoever, or in any iourney wheresoever forbear but amonge the altars snatch up by and by the flesh, the parched come also and meale even from the very hearth, and eate the same: yea and at every victualling house by the way side, fall to viands piping hote, yet reaking and not cooled one iote; and not spare so much as meats dressed the day before and halfe eaten already.

14

Being forward enough to put to death and punish any man, what cause soever was pretended; Noble men, his schoole fellowes, and play-fetters in times past, (whom by al faire meanes & flattering allurements he had enticed & drawn to the societie as it were of the Empire with him) by sundrie sorts of fraud & trechery, he killed & one above the rest he made away with poyson, which he raught unto him with his owne hand in a draught of cold water, that he called for lying in a fit of an

* *Pofcam, cry-
craton.*
 * *Staticque fol-
71.*
 * *Exercitatem ce
furacitatem de
theuerie,*
 * *In manner of
count banks.*

* *3125. 1. 500.*
 ling.

* Or charger.
 * *Minerva*
 * *Scorvum,*
 * *Per nauarchos*
 actruemus
 Hen dia dno.

* As our Scri-
uaries and At-
turneyes do, for
other men.

ague. As Vlturers, * takers of bonds and obligations, and publicanes, who ever at any time had demanded of him either at Rome debt, or by the way as he travailed toll and custome, hee hardly spared one. And one of them, whom even as he came to salute him and doe his dutie, he had delivered over to the executioner for to suffer death, hee called straightwaies backe againe: and when all that were by, praised him for his clemencie, he commanded the said partie to bee killed before his face, saying with all, *That he would feede his eyes*. At the execution of another, he caused two of his sonnes to beare him companie; for nothing in the world, but because they presumed to intreat for their fathers life. Ther was besides a gentlemā of Rome who being haied away to take his death, cryed alowd unto him, sir I have made you my heire. Him he compelled to bring forth the writing tables containing his last will: and so loone as he red therein that a freed man of the Testatours was nominated fellow heire with him, he commanded both Maister and man to be killed. Certaine Commoners also, for this onely that they had raied alowd uppon the faction of the * watchet liverie, he slew: being thus conceited, that in daring so to doe, they had him in contempt and hoped for a day. Yet was he to none more spitefully bent than to the wiseards and Astrologers. Was any of them presented and enformed against? he made no more a do, but without hearing what he could say for himselfe, bereaved him of his life. Netled he was and exasperate against them, for that after an edict of his, wherein he gave commandement that all iudiciall Astrologers should depart out of Rome and Italie before the first of October: presently, there was a writing or libell set up in open place to this effect, that the * Chaldeans made this Edict, as followeth, *RONVM FACTVM E*. WE GIVE WARNING BY THESE REPRESENTS, VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDIS OF THE SAID OCTOBER, HE BE NOT * EXTANT IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER. Suspected also hee was to be consenting unto his owne mothers death, as if hee had straightly forbidden that any food should be ministred unto her lying sicke: induced thereto by one * CATTA, a wife woman, (in whom hee rested as in an Oracle.) That then and not before, hee should siture in his Emperiall Throne and continue very long, in case hee overliued his mother. And others report, how his mother her selfe wery of the present state, and fearing what evill dayes were toward, obtained at her sonnes hand poison, and that without any great intreatie.

15

In the eight moneth of his Empire, the armies of MAESTIA* both the one and the other, as also at Pannonia revolved from him: likewise, of the forces beyond sea, those of Iurie and of Syria, and some of them sware allegiance unto VESPASIAN who was present among them. To retaine therefore the love & favour of all other men, he cared not what largesses he made both in publike & private, beyond all measure. Hee mustred also and levied souldiers within the City, with this covenant and faire* condition, That all voluntaries should by vertue of his promise, have not onelie their discharge from service after victorie, but also the availes & fees due unto olde souldiers for serving out their full time, But afterwards, as the enemy came hotely uppon him both by land and sea, on the one side he opposed his brother with the flecte and younge untrained souldiers, together with a crewe of sworde fencers; on the other, what forces hee had

* Or offer,

* Or first day,
* Or to bee
se: ne
* Not in Rome
and Italy, only,
as before he
denounced va-
ro them
* Or by a wife
woman of that
country where
the people
Catti inhabit,
in Germanie
* Marsum be-
cause there
was the high &
the low.

* Of Chariotry-
uers: remota fac-
tione.

* Astrologers

had about *Bebriacum* and the Capitaines there: And in everie place, being their dis-
cōfited in open feild or privily betrayed, he capitulated & covenanted with FLAVI-
VS SABINVS brother of VESPASIAN, (to give up all) reserving his owne life,
& a 100. millions of sesterces. And forthwith upon the veriestaires of the Palace
professing openly before a frequent assemblie of his souldiers; how willing he was
to resigne up that emperiall dignity which hee had received against his will, when
they all gaine said it, hee put of the matter for that instant; and but one night be-
tweene, even the next morning by breake of day, hee came downe in poore and
simple array to the *Rosstra*; where, with many a teare, he recited the same words out
of a little written skrow. Now, as the souldiers & people both, interrupted him a se-
cond time and exhorted him not to cast downe his heart, promising also with their
utmost endeavour, and striving a vie who should do best to assist him. hee tooke
courage againe and plucked up his spirits: So that now * fearing nothing at all hee
came with a sodaine power and violently chased SABINVS and the rest of the
FLAVIANS into the Capitoll: & there having set on fire the Temple of IUPITER
OPTIMVS MAXIMVS vanquished & slew them: whiles himself beheld both the
fight & the fire out of TIBERIVS his house, * sitting ther at meat & making good
cheere. Not long after repenting what hee had done, and laying all the fault vpon
others, hee called a publicke assembly: where hee sware & compelled all the rest
to take the same oth, *That he and they would respect nothing in the world before the
common peace*. Then loosened he his * dagger (a) from his side, and raught it first to
the Consul, the upon his refusal to the other Magistrates; & anon to the Senatours
one after another. But when none of them all would receive it, hee departed, as if
hee ment to bestow it in the Chappell of Concord. Now when some cryed out
unto him. *That himselfe was Concord*, hee came backe againe, and protested,
that hee not onely retained still the blade with him, but also accepted the surname
of Concord.

16

Hereupon hee mooved and advised the Senate, to send Embassadours together
with the vestall virgins to craue peace, or else some longer time to Consult vpon
the point. The next morrow, as he stood expecting an answer, word was brought
unto him by his espall, that the enemy approached. Immediately therfore shut-
ting himselfe close within a * bearing chaire, accompanied with two persons onely
his * baker and his Cooke, secretly hee tooke his way to the Avenine (hill) and
his fathers house: minding from thence to make an escape into Campania. Soone
after, uppon a flying and headlesse rumour *That peace was obtained*, he suffred him
selfe to be brought backe to the Palace. Where, finding all places solitary and a-
bandoned: seeing those also to flinke from him and slip away who were with him,
he did about him a * girdle full of golden peeces of coine, and fled into the Por-
ters lodge, having first tied a ban-dog (a) at the doore & set against it the bedstead
and bedding thereto.

17

By this time had the Avantcurriers of the (FLAVIANS) maine armie broken
into the Palace: and meeting noe bodie searched as the manner is, everie blind
corner. By them was hee plucked out of his lurking hole: and when they asked
who hee was? (for they knewe him not) and where, upon his knowledge VI-
TELLIVS was: he shifted them of with a lie: After this beeing, once knownen,
hee

* Nil iam
metuens, some
read metuentes,
to this sense,
that he chased
them fearing
no such thing.
* The faction
of Flavius Vesp-
asianus.
* For ye must
remember how
much hee was
given to gour-
mandise
* Pugilum or
rapier a pun-
do: qu a punctioni
potius quam ca-
sim vulneras.

* Or Liſter,
* that made his
centry pastry
works & sweet
meates: meete
groo: as to ac-
compaigne such
a gutten
* Or bandeler
* 15 Shilling
peeces and
better.
* Or the vaward

hee increased hard (as if he had somewhat to deliver concerning the life and safetie of *VESPASIAN*) to be kept sure in the mean season, though it were in some prison: & delisted not untill such time as having his hands pinnioned fast at his backe, an halter cast about his necke, and his apparell torrie from his bodie, he was haled halfe naked into the * *Forum*. Among many skomefull indignities offered un to him both in deede and word throughout the Spacious street * *sacra via* from one end to the other, whiles they drew his head backward by the bush of his haire (as condemned malefactours are wont to be serued) and set a swordes point under * his chinne. And all to the end he might shew his face and not hold it down: whiles some pelted him with dung and durtie mire, others called him with open mouth * *Incendiarie* and * *Patinarium*: and some of the common sort twitted him also with faults and deformities of his bodie: (For, of stature hee was beyond measure tall: a red face he had, occasioned for the most part by swilling in wine, and a grand fat paunch besides: hee limped somewhat also by reason that one of his thighes was enfeebled with the rush of a chariot against it, what time he serued *CATVS* as his henxman at a Chariot running) and at the last upon the staires *GERONIAS* with many a small stroke all to mangled he was and killed in the end: and so from thence drawne with a drag into the River *Tiberis*.

18 Thus perished he with his brother and sonne together, in the 57. yeere of his age. Neither falsified he their coniecture who had fore told him, that by the prodigious signe which befell unto him (as we have said) at *Vienna*, nothing else was portended, but that he should fall into the hands of some (a) Frenchman. For, dispatched he was by one *ANTONIVS PRIMVS* a Capitaine of the adverse party: who being borne at *Tolosa*, was in his childhood furnamed * *BACCVS* which in the French tongue signifieth a Cockes-bill.

* Or market place.

* *Sacra via*, reach th from the palace to the *Forum*.

* As a gag.

* Or firebrand because he burnt the Capitol.

* Or Platter Knight, for his gormandize & image platter afore said.

* *Caligula*.

A.V.C.822.

* Or Becco a beak in Eng.

lish, which may

somewhat con-

firme the lear-

ned coniecture

of him, who

guesseeth that

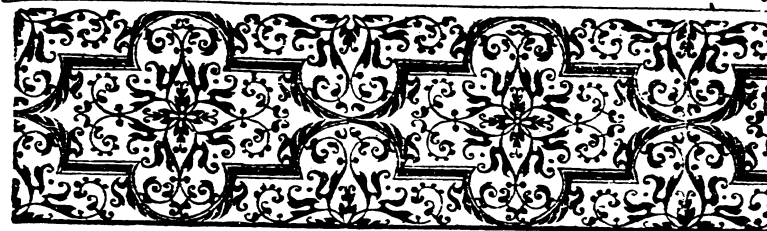
both our an-

cient nation

and language

were extract

from *Gaul*.



THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Vespasianus Augustus,

written by *Caius Suetonius Tran-*
quillus.



THe Empire standing thus a long time in doubtfull termes, unsettled & wandering (as it were) by occasion of the rebellious broils & bloody slaughter of three princes: the *F/a* * *Galba, Otho,*
u *Vitellius,* at length tooke into their hands & established: a house I must needs say, of obscure descent and not able to shew any pedigree and images of auncetours to commend their race; howbeit, such as the common weale had no cause to dislike and bee ashamed of; although it be well knowne that Domitian abidd condigne punishment for his avarice and crueltie. *TITVS FLAVIVS PATRONIANVS*, a burgesse of the free borrough Reate, and a Centurion, siding in time of the ciuill warre, with *POMPEIVS* (but whether he serued voluntarie or was called forth and prest, it is uncertaine) fledde * *Or, after the*
out of the battaile in *PHARSALIA* and went home to his house. Where *battaile, fled*
afterwardes, having obtained his pardon and discharge from warre-
fare, *from him.*

fare, he became a bailife under the Bankers and money changers to gather up their monies. This mans sonne furnamed SABINVS, nothing martiall nor skilfull in feates of armes (although some write, that he had beene a principall leader of the formost Cohorts: and others that whilest he led certaine companies, hee was acquitted from his militarie oth by * occasion of sicklinesse) came to be a *Publicane in *Asia*, and gathered the custome or impost (a) Quadragesima for the state. And there remained certaine Images which the Cities in that province erected for him with this title and superscription, *καλῶς τελευτῶντι*. i. *For him that was a good and faithfull *Publicane*. After this he put foorth mony to vsurie among the *Helvetians*, where he ended his life, leaving behinde him his wife *POLLA VESPASIA*, and two children which he had by her. The elder of which, named *SABINVS*, was advanced to the provostship of the Cittie: the younger called *VESPASIANVS*, attained to the dignitie Imperiall: This dame *POLLA*, borne at *Nursia* and descended of worshipfull parentage, was the daughter of *VESPASIVS POLLIO*, one that had beene a *militarie Tribune thrice, and *provost Marshal of the Campe besides: and sister to a man of Senators degree, and promoted to the dignitie of Prætor. There is a place moreover even at this day fixe miles from *Rome*, (as men goe to *Spoletum* from *Nursia*) upon the hill top, bearing the name of *Vespasia*: where many monuments of the *VESPASII* are to be seene: a great evidence to prove the Noblenesse and antiquitie of that family. I cannot deny, that some have given out, how the father of that *PETROIANVS* came out of the * Transpadane region, and was an undertaker by the great, to hire those labourers and hines which were wont yeerely to repaire out of *Umbria* into the Sabines Countrie for to till their grounds: how hee planted himselfe and stayed in the Towne *Reate* aforesaid, and there married a wife. But my selfe could never finde (make what search I could) any signe or trace to lead me thereto.

2

* *VESPASIANVS* was borne in the Sabines territorie beyond *Reate* within a smal village named *Phalacrine*, the fifteenth day before the * Calends of December, in the evening, when *Q. CAMERINVS* and *CAIVS POPPÆVS SABINVS* were consuls: five yeeres before that *AVGVSTVS* departed out of this world. His bringing up he had under *TERVLLA* his grandmother by the fathers side, in the land and living that she had about *Cosa*. Whereupon, when hee was Emperour hee both frequented continually the place of his birth and breeding, the Capitall house and manour remaining still as it had beene in former times, nothing altered (because forsooth, his eyes should have no losse nor misse of that which they were wont to see there) and loved also the memoriall of his grandmother so deerely, that on all solemne and festivall, and high daies, hee continued ever drinking out of a silver pot that was hers and out of none other. After he had put on his * virile gowne, he refused a long time the (a) Senators robe, although his brother had attained thereto: neither could he be forced to seeke for it at last but by his owne mother. Shee in the end wrought perforce so much from him, by way of reprochfull taunts more than by faire intreatie or reverent authoritie: whiles, ever and anon, shee called him in taunting wise, his brothers huisher. He served as Tribune military in *Thracia*: and in quality of Questor had the government of *Crete* and *Cyrene*, provinces by lot fallen unto him. When he sued to be Aedile, & afterwards Prætor, he hard ly attained to the former Offices (and not without some repulse) even in the sixth place:

* Such be called
Conserv.
* Publicanum,
or Publicum
both to the
same eff. &c.
* Or customer

* Or Colonel.
* Or camp
maister,

* Beyond the
river Po in re-
spect of *Rome*.

* The Empe-
rour,

* 17,th Of
November,

* In 17,th yeere
of his age,

place: but presently at his first suit and with the formost being chosen Prætor, and upon displeasure taken, maliciously affected against the Senate; because he would by all manner of demerite win the favour of *CAIVS* the Emperour, he earnestly demanded extraordinary playes & games in honor of him for his victory in *Germanie*. and gave opinion in the Senate house, that to augment the punishment of certaine conspiratours (against him), their dead bodies should be cast forth and left unburied. Hee gave him also solemne thanks before that right honorable degree, for vouchsafing him the honor to be a guest of his at a supper.

Amid these occurrents, he espoused *FLAVIA DOMITILLA*, the freed woman of *STATILIUS CAPPELLA*, a Roman gentleman of *Sabracæ*, and an African borne, committed unto him sometime upon trust, and enfranchised in the freedom of *Latium*: but afterwards pronounced a gentlewoman born & naturalized a Citizen of *Rome*, in the Court of Iudges delegate, upon claime made by her father *FLAVIVS LIBERALIS* borne at *Ferentinum*, (a man that never rose higher than to be a *Scribe to a Questour) who vouched her freedome. * Or notarie; By her he had issue, *TITVS DAMITIANVS*, and *DOMITILLA*. His wife & daughter he overliued, and buried them whiles he was yet in State of a private person. After his foresaid wives decease, he called home againe to cohabite with him in his house *CÆNIA* a freed-woman of *ANTONIA*, and her * Secretarie, whom he had fancied in former time: and her he kept when he was Emperour, in steede of his true and lawfull wife. * Or Keeper of her books and accompts.

Vnder the Emperour *CLAUDIUS*, by especiall favour of *NARCISVS*, 4 sent he was into *Germanie* as Lieutenant of a legion: from thence being removed into *Britaine*, he fought thirtie battailes with the enemy: Two most mightie nations, and above twentie towns, together with the Isle of *Wight* lying next to the said *Britaine*, he subdued, under the conduct partly of *A. PLAVTIUS* Lieutenant to the consul, and in part of *CLAUDIUS* himselfe, for which worthy acts he received triumphall ornaments, and in short space two sacerdotall dignities with a consulship besides which he bare the two last moneths of the yeere. For the middle time between, even until he was Proconsul, he led a private life in a retiring place out of the way, for feare of *AGRIPPINA*, who as yet bare a great stroke with her *sonne, and hated to the heart all the friends of *NARCISVS*, although deceased. After this, hauing the province of *Africa* allotted unto him, hee governed the same with singular integritie, & notwithstanding much honor & reputation: but that in a seditious commotion at *Arumetum*, there were *Rape-(a) rootes flung at his head. Certaine it is, that from thence he returned nothing richer than he was; as who not able to keepe credit, but grown almost bankrupt, was driven to mortgage all his houses and lands unto his brother: and of necessitie, for the maintenance of his estate and dignity, went so low as to make gaines by hucksters *trade pampering *beastes for better sale. * Or Tuffes; Whereupon he was commonly named *MULLIO*. Multier. It is said also that convicted he was for extorting from a young man 200 thousand sesterces, in consideration that by his meanes hee had obtained a Senators dignitie even against his owne fathers will, For which hee had a fore rebuke. Whiles he travailed through *Achaia* in the traine and inward companie of *NERO*, he incurred his heauie displeasure in the highest degree, for that

Y

whiles

* Mangonice
quæstus.
Which ex-
tendeth also
to slaves & old
wares or thrip-
perie.

whiles he was chaunting, either he made many starts away out of the place, or else slept, if he staid there still. And being forbidden not only to conuerse in the same lodging with him, but also to salute him publicly with others, he withdrew himselfe aside into a small citie, and which stood out of the way: untill such time, as lying close there and fearing the worst, the gouernment of a *pro-
**Iurie,*
 vince with the commaund of an armie was offred unto him. There had been spred throughout all the East parts an opinion of olde, and the same setled in mens heades and constantly beleeeved, *That by the appointment of the destinies about such a time there should come out of IVRY those, who were to be Lords of the whole World:* which being a prophesie (as afterwards the event shewed) foretelling of the Romane Emperour, the *Iewes drawing to themselves, rebelled: and having slaine the *President there, put to flight also the *Lieutenant generall of Syria (a man of consular degree) coming in to ayde; and tooke from him the *Ægle. To repress this insurrection, because there was neede of a greater armie and a valiant Captaine, yet such an one, as to whom a matter of so great consequence might safely be committed; himselfe was chosen above all others, as a man of approved valour and industrie; howbeit no way to be feared for the meannesse of his birth, linage and name. Having therefore under his hand an addition to the former poure, of two *legions, eight *cornets of horse and tenne cohorts (of foote): taking also unto him among other Lieutenants, his elder *son, no sooner arrived he in that province, but the other *states likewise next adjoyning, he brought into admiration of him, for reforming immediatly at his first coming the discipline of the campe, and giving the charge in one or two battailes with such resolution, as that in the assault of a castle, he caught a rap with a stone upon his knce, and received in his targuete some shot of arrowes.

5

After NERO and GALBA, whiles OTHO and VITELLIUS strove for Sovereintie, hee had good hope of the Empire, conceived long before, by these presaging tokens (which I wil now relate) within a countrey ferme by the Citie side, belonging to the *Flavij*, there stood an olde Oke consecrated unto MARS, which at 3. childbirths of VESPASIA sodainly did put forth every time a several bough from the stock: undoubted signes fore-shewing the destinie & fortune of each one. The first was sinall and slender, which quickly withered (and therefore the girle at that time borne lived not one yeere to an end): the second grewe very stiffe and long withall, which pretended great felicitie: but the third, came to the bignesse of a tree. Whereupon SABINUS the father (of VESPASIAN) beeing confirmed beside by the answere of a
**One of these that pise into beasts bowels*
 *Southlayer, brought word backe (by report) unto his owne *Mother, *that she had a Nephew borne who should be* *CÆSAR: Whereat, shee did nothing else but set up a laughter, meruailing that her sonne should have a cracked braine and fall a doting now, since that his Mother had her wittes still whole and sound: Soone after, when CARIUS CÆSAR, offended and angric with him, for that beeing Ædile hee had not beene carefull about sweeping and clensing the streetes, had commanded hee should bee all bedawbed with mire that the Souldiours gathered up and threw into the lap of his embro-
 dred

dred robe, some were ready to make this interpretation thereof, *that the common weale trodden one day under foote and forlorne by some ciuill troubles, should fall into his protection and as it were into his bosome.* As hee was at his dinner upon a time, a strange dog brought into his dining roome a mans hand and layed it under the bearde. Againe, as hee sate another time at supper, an Oxehaving beene at plough and shaken of his yoke, rushed into the parlour where hee was at meate: and when hee had driven the waiters and seruitors out, as if all on a sodaine hee had beene wearie, layed him downe along at his feete where hee sate, and gently put his necke under him. A Cypress tree likewise in his Grand-fathers land without anie force of tempest plucked up by the roote and layed along, the very next day following rose up againe greener and stronger than before. But in ACHILIA hee dreamed, *That hee and his, should begiune to prosper so soone as NERO had a tooth awrwen out of his head.* Now it fortun'd, that the morrow following, a Chirurgeon that came forth into the court-yard shewed unto him a tooth of NEROS newly drawn. In Iurie, when hee consulted with the Oracle of the god (a) CARMELUS, the answere which was given, assured him in these tearmes, *That whatsoever he thought upon and cast in his minde (were it never so great) it should so come to passe:* And one of the Noble men of that Countrey taken captive, named *IOSEPHUS, when hee was cast into prison, avouched and sayde unto him most constantly, that hee should shortly be set at liberty even by him, but hee should be Emperour first. There were moreover significant tokens presaging no lesse reported unto him out of the very Citie of Rome: and namely, *that NERO in his latter dayes, a little before his death, was warned in a dreame to take the sacred Chariot of IUPITER Optimus Maximus forth of the Chappel where it stooode, into VESPASIANs house, and so from thence into the Cirque.* Also, not long after, as GALBA held the solemne election for *his second Consulship, the statue of IULIUS, late CÆSAR of famous memorie, turned of it selfe into the (b) East. And at the field fought before *Bebricum*, ere the battailes joyned, two Ægles had a conflict and bickered together in all their fights: and when the one of them was foyled and overcome, a third came at the very instant from the sunne rising and chased the Victresse away.

6

Yet for all this attempted he no enterprise (notwithstanding his friends & souldiours were most prest and forward yea and urgent upon him) before that hee was sollicitied by the unexpected favour, of some, who as it fell out were both unknowen to him and also absent. Two thousand drawn out of the three legions of the *Masian* armie and sent to ayde OTHO, when they were upon the way marching (albeit newes came unto them that hee was vanquished and had layed violent hands upon himselfe,) held on their journey nevertheless as farre as to *Aquileia*; as giving small credit to that rumour: where after they had by vantage of opportunities offred, and vncontrolled libertie, committed all manner of robberies and outrageous villanies, fearing least if they returned backe againe, they should answere for their misdeemeanours, and abide condigne punishment therefore; layed their heades together, and consulted about the chusing and creating of an EMPEROVR. For, worse they tooke not themselves nor inferiour, eyther to the
 Y 2 armie

* Who wrote the Jewish historie.

* Iude in Circum * Vespasian.

* Who then looked for their Messias & doe so still.
 * Or gouernour, *Sabinus*,
 * Gallus.
 * i. The maine standerd.

* Romaine, these cornets and cohorts seeme to bee Auxiliaries
 * Titus.
 * Or Provinces rather in the East part

* One of these that pise into beasts bowels
 * Terullathe Grandmother of Vespasian.
 * Emperour.

armie in *SPAIN* that had set up *GALBA*: or to the Pretorian bands, which had made *OTHO*: or to the Germanician forces who had elected *VITELLIVS*, Emperours. Having purposed therefore and nominated of the Consular Lieutenants as manie, as they coule in anie place thinke upon: when they misliked all the rest, taking exceptions against one for this cause and another for that: Whiles some againe of that third Legion, which a little before the death of *NERO* had been translated out of *SYRIA* into *MESIA*, highly prayfed and extolled *VESPASIAN*; they all accorded thereto, and without delay, wrote his name upon their flagges and banners. And verily, for that time this project was smuddled, the companies for a while reclaimed, and all brought into good order. But when the sayde fact was once divulged: *TIBERIUS ALEXANDER* *Provost of *ÆGYPT* was the first that forced the Legions to sweare allegiance unto *VESPASIAN*, upon the *kalends of *IVLY*, which ever after was celebrated for the first day and beginning of his Empire. After them, the armie in *Iurie* tooke the same oath before *VESPASIAN* himselfe, the *fifth day before the Ides of *Iulie*. These enterprises were very much farthered, by the copie of a letter that went commonly through mens hands (true or false I wote not) of *OTHO* now deceased, to *VESPASIAN*, charging and willing him now at the last cast, of all love to revenge his death, and wishing him withall, to relieve the distressed state of the Common-wealth: by a rumour also spread abroad, That *VITELLIVS* upon his victorie ment fully to make an exchange of the legions winter harbours: namely, to remove those that wintered in *Germanie* into the *East Provinces, as to a more secure service and easier warfare. Moreover, among the Governours of Provinces, *LUCINIUS MUCIANVS*, and of the Kings, *Vologesus* of *Partia*, had promised; the *one (laying downe all grudge and enmitie which unto that time he openly *professed upon a humour of emulation) the *Syrian* armie: and the *other fortie thousand archers.

7

VESPASIAN therefore having undertaken a civill warre, and sent before him his Capitaines and forces into *Italie*, passed over in the meane time to *ALEXANDRIA*, for to be possessed of the frontier streights and *AVENUES* of *Ægypt*. Heere when he had voided all companie from him and was entred alone into the Temple of *Serapis*, after he had, upon much propitious favour of that god obtained, devoutly at length turned him selfe about; him thought hee sawe (a) *BASILIDES* one who was knowen to have had access unto no man, and long since for the infirmities of his sinewes, skarse able to set one foote before another, and withall to bee absent a *great way of, to present unto him *Vervaine* & sacred herbes guirlands also and loaves of bread, (as the manner is in that place. And heereupon immediately letters came unto him, emporting thus much, that the forces of *VITELLIVS* were diffcomfited before *CREMONA*: reporting besides, that himselfe was killed at *ROME*. The onely thing that hee wanted; (being as one would say, a Prince unlooked for, and as yet new come to the Empire) was Countenance, authoritie, and a kinde as it were of royall majestie. But even that also came on apace (by this occasion) It fortuned that a certaine meane commoner starke blinde

*Or Governour.

*The first day.

*The 11 of Iuly

*No manuaile then, if the armies there inclined to *Vespasian*.*Mucianus.
*Vnto *Vespasian*
*K. *Vologesus*.*The Palley.
*So Miles, hap pily, the same whom *Tacitus* reporteth to have been the Priest of *Carnie* lue.

blind; another likewise with a feeble and lame leg, came both together unto him as hee sat upon the tribunall, craving that helpe and remedie for their infirmities which had beene shewed unto them by *SERAPIS* in their dreames: namely, *That hee should restore the one to his sight, if he did but spit into his eyes: *Vespasian, and strengthen the others legge, if hee vouchsafed onely to touch it with his heele.* Now when as hee could hardly beleve, that the thing anie way would finde successe and speede accordingly, and therefore durst not so much as put it to the venture: at the last through the perswasion of friends, openly before the whole assembly, hee assayed both meanes, neither missed hee of the effect. About the same time, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, by the Instinct and motion of Prophets, there were digged out of the ground in a consecrated place, manufactures and vessels of antique worke: and among the same an Image, resembling for all the World *VESPASIAN*.

8

Thus qualified as hee was and graced with so great fame, hee returned to *ROME*: and after his triumph over the Iewes, hee added eight Consulships more to that which of olde hee had borne. He tooke upon him also the Censureship: and all the time of his Empire esteemed nothing more deare, than first to establish and afterwards to adorne the Common weale, brought almost to utter decay, and at the point to fall downe. The souldiours, some presuming boldly of their victories, others in griefe for their shamefull *disgrace were grown to all manner of licentiousnesse and audacitie. The Provinces likewise and free states, yea and some kingdoms, fell to discord & sedition tumults among them selves. And therefore of the Vitellians he both cased and also chasticed very many. As for the partners with him in victorie: so farre was hee from allowing them any extraordinary indulgence, that their very due and lawfull rewardes hee payed not but slackely. And because hee would not let slip anie occasion of reforming militarie discipline, when a certain gallant youth finelling hote of sweet balmes and perfumes came unto him, to give thanks for an *Office obtained at his hands; after a strange countenance shewing his dislike of him, hee gave him also in words, a most bitter and grievous checke, saying, I would rather thou haddest stunk of garlicke, and so revoked his letters patents for the graunt. As touching the mariners and sea seruitours, such of them as are wont to passe to and fro on foote, by *turnes from *Ostia* and *Puteolito* *ROME*; who were petitioners unto him that some certaine allowance might bee set downe for to finde them shoes: hee thought it not sufficient to sende them away without answer, but commanded that for ever after they should runne up and downe betweene *unshod. And so, from that time they use to doe. *ACHAIA*, *LYCIA*, *BIZANTIVM* and *SAMOS*, *first difffranchised: likewise, *THRACIA*, *CILICIA* and *COMAGENE*, subiect untill that time to Kings hee reduced all into the forme of a province. Into *Cappadocia*, for the continuall rodes and incursions that the Barbarians made, he brought a poure besides, of Legions, and in liev of a Romane knight, he placed there for Ruler, a man who had beene Consul. The Citie of *ROME* by reason of olde skare-fires

A.V.C. 823
824
825
827
828
829
830
831
832

*In taking part against him

*Or charge.

*Per vices, some reade per vices, i. along the towncs and villages

*Barefoote. *Whereas they had been free State's.

fires and ruines was much blemished and disfigured. Hee permitted therefore any man to seize as his owne all vacant plots of ground, and to builde thereupon, in case the owners and Land-lords were slacke in that behalfe. Him selfe tooke upon him the reedifying of the Capitoll, and was the first man that did set his hand to the ridding of the rubbish and rammell, yea and upon his owne necke caried some of it awaye: three thousand tables of brasse also which were burnt with the sayd Temple, hee undertooke to make and set up againe, having searched and sought ought from all places the patrons and *copies thereof. A most bewtiful instrument and right auncient record of the whole Empire hee compiled and finished; wherein were contained from the first beginning well neere of the Citie, all actes of Senate, all deedes passed by the Communalty as concerning Leagues, Alliances and priviledges granted to any whatsoever.

*For in them were engraven the publike evidences and words, &c

*Clandius his wife.
*He desired to be buried at Augustus's funeral, as the most honorable thing.
*Of Senators and gentlemen

*The vacation during the Civil troubles;

*Which pertained to the Centumvirs Court to wit, Civil cases between private persons, as probates of Testaments &c.
*Vide Cicer. l. de Oratore.
*Plaintiffs & defendants.
*Suetonius, as Sabellicus expoundeth it, or, at large, carnally.

Hee built also newe workes: the temple of peace, situate next unto the *Forum*: That likewise of CLAUDIVS Iare Emperour of sacred memorie, seated upon the mount *Calvus* which verily had bene begun by *AGRIPPINA, but almost from the very foundation destroyed by NERO. Item a most stately Amphitheatre in the heart of the Citie, *according as hee understood, that AVGVSTVS intended such an one. The two *degrees wasted by sundry massacres and disteined through the negligence of former times, hee cleansed and supplied, by a review and visitation of Senate and gentry both: wherein he removed the unworthiest persons and tooke in the most honest that were to be found, either of Italians or provincially inhabitants. And to the ende it might be knowne, that both the said degrees differed one from another not so much in libertie as in dignitie; hee pronounced in the case of a certaine braule betweene a Senatour and a knight of Rome. *That Senatours might not be provoked first with foule language: many to answer them with evill words againe, was but Civillitie and a matter allowed.*

10

Suites in law depending one upon another were growen in everie Court exceeding much: whiles the old Actions by the Intervall of *Jurisdiction, hung still undecided and new quarrels arose to increase them, occasioned by the tumultuous troubles of those times. Hee chose therefore certaine commissioners by lot, some by whome the Gods taken and caried away perforce during the warres might be restored; and others, who extraordinarily should determine and iudge betweene partie and partie in (a) *Centumvirall cases; (which were so many, as that the *parties themselves, as it was thought, could hardly by course of nature live to see an end of them) and reduce them all to as small a number as possible might be.

11

Wanton lust and wastfull expence, without restraint of any man had gotten a mightie head. Hee mooved the Senate therefore to make a decree: *That, what woman soever joined herself in wedlocke unto another mans bondservant, should be reputed a bondwoman.* Item that it might not be lawfull for Vulturers to demanda any debt of young men whiles they were under their fathers

thers tuition for money credited out unto them: I mean, not so much as after their decease. In all other matters, from the very first beginning of his Empire unto the end, hee was courteous enough and full of Clemencie.

12

His former meane estate and condition, hee dissimuled not at any time: nay hee would often of himselfe profess the same and make it known openly: Yea and when some went about to fetch the originall of the Flavian Linage, from as farre as the founders of REATE, and the companion of HERCULES whose monument is to be seene in the way *Salaria, hee mocked and laughed them to skorne for their labours. And so farte was he from desiring any *outward ornaments in shewe of the World, that upon his triumph day, being wearied with the slow march and tedious traine of the pompe, hee could not hold but say plainly, that hee was well enough served and iustly punished; who beeing an aged man had so foolishly longed for a triumph: as if forsooth it had of right bene due unto his *forefathers, or ever hoped for *by him selfe. Neither accepted he so much, as the tribunes authority and addition, of *Pater patrie* in his stile, but it was long first. For hee had forlet altogether the custome of searching those that came in duty to salute him even whiles yet the Civill warre continued.

*By which salt was brought out of the Sabines countrey to Rome.

*Extraneous: who were but of meane calling.

*Being three score of age, &c therefore past the ambitious desire of such glory.

*Libertatem which the greekes call Parrhesian.

*His friend. For he was the chiefe helper of him to the Empire.

*Whatsoever you are: noting him for that he was Patrius.

*A Lawyer. Noting Vespasian, as he had a longing eye after his wealth and therefore sought his condemnation.

*A philosopher. Post dominationem aliam dominationem, after he was condemned for Vespasian had banished all Philosophers out of Rome & confined this Demetrius to an Island Xiphilium.

*Or Morbonia according to which phrase we say, the soule ill take thee.

The Greekes: Eis Choracas. i. The Crowes eat thee. The Launces in malis crucem i go hang

14

Displeasures to him done, and enmities, he never caried in mind nor revenged. The daughter of VITELLIUS his enemy he married into a most noble house: he gave unto her a rich dowry withall, and furniture accordingly. When as, by reason that he was forbidden the Court under NERO hee stood in great feare, and was to seeke what to do or whether to goe: one of the gentlemen huishers, whose office it was to admit men into the presence, in thrusting him out, had bidden him *abire Morboniam*, i. to be gone in a mischief. When this fellow afterwards came to aske forgiveness, he proceeded no further in heat of anger but to wordes onely, and to quite him with just as many and almost the very same. For, so farre was hee from working the overthrowe and death of any person, upon any suspition or feare conceived:

Y 4

that

that when his friendes admonished him to beware of *MATIUS POM-
POSIANUS*, because it was generally beleeved that the Astrologers
had by the horoscope of his nativitie assured him to bee Emperour another
day, hee advanced the same *MATIUS* to the Consulship, presuming and pro-
mising in the mans behalfe, that hee would be one day mindfull of this benefit
and good turne of his.

15

There is not lightly found an innocent person to have beene punished;
but when hee was absent and not ware thereof: or at leastwise unwilling
thereto and deceived. With *HELVIDIUS PRISCUS* who onely had fa-
luted him after his returre out of *SYRIA*, by his private name, *plaine *VES-
PASIAN*: and being pretour in all his Edicts and Proclamations passed him o-
ver without any honour at all, or once naming him, hee was not angry and
displeased, before that he had, with his most insolent altercations made him
in manner contemptible and little better than an ordinarie person. Him also,
notwithstanding he was first confined to a place and afterwards commanded
to bee killed, hee would have given a great deale to have saved by all meanes
possible: as who sent certein of purpose to call backe the murderers: and saved
his life hee had, but that false word came backe that he was dispatched already.
Otherwise he never rejoyced in the death of any but rather when malefactours
were justly punished and executed, hee would weepe and groane againe.

16

The onely thing, for which hee might worthily bee blamed was covet-
tousnesse. For, not content with this, To have revived the taxes & pay-
ments omitted by *GALBA*: to have laied unto them other newe and heavey
impositions: to have enhaunfed also the Tributes of the provinces, yea and
of some dupled the same: he fell openly to negotiate and deale in certaine
trades, which, even for a private person were a shame to use: buying up
and engrossing some commodities for this purpose onely to put the same off,
afterwardes at an higher price. Neither made hee it straunge to sell either
honourable places unto suiters for them: or absolutions and pardons, to
men in trouble, whether they were innocent or guiltie it skilled not. Fur-
thermore, it is verily thought that of his Procuratours, if any were greedy
and given to extortion more than other, his manner was to promote such for
the nonce to higher offices: to the ende, that when they were more enriched,
hee might soone after condemne them. And commonly it was sayd, that
those hee vsed as sponges, for that hee did wet them well when they were
drie, and presse them hard when they were wette. Some write that hee was by
nature most covetous; & that an old Neat heard upbraided him once therewith
who being at his handes denied freedome without paying for it (which hee
hüblie craved of him now invested in the Empire) cryed out with a lowd voice
and said, *The Wolfe might change his haire, but not his qualities*. Contrariwise there
bee againe who are of opinion, that hee was driven to spoyle, to pill and
poll of necessitie, even for extreame want both in the common treasure and
also

*Not Caesar
nor Augustus
nor Imperator

also in his owne exchequer: whereof he gave some testimonie in the begin-
ning immediately of his Empire; professing that there was neede of fortie
thousand Millenes to set the *STATE* upright againe. Which also see-
meth to founde more neere unto the truth. Because the monie by him ill go-
ren: Hee used and bestowed passing well. To all sorts of men hee was most
liberall. The (a) Estate and wealth of Senatours he made up to the full. To de-
caied men that had bene Consuls, hee allowed for their maintenance 500
thousand Sesterces by the yeere. Very many Cities throughout the World
by Earth quake or fire ruinate, hee reedified better then they were before.

17

Fine wits and cunning Artifices hee set much store by, and cherished
them above all others, Hee was the first, that out of his owne coffers ap-
pointed for professed *RHETORICIANS*, as well in Latine as in Greeke,
an yeerely Salarie of an hundred thousand Sesterces a peece. Excellent
POETS, as also *Actours he *bought up. Semblably, upon the workman
who had repaired and set up againe, the Geantlike Image called *COLOS-
SVS*, hee bestowed a notable *congiarie, and endewed him with a great
stipend beside: to an Engineer also, who promised to bring into the Capitoll
huge *Columnes* with small charges, hee gave for his devise onely no meane re-
ward; and released him his labour in performing that worke, saying withall by
way of preface, *That he should suffer him to feed the poore commons.*

*Artifices, for
so Livie ter-
meth *Ludores*
histriam, stage
players.
*Orhyred.
*Or reward
*To allow the
wages for their
painefull labor
in such works
rather then to
have the same
done without
them: and as
we say, to keep
poore people
at worke.

18

At those playes during which the stage of *MARCELLUS* Theatre newly
reedified, was dedicated: he had brought into request and use againe even the
olde (a) Acroames. To *APOLLINARIS* the Tragædian hee gave foure
hundred thousand sesterces. To *TERPNUS* and *DIODORUS* two harpers,
two hundred thousand a peece: to some one hundred: and to whom hee gave
least fortie thousand, over and above a great number of golden Coronets. Hee
feasted continually: and for the most part by making *full suppers and those
very plentifull: for why? His meaning was to helpe the Butchers and such as
solde viuals. As hee delivered fourth giftes unto men at the *Saturnalia*, so
hee did to Women upon the (b) Kalends of *MARCH*. Yet verely for all
this, coulde hee not avoide the infamous name of his former avarice. The
men of *ALEXANDRIA* termed him still *CYBIOSASTES* after the
surname of one of their Kings, given to most base and beggerly gayne. And
even at his very funerals, *FAVOR* the Arch-counterfaict representing his
person, and imitating (as the manner is) his deeds and wordes whiles hee li-
ved, when hee asked the Procuratours openly, what the charges might bee
of his funerall and the pompe thereto belonging? No sooner hearde that it
would arise to tenne Millenes of Sesterces, but hee cried, Give mee one hun-
dred thousand, and make no more ado but throw mee into *TIBER*.

*Eare delights
as Players Mu-
sicians, &c.

*Reclis in op-
position to,
sportula

19

Of a middle stature hee was: well set: his limmes compact and strongly
made: with a countenance as if he streined hard for a stoole. Whereupon one,
of

*A roūd place
of exerciſe be
loging to the
baines, ſome
would have it
to be a tennis
court.

*Naturall, 24
houres.

*Or aroſe be
fore day, &c
nocturnal

Sextus Aurelius
writeth of him
that he wat-
ched al night,
Plinius alſo ſaith
Nocturnal ſol-
tium: ut diuini
aſtus noctibus,
et nocturnis di-
ebus traheret.
*A ſecrete, or re-
tiring place

of theſe plaiſants came out with a pretie conceit. For when VESPASIAN ſeemed to requeſt the fellow for to breake a ieſt upon him alſo, as well as up- on others, that I will quoth he, If you had done your buſineſſe once upon the ſeege. His health hee had no man better: although for the preſeruatiō there- of hee did no more, but rub his owne chawes and other parts of the bodie to a certeine iuſt (a) number within the **Sphaeriſterium*: and withall, monethly interpoſe abſtinenſe from all foode one *whole day.

20

This courſe and order of life for the moſt part he held. Whiles hee was Em- perour he waked alwayes very early, and *late in the night. Then, having red through all miſſives, and the Breviaries of everie office: hee admitted his friends: and whiles hee wat ſaluted, he both put on his own ſhooes, and alſo apparailled and made himſelfe ready. After diſpatch of all occurrent buſineſſes, hee tooke himſelfe to (a) geſtation, and ſo to reſt: having one of his Concu- bines, lying by his ſide: of whom hee had appointed a great number in ſteede of CENIS deceaſed. From his *privie cloſet, hee paſſed into his Baine and ſo to his reſectiō rōume. Neyther was he, by report, at any time fuller of humanitie, or redier to doe a pleaſure. And ſuch oportunities of time as theſe, his domeſticall ſervants waited for eſpecially, to preferre their petitions in.

21

*Et ſemper alius
Cum amicis, &c.
Others read et
ſuper alius Com-
muniſſimus i. &c
whiles hee plai-
ed at hazard
&c.
*A word in la-
tine that ſigni-
feth Cartis or
waignes.
*And not Flo-
rus.
*Cum perducta
&c. not per-
ducta, in a
quite contra-
rie ſenſe, as if
he had given
her ſo much.
*Quadragesima
ſeſtertia, alias
quadragesima ſe-
ſtertia i. 400
thouſand.
*To wit, in the
page of receipts

At his ſuppers, and *otherwiſe at all times with his friends being moſt plea- ſant and courteous, hee diſpatched many matters by way of mirth. For given exceedingly hee was to ſkoffs, and thoſe ſo ſkurrile and filthy, that he could not ſo much as forbear words of (b) ribaudrie. And yet there bee many right pleaſant conceited ieſts of his extant. Among which this alſo goes for one. Being aduertified by MENSTRIVS FLORUS, a man of Conſuls degree, to pronounce **Planſtra*, rather than *Ploſtra*, hee ſaluted him the next morrow by the name of * (c) FLAURUS. Having yeelded at length to a certaine wo- man enamoured of him, and readie as it were to dye for pure love, when ſhe *was brought to his bed, and had given him fortie thouſand ſeſterces for ly- ing with her, his Steward comes to put him in minde in what manner and forme hee would have this ſumme of money to bee ſet downe in his *booke of accompts? marie thus quoth he, VESPASIANO *adamaſo* i. Item given to (d) VESPASIAN beloved.

22

Hee uſed Greeke Verſes alſo in good ſeaſon and aptly applyed: as namely of a certaine fellow, tall and high of ſtature, but (a) ſhrewde and teſtie with- all, in this manner,

μακρὰ βίβλος κραδίαν πολυχώμιον ἔγχος,

and eſpecially of CRYLUS, his freed-man: upon whom, for that being ex- ceeding rich, yet to avoyde a payment ſometime to his Exchequer, hee be- gan to give it out that hee was free borne, and ſo changed his name and called himſelfe LACHES, VESPASIAN placed in theſe tearmes:

ὁ λᾶχης λᾶχης, ἐπὶν ἀποδαίνης,
αὐτὸς ἐξ ὑποαρχίης εἰρήνη κίρηλα,

O LACHES, LACHES, wert thou once dead in grave:
Thine olde name CRYLUS, againe thou ſhalt have.

Howbeit, moſt of all hee affected a kinde of dicacitie in his unſcemely gayne and filthy lucre: to the end, that by ſome ſkoffing cavill, hee might put by and doe awaie the enuie of the thing, turning all to merrie jeſts. A Miniſter and ſervitour about him, whom hee loved deereſly, made ſuite in the behalfe of one as his brother, for a Stewardſhip. When hee had put him off to a far- ther day, hee called unto him the partie himſelfe, that made meanes for the thing: and having *exacted ſo much monie at his hands, as hee had agreed *Or received, for with the Mediatour aforeſayd, without more delay, he ordained him Ste- ward. Soone after when the ſervitour interpoſed him ſelfe, *Go your wayes* quoth he, *ſeeke you another to be your brother: For, this fellow whom you thinke to be yours is become mine.* Suſpecting that his mulitier who drave his carroch aligh- ted one time, as it were to ſhoō his Mules, thereby to winne ſome aduantage of time and delay, for one that had a matter in lawe and was comming unto him: hee asked the Mulitier what might the ſhoōing of his mules *coſt? and ſo covenanted with him to have part of his gaires. When his ſonne TITUS ſeemed to finde fault with him for deviſing a kinde of tribute, even out of u- rine: the monie that came unto his hand of the firſt paiement, hee put unto his ſonnes noſe: asking withall, *whether he was offended with the ſmell, or no*, and when he answered *No: and yet* quoth he, *it commeth of Urine.* Certaine Emba- ſadours brought him word, that there was decreed for him at the common charges of the States a geantlike image, that would coſt no meane ſumme of money. He commanded them to reare the ſame immediately, ſhewing there- with his hand *holiow. Here is the baſe quoth he and *piedſtall for it, ready. And not ſo much as in the feare & extreame perill of death forbore he ſkoffing. For when as among other prodigious ſignes the *Mauſoleum of the CÆSARS opened ſodainely, and a blazing ſtarre appeared: The one *of them he ſayde, did concerne IUNIA CALVINA a gentlewoman of *AUGUSTUS (CÆ- SARS) race: the other had reference to the King of the Parthians, who ware his haire *long. In the very firſt acceſſe alſo, and ſit of his diſeaſe, *Me thinkes* quoth he, *I am *a deifying.*

23

In his ninth Conſulſhip, after he had been affayled in *Campania* with ſome light motions and grudgings of his ſickneſſe, and thereupon returned forth- with to the Citie, hee went from thence to *Catilia* and the lands he had about *Reate*, where every yeere hee was wont to ſummer, Heere, having (beſides the maladic ſtill growing upon him) hurt alſo his guttes and bowels with the uſe of *colde (a) water, and yet nevertheleſſe executed the functions of an Em- perour, after his accuſtomed manner, in ſo much as lying upon his bed, hee gave audience to Embaſſadours: when all of a ſodaine he fell into a looſeneſſe of the bellie, that hee fainted and was ready to ſwound therewith, An Empe- rour quoth he ought to dye ſtanding. As he was ariſing therfore and ſtreining ſtill to *eaſe his bodie he dyed in their hands that helped to liſt him up, the 8th day *before the Calends of *Iuly*: when he had lived threeſcore yeres and nine, *ſeven moneths and ſeven dayes over.

*The partie
that came to
ſollicite his
owne cauſe.
*For to re-
ceive the mo-
ney.

*Meaning his
hand.

*Monument or
Sepulchre.

*The Mauſole-
um

*Whereas him-
ſelf was not of
that line.

*A blazing
ſtarre

*Whereupon is
called *Sicilia*

Crinia &c. Come-
tes in Greeke.

*Am a dying,
& to grow to
be a god.

*Theſe waters
of *Catilia* as
Plinius writeth
were excee-
ding colde.

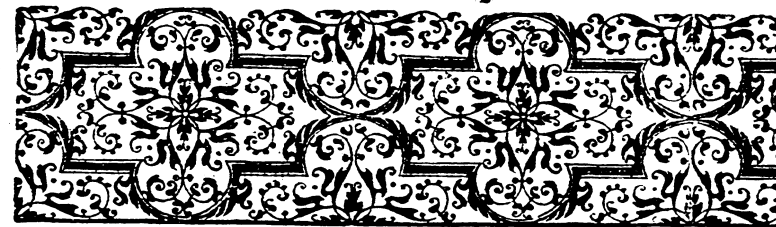
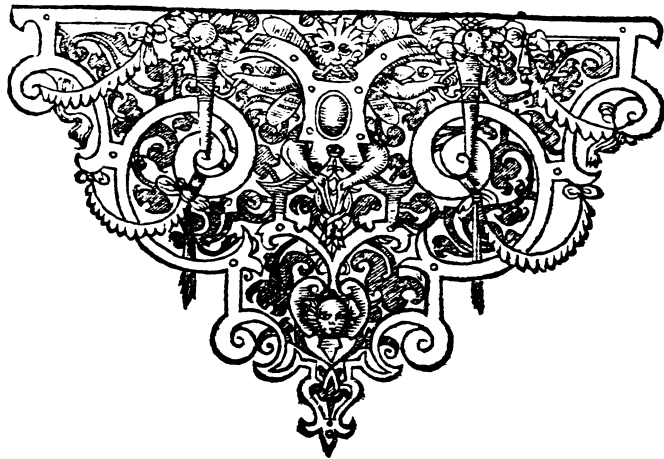
*To avoid the
order of the
guttes,
A.V.C. 832.

*24. Iune.

*Superius meſem
ac anem ſ. p. 110.

All

All writers agree in this, that so confident he was alwayes of his owne
 *Or nativitie, *Horoscope and his childrens, that after so many conspiracies continually
 plotted against him hee durst warrant and assure the Senate *that either his owne*
Sonnes should succcede him or none. It is sayde moreover, that hee dreamed up-
 on a time, How hee sawe a paire of skales hanging in the midst of the porch
 and entrie of his house palatine, with the beame thereof even ballanced, so as
 in the one ballance stood CLAUDIUS and NERO: in the other, himselfe
 and his sonnes. And it fell out so indeede: for they ruled the
 Empire of both sides so many yeers, and the like
 space of time just.



THE HISTORIE OF Titus Flavius Vespasianus Au-

gustus, written by *Caius Suetonius*
Tranquillus.



TITUS, surnamed as his Father was, VESPASIANUS, the
 lovely dearling and delightfull ioy of Mankinde (so fully was
 he, either endued with good nature and dispositi.on, or enri-
 ched with skilfull cunning, or else graced with fortunes fa-
 vour; and that (which is hardest of all) in his Imperiall
 State; considering that whiles hee lived as a private person
 under the Emperour his Father, he could not avoid the very
 hatred and much lesse the reproofe of the world.) This TITUS, I say, was borne
 the *third day before the Calends of Ianuarie: in that yeere which was remarke-
 able for the death of CAIUS the Emperour, neere unto the (a) *Septizonium*,
 within a poore ill-favoured house, in a very little Chamber and darke with-
 all: For it remaineth yet to bee seene. His Education hee had in the Court to-
 gether with BRITANNICUS, trained up in the like Arts and Disciplines, under

I
 * 30 of De-
 cember,
 A.V.C. 794

the same teachers. At which time verily, men say, that a * (b) Fortune-teller, whom
 * Metoposcopus. NARCISsus the freed-man of CLAUDIUS brought to see BRITANNICUS,
 * Britannicus. after Inspection affirmed most constant, that by no meanes * Hee, but TITUS
 who then stood hard by, should surely bee Emperour. Now were these two so
 familiar, that (as it is verily thought) of the same cup of poison whereof BRITAN-
 NICUS drank and died, TITUS also sitting neere unto him, tasted: whereupon he
 fell into a grievous disease, that held him long and put him to great paine. In me-
 moriall of all which premisses, he erected afterwards for * him one Statue of gold
 in the *Palatium*; as also another of Ivorie on horsebacke (which at the *Circian*
 Games is even at this day carried before in the Solemne pompe) he dedicated, and
 accompanied accordingly.

2 At the very first, even in his child-hood, there shone forth in him, the gifts both
 of body and minde: and the same more and more still by degrees as hee grew in
 yeeres: A goodly presence and countenance, wherein was seated no lesse * maie-
 * Anthoniatis, stie than favour and beauty: A speciall cleane strength, albeit his stature was not
 which Tacitus tall: but his belly bare out somewhat with the most. A singular memorie: and
 cal eth maie- aptnesse to learne all the Artes, in manner, as well of warre as of peace. Most skil-
 fratem, full he was in handling his weapon, and withall a passing good horseman: For his
 Latine and Greeke tongue, whether it were in making Orations or composing
 Poemes, prompt and ready even to the performance thereof *ex tempore*. Neither
 was he uncene in Musick as who could both sing and also play upon instruments
 sweetly and with knowledge. I have heard also many men say, *That he was wont to*
write with Cyphers and Characters most swiftly, striving by way of sport and mirth
 with his owne Clerks, whether he or they could write fastest: to expresse likewise
 and imitate what hand so ever hee had seene: yea, and to professe many a time,
 that he would have made a notable forger and counterfaiiter of writings.

3 In quality of Tribune Militare, he served in the warres both in *Germanie* and al-
 so in *Britaine*, with exceeding commendation for his industrie and no lesse report
 of * modestie, as appeareth by a number of his images and (a) titles to them an-
 * Temperate nexed, throughout both Provinces. After this warfare of his, hee pleaded causes
 behaviour, in Court, which he did rather to winne credite and * reputation, than to make it an
 * In undertak- ordinarie * praefise. At which very time, he wedded ARRICIDIA, the daugh-
 king causis of ter of TERTULLUS a Gentleman of *Rome*, but Capitaine sometime of the Prae-
 greatest im- torian Bands: and in the roome of her deceased, he tooke to wife MARTIA FLA-
 portance VIA: and from her when he had borne unto him a daughter, he divorced himselfe.
 * To entertain- After this, upon his Questureship, being Colonell and Commaunder of a whole
 almarcet's Legion, he brought under his subiection * TARTICHEA and GAMALAI two most
 whatsoever, A V. C. 820. puissant Cities of *Jurie*: Where, in a certaine battaile having lost his horse under
 * Neere to the him (by a deadly wound) within his flanks, hee mounted another whose rider in
 Lake Geneve, fight against him had bene slaine and was fallen.

4 Afterwards, when GALEA was possessed of the State, being sent to congratu-
 late his advancement: What way so ever he went, he turned all mens eyes upon
 him, as if he had bene singled forth to be adopted. But so soone as he perceived
 all to be full of troubles againe, hee returned back out of his very iourney, and vi-
 sited the Oracle of VENUS * PAPHIA: Where, whilst he asked counsell, about
 his passage at sea, hee was confirmed withall in his hope of the Empire. Having
 attained thereto within short time, & being left behind to subdue *Jurie* thoroughly
 in

* In Paphia
 citie within
 the Cyprus.

in the last assault of *Hierusalem*, hee slew twelve enemies that defended the wall,
 with just so many arrowes shot: and wonne the Citie upon the very birth-day * of
 his daughter, with so great ioy and favourable applause of all his Souldiours: that
 in their gratulation they saluted him Emperour: and soone after, when he was to
 depart out of that Province, detained him: in humble manner, yea and oft-soones
 in threatening wise instantly calling upon him, To stay, or else to take them all a-
 way together with him. Whereupon arose the first suspicion, That hee revokted from
 his father, and had attempted to chalenge the kingdome of the East parts for him
 selfe. Which surmise himselfe made the more, after that in his way to *Alexandrea*,
 as he consecrated at *Memphis* the Ox *Apis*, he wore a (a) Diademe: Which he did
 in deed according to the custome & rites of the auncient religion there. But there
 wanted not some, who construed it otherwise. Making hast therefore into *Italie*,
 after hee was arrived first at *Rhegium* and from thence at *Puteoli*, embarked in a
 Merchants ship of burden; to *Rome* he goes directly with all speed & most lightly
 appointed: and unto his father looking for nothing lesse, *I am come* quoth he, *father*,
I am come: checking thereby the rash and inconsiderate rumors raised of him.

5 From that time forward hee ceased not to carie himselfe as partner with his Fa-
 ther, yea and Protectour also of the Empire: With him hee triumphed: with him
 hee jointly admittred the Censureship: His Colleague hee was in the Tribunes
 authority: his Companion likewise in seven Consulships. And having taken to
 himselfe the charge well-neere of all Offices, whiles hee both ended letters and
 penned Edicts in his Fathers name: yea, and read * Orations in Senate, and that
 in the Questours turne, he assumed also the Captainship of the Guard, an Office
 never to that time executed but by a Gentleman of *Rome*. In this place hee de-
 meaned himselfe nothing civilly, but proceeded with much violence: For ever as
 he had any in most ielousie and suspicion, he, by sending secretly and under-hand
 certaine of purpose, who in the Theaters and Campe should require for to have
 brought them all to their end. As for example, among these, hee commaunded
 AULUS CAECINA, a man of Consular Degree, and a guest by him invited to
 supper, when hee was scarce gone out of the Banqueting parlor to bee stabbed. I
 must needs say, that driven he was to this violent proceeding upon an extremity
 of daunger: considering that he had found out his hand-writing bearing evidence
 of a conspiracie that he plotted with the Souldiours. By which courses, as he pro-
 vided well and sufficiently for his owne security another day: so, for the present
 time he incurred very much displeasure and hatred of the world: In so much, as no
 man lightly, when so adverse a rumor was on foote, and that which more is, against
 the wills of all men, would have stepped to the Imperiall throne.

6 Beside his cruelty, suspected he was also for riotous life: in that he continued
 banquetting untill midnight with the most profuse and wastfull spend-thrifts of
 his familiar minions: For want of lust likewise, by reason of a sort of stale Caramites
 & guiled Eunuchs that he kept about him: and the affectionate love that hee was
 noted to beare to * Queene BERENICE, unto who also, as it was said he promised
 marriage. Suspicion there was moreover of his pilling & polling. For certain it was,
 that in the * commissiōs & hearing of causes which his father held, he was wont to tel
 the

* The sister as
 some thinke of
 Agrippa, & wife
 forawile of
 Polmon King
 of Lycia, others
 say she was the
 wife first of A-
 ristobolus after
 wards of Anti-
 pater.

* Agrippianus,

the decision of matters, and to make a game thereby. After this, men both reputed and also reported him to be even another NERO. But this name that went of him proved good for him and turned to his greatest commendation: considering that no grosse vice could bee found in him, but contrariwise many excellent vertues. The feasts that he made were pleasant meriments, rather than lavish and sumptuous. He chose for his friends such, as in whom the Emperours also his successours reposed themselves, and whom they used especially as necessarie members both for them and also for the Common-wealth. As for Queene BERENICE, he sent her quickly away from the Citie of Rome; but full loath they were both of them to part a sunder. Certaine of his minions and dearlings whom hee favoured and fancied most, albeit they were such artificiall Dauncers, that within a while after they caried the greatest praise and prise upon the stage, he forbore quite not onely to huggle and embrace long together, but to behold so much as once in any public meeting and assembly. From no Citizen tooke he ought: and from aliens goods he abtained, if ever any did. Nay, he received not the very contributions graunted and usually paid. And yet, being inferiour to none of his predecessours in munificence, as having dedicated an * Amphitheatre, and built the Baines hard-by, with (a) great * expedition, he exhibited a Spectacle of Sword-fencers, with all kindes of furniture thereto belonging in most plentifull manner. Hee represented also a navall fight in the old *Naumachia*; In which very place he brought forth likewise his sword-fencers to play their prizes: and in that one day he put out to be baited 5000 wilde beasts of all sorts.

* At which solemnity 5000 wilde beasts were killed. As Enschius Chromatopius and Eutropius write
* Calentier.

Furthermore, being of his owne nature most kinde and gracious; whereas by a constitution and order that TIBERIUS began, all the CÆSARS his Successours held not the Benefits graunted by former Princes good and in force, unlesse they also themselves made new graunts of the same againe: hee was the first, that by vertue of one sole edict, ratified and confirmed all that had passed before: neither suffred he any petition to be made unto him for them. In all other Suits and Requests, hee ever more held most constantly mens mindes at this passe, that hee would send none away without hope. And when his Domesticall Ministers about his person, would seeme to tell him, *That he promised more than he was able to performe*: What! quoth he, *there ought no man to depart from the speech of a Prince, sad and discontented*. Calling to minde one time as he sat at supper, That he had done nothing for any man that day, hee uttered this memorable and praise-worthy *Apophtegme*, *My friends, I have lost a day*. The people especially in generall he intreated in all occasions, with so great courtesie, that having propoed a solemne Sword-fight, he made open profession, that he would set it forth, not to please him selfe but to content the beholders. And verily, even so hee did: for, neither denied he ought to them that would call for it: and of his owne accord, willed them to aske what their mindes stoode to. Moreover, shewing plainly, that hee stoode well affected to the manner of the Thracian * swordfencers fight and their Armature, hee would many times even with the rest of the people both in word and gesture (as a favourer of that kinde) iest and make sport: yet so, as hee kept still the maiestie of an Emperour: and withall iudged with equitie indifferently. And because hee would pretermitt no point of popularity, sometime as hee bathed in his

* Who were opposite to the *Mirmillones*, y were armed after the french fashion.

owne baines hee admitted the Commons thither unto him. There fell out in his daies certaine mischaunces and heavie accidents: as, the burning of the mountaine *Vesuvius* in *Campania*: A Skar-fire at Rome, which lasted three daies and three nights; as also a * pestilence, the like whereof had not lightly beene knowne else where at any other time. In these calamities so many and so grievous, he shewed not onely a Princely care, but also a singular fatherly affection: sometime comforting (his people) by his Edicts; otherwhiles helping them so farre forth as his power would extend. Forrepaireing the losses in * *Campania*, he chose by lot certaine Commissioners to looke thereto; even out of the ranke of those that had beene Consuls. The goods of such as perished in the said mount, whose heires could not be found, hee awarded to the reedification of the ruinate Cities adioyning. And having made publick protestation, that in the said skare-fire of the Citie, there was no losse at all but to himselfe: Looke what ornaments were in any of his owne * Palaces and royal houses, the same he appointed to the Citie buildings and the Temples: For which purpose hee made divers of Knights degree Supravisors, to the end that every thing might be dispatched with greater expedition. To cure the sicknesse and mitigate the furie of those contagious Diseases, hee used all helpe of God and man; having sought out what soever kindes of Sacrifices and remedies might bee found: Among the adversities of those times, may bee reckoned these Promoters and Informers, with such as under hand set them a worke, occasioned all by old licentiousnesse and impunitie. And thole he commaunded to be whipped and bearen with cudgels ordinarily in the open Market p'ace: and last of all, when they had beene brought in a Shew through the Amphitheatre, partly to be solde in port-sale for slaves: and in part to be caried away into the roughest and bleakest lands that were. And because hee would for ever reitrayne such, as at any time should dare to doe the like: hee made an Act among many others, prohibiting, One and the same matter to bee sued by vertue of many Statutes and Lawes enacted in that behalfe; or to make inquisition as touching the estate of any man deceased, after the terme of certaine yeeres limited.

* Wherein there died ten thousand a day, *Enschius*.

* By the burning of *Vesuvius* which consumed many towns & much people.

* In the Country, as Co. *lunanes*, statues painted tables, &c.

8

Having professed, that he tooke upon him the High-Priesthood in this regard, because hee would keepe his hands pure and innocent. hee made good his word. For, after that time, never was hee the principall Author of any mans death, nor priuie and accessarie thereto; (albeit hee wanted not sometimes iust cause of revenge) but sware devoutly, *That hee would rather die himselfe, than doe others to death*. Two noble men of the *Patritian* ranke, convicted for affecting and aspiring to the Empire he proceeded against no farther than to admonish them to desist and give over, saying, *That Sovereigne power was the gift of Destinie and Divine providence*. If they were Petitioners for any thing else, he promised to give it unto them. And verily; out of hand, to the mother of the one who was then farre of (wofull and pensive woman as shee was) he dispatched his owne coursitours and foote-men to carie word that her sonne was safe: As for themselves hee not onely invited them to a familiar and friendly supper that night: but also the next day following, at the sight of Sword-fencers placing them of purpose neere about his owne person, the * Ornaments of the Champions that were to fight, presented unto him, hee reached unto them for to (a) view and peruse.

* As their armor, weapons &c.

Z 3

It

* Ascendens
of their Nati-
vity.
* Domitian.

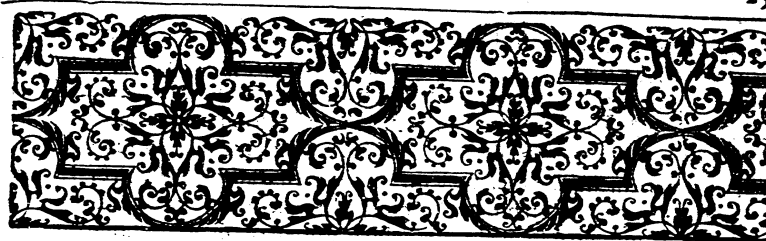
It is said moreover, that having knowledge of both their Horoscopes, he avouched that daunger was toward them both and would light upon their heads one day, but from some other; as it fell out in deede. His owne * brother never ceasing to lay waite for his life, but professedly in manner soliciting the armies against him: plotting also and intending thereupon to slie and be gone, hee could never endure either to kill or to sequester and confine, no nor so much as to abridge of any honour: but, as hee had alwaies done from the first day of his imperiall dignity, persevered to testifie and declare, that Partner he was with him in the Sovereigne government, and his heire apparent to succede him: otherwhiles secretly with teares and prayers beseeching, *That he would vouchsafe him yet as length, mutual love and affection*

9 Amid this blessed course of life, cut short he was and prevented by death, to the greater losse of mankind than of himselfe. After he had finished the solemne Shewes and Games exhibited to the people, in the end and upshot whereof, hee had shed teares abundantly: he went toward the Sabines territorie somewhat more sad than usually he had beene: by occasion, that as hee sacrificed, the beast brake loose and gat away: as also because in faire and cleere weather (a) it had thundered. Hereupon, having gotten an ague at his first lodging and bairing place, when he was removing from thence in his Lictor, it is said that putting by the Curtaines of the windowe, hee looked up to heaven, and complained very piteously, that his life should be taken from him who had not deserved to die: For there was no fault of his extant, of which hee was to repent, save onely one. Now what that one should be, neither uttered he himselfe at that instant, neither is any man able readily to guesse thereat. Some thinke, he called to minde the over-familiar acquaintance that he had with his brothers * wife. But DOMITIA devoutly sware, That he never had such dealing with her: who no doubt would not have denied it, if there had beene any folly at all betwene them: nay, shee would rather have made her vaunt thereof: so ordinary a thing it was with her to glory in all naughtinesse and shamefull deedes.

10

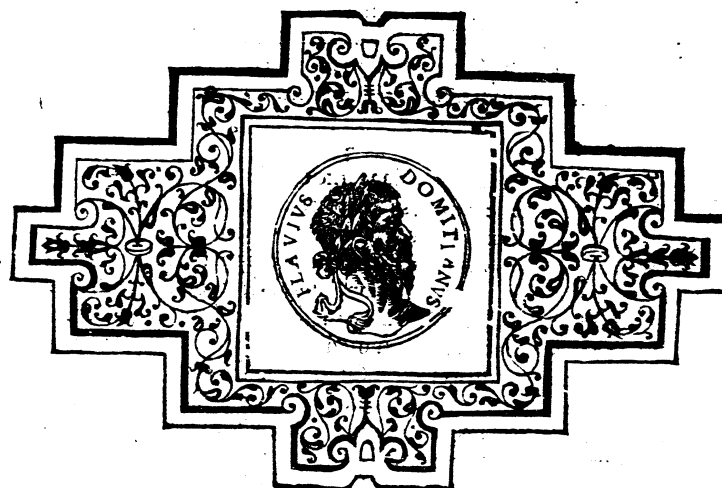
He departed (a) this world, in the very same Country-house wherein his father died before him: upon the * Ides of September, two yeeres, two moneths & twenty dayes after that he succeeded his father, and in the two & fortieth yeere of his age. Which being once notified and knowne abroade, when all men throughout the Citie mourned no lesse than in some domesticall occasion of Sorow and Lamentation: The Senate before they were summoned and called together by any Edict, ranne to the *Curia*, finding as yet the doores fast locked: but when they were set open, they rendred unto him now dead so much thanks, and heaped upon him so great a measure of praises, as they never did before, at any time, whiles he was living and present among them.

* 13 of Sep-
tember,
A.V.C. 838



THE HISTORIE OF Flavius Domitianus, vvritten

by Caius Suetonius Tran-
quillus.



DOMITIAN was borne the * ninth day before the Calends * 14. Octobris: of Nouember what time his father was Consul Elect, and A.V.C. 104 to enter upon that honorable place the * moneth ensuiuing * A place so cal- within the sixth regio of Rome Citty. at the * Pomegranate: led like as be- fore, ad capite Baule and ad Gallinas * For his im- pure life. and in that house which afterwards he conuerted into the temple of the FLAVIAN familie. The floure of his tender yeeres and the verie prime of youth, he passed by report, in so great puerie & * infamy withal, that he had not one peece of plate or vessel or silver to be serued with. And full well it is knowen, that CLODIUS POLLIO, a man of Pretours degree (against whome there is a Poem of NEROES extant, intitled

* Or Bil.
* Or abuse
rather,

* Between
Vellus & his
father. Vespas
and their
factions.

* The Empe-
rours sonne &
heire apparant
of the Empire.
* As being a
young Prince
and a Caesar.

continued Lvsct kept by him a skro of his owne hand writing, yea and other
whiles brought the same forth to bee seene, wherein he promised him the * use of
his bodie one night. Neither wanted some who constantly vouch'd, that DOMI-
TIAN was in that sort abused, even by NERVA who soone after, succeeded him.
In the Vitellian troubles he fled into the Capitol with his Vnkle SABINVS, & part
of the forces which were then present. But when the aduerser faction brake in: and
while the Temple was on fire, hee lay close all night in the Sextaines lodging: and
early in the morning disguised in the habit of a priest of Isis, and among the sacrific-
ers belonging to that vaine superstition, after hee had passed over Tiberis ac-
companied with one onely person, to the mother of a schoole fellow of his, hee
lurked there so secretly, that a beir the serebers traced him by his footing yet could
hee not be found. At last after victory obtained hee went forth and shewed him-
selfe; & being generally saluted by the name * of CAESAR, the honourable dignitie
of the Citi. Prætor in the consular authoritie, hee tooke upon him in name and
title onely: the iurisdiction whereof hee made over to his next Colleague. But in
all power of * Lordly rule, hee caried himself so licentious & without controlment
that hee shewed even then betimes, what a one hee would prove hereafter. And
not to handle every particular, having with uncleane hands offred dishonour to
many mens wives, hee fled a way and married also DOMITIA LONGINA the
wedded wife of ÆLIUS LONGINVS: and in one day gave and dealt above
twentie offices, within the Citi and abroad in foraine provinces: in so much as
VESPASIAN commonly said, *That hee marvelled, why he sent not one also to succeed
in his place.*

2

Hee enterprised moreover a voyage into *Gaule and Germanie*, Notwithstan-
ding the same was needlesse, and his fathers freinds dissuaded him from it; onely,
because hee would equalize his brother both in * workes and reputation. For these
prankes of his rebuked he was: and to the end he might the rather be put in mind
of his young yeeres and private condition, hee dwelt together with his father: in
a liſter hee attended the (Curule) chaire of father and brother, whensoever they
went forth of doores: and being mounted upon a white Courſer accompanied
them both, in their tryumph over *Iurie*. Of 6 Consulships hee bare but one * ordi-
nary; and the same by occasion that his brother TITVS yeelded unto him his own
place and furthered him in his suite. Himſelfe likewise made wonderfull ſemblance
of modestie. But above all, hee ſeemed outwardly to affect Poetrie, (a studie which
he was not ſo much unacquainted with before time, but hee deſpised and reiected it
as much afterwards) & recited his owne verſes even in publike place. Yet neverthe-
leſſe, when VOLOGESVS King of the *Parthians* required aide againſt the *Alans*,
and one of VESPASIAN two ſonnes to be the Generall of thoſe forces, he labou-
red with might and maine, that himſelfe before all others ſhould be ſent: and be-
cauſe the quarrel was * diſpatched alreadie to his hand, hee aſſaid by gifts and large
promiſes to ſollicite other Kings of the Eaſt, to make the ſame requeſt. When his
father was dead, ſtanding in doubtfull tearmes with himſelfe a longe time, whe-
ther hee ſhould offer un to the ſouldiers a donative duple to that of his brother
TITVS, hee never ſtuck to give out and make his boalt, That left hee
was to bee partner with him in the Empire, but that his fathers will was
verie much abuſed. Neither would hee give over from that time forward
both

* Overbid, in
deeds and ex-
ploits.

* Which began
the fiſt of Ia-
nuary, in his
owne night, &
not in Vespas
room of
others.

* Peace con-
cluded between
the 2. nations

both to lay wait ſecretly for his brother, and alſo to practice openly againſt him,
untill ſuch time as he gave commandement when hee was ſtricken with grievous
ſickenſſe, that he ſhould be left for dead before the breath was out of his bodie: and
after he was departed indeed, vouchſafing him no other honour but his * confeſſa-
tion, hee carped alſo at him many a time as well in glauncing figurative ſpeeches
as in open Edicts.

* Conſecration
for a God.

In the beginning of his Empire his manner was, to retire himſelfe daily into a
ſecret place for * one houre, and there to do nothing elſe but to catch flies, and with
the ſharp point of a bodkin or writing ſteele pricke the through: In ſo much, as whe
one enquired, whether any bodie were with CAESAR within? VITIVS CRIS-
PVS made answer not impertinently, no, not ſo much as a flie. After this, DOMI-
TIA his owne wife, who in his ſecond Conſulſhip had borne him a ſonne, and
whome two yeeres after he had ſaluted as Empreſſe, by the name of AVGVST-
TA, her I ſay, falling in fanſie with PARIS the ſtage player and ready to die for
his love, hee put away: but within a ſmal while after (as impatient of this breach
and divorce) tooke her home, and married her againe, as if the people had inſtantly
called upon him ſo to do. In the adminiſtration of the Empire hee behaved him
ſelfe for a good while variable, as one made of an equall mixture and temper of
vices and vertues, untill at length hee turned his vertues alſo into vices: being, (ſo
far as we may coniecture) over & above his naturall inclination, for want covetous
and greedie; for feare bloody and cruell.

* Heretism or
for a certaine
time of the day:
ſome ſay three
houres.

4

Hee exhibited ordinarily magnificent and ſumptuous ſhewes not onely in the
Amphitheatre, but in the Cirque alſo. In which, beſide the uſuall running of
Chariots, drawn as well with two ſteedes as foure. Hee repreſented likewiſe two
battailes of horſemen and foote men both: and in the Amphitheatre a Navall
fight. For, baitings of wild beaſts, and ſword fencers, he ſhewed in the very night
by cresset and torch lights; and hee brought into the place not men onely
to fight, but women alſo to encounter wild beaſts. Furthermore, at the games of
ſwordfight ſet out by the Queſtours (which having in times paſt been diſcontinued
and ſorlet, hee brought into uſe againe) hee was alwaies preſent in perſon, ſo
aſhe gave the people leave to chooſe two paire of ſwordſceners out of his owne
ſchoole, and thoſe hee brought in, royally, & courtlike appointed in the laſt place.
And at all fights of ſword players, there ſtood ever at his feet a little dwarfe arraid
in ſkarlet with a ſmall head that it was wonderfull: with whome hee uſed to talke
and conferre otherwhiles of ſerious matters. Certes, over heard he was, when hee
demanded him of what he knew? & what he thought, of the laſt diſpoſe of the Provin-
ces: and namely of ordaining METIUS RVFVS Lieutenant generall of Egypt?
Hee exhibited navall battailes performed in manner, by full fleets and compleat
navies: having digged out a great pit for a lake, and built a ſtone wall round about
it, neere vnto Tiberis: and thoſe he would behold in the greateſt ſtormes & ſhowers
that were. Hee ſet forth alſo the ſecular plaies and games making his computatio
from the yeere, not wherein CLAUDIVS, but AVGVSTVS longe before had
made them. During theſe, upon the daie of the Circentia ſolemnities, to the end
there might be an hundred * courſes the ſooner runne, hee abridged the races of
every one, to wit, from 7. to 4. He ordained moreover, in the honour of IVPITER

* Circumſtrictio

* Miſſus. every
of which ordi-
narily conſiſts
of 7. races.

CAPITOLINVS,

CAPITOLINVS, Quinquennall Games of three fold Maistries, musicke, horseriding, & Gymnicke exercises: & in the same, rewarding victours with Coronets, more by a good many then now they be. Herein the concurrents strove also for the prise in Prose, both Greeke & Latin: and besides single harpers, there were Setts of those also that played uppon the harpe, yea and consorts of such as sung thereto, in a quire. In the running place, Virgins also ran for the best games. At all these masteries and solemnities, he sat as president in his Pantofles, clad in a robe (a) of purple after the Greekish fashion, wearing on his head a golden Coronet; with the Image of IUPITER LVNO and MINERVA: having the priest of IUPITER and the Colledge of the religious, called FLAVIALES, sitting by him in like habit: saving that in their Coronets there was his Image also. Semblably, hee celebrated everie yeere uppon the Albane mount, the Quinquatria of MINERVA, In whose honor he had instituted a Societie, out of which there should be chosen by lot, Maisters and Wardens of that solemnitie who were to exhibite peculiar and especiall Beastsbairings and stage playes, yea and contentions for the prise, of Oratours and Poets besides. He gave a * largesse to the people thrice: to wit, three hundred sesterces a peece: & at the * shew of the swordfight a most plenteous dinner. At the soleme * Septimontiall sacrifice, hee made a dole of Viands, allowing to the Senatours and gentlemen faire large paniers: to the commons, final * maunds with Cates in them: and was the first himselfe that fell to his meat. The next day after, he * skattered among the * Missils of all sorts: and because the greater part thereof, fell to the rankes of the common people, he pronounced by word of mouth for every skaffold of Senatours and gentlemen, 50, tickets or tallies.

* Conjarium
* Xiphilin
* So, Called of
the seamen hills,
whereupon the
Cattie stood.
* Or Baskets.
* Or Sent,
* Gifts of fa-
vours,

* In Festivall
dayes.

Manie buildings, and those most stately, which had beene consumed with fire, hee reedified: and among them the Capitoll which had been * fired again: but all under the title of his owne name, without any memoriall of the former founders. Mary, he founded a new Temple in the Capitoll to the honour of IUPITER CVSTOS: also the Forum, which is now called NERVA Forum: like wise the Temple of the FLAVIAN familie: a shew place for running and wrestling: another for Poets and Musicians to contend in, and a Naumachie for ships to encounter. Of the stone that was about which, the greatest Cirque of al was afterwards built, by occasion that both sides thereof had been burnt downe.

6

Expeditions hee made, some voluntarie; some uppon necessitie: Of his owne accord that against the Catti: uppon constraint one, against the SARMATIANS: By occasion that one whole Legion together with their Lieutenant fell upon the sword: two against the Daci, the former, because OPPIDIUS SABINVS a man of Consuls degree was defeated and slaine: and the second, for that CORNELIVS FVSCVS, Capitaine of the Prætorian bands (unto whom he had committed the whole conduct of that war) lost his life. Over the Catti & Daci (after sundry feilds fought with varietie of fortune) he triumphed twice. For his victory of the Sarmatians, hee presented only IUPITER CAPITOLINVS with his Lawrel guirland. The civill warre stirred up by LVCIVS ANTONIVS governor of the higher Germanie, hee dispatched and ended * in his absence:

* By Norbertus
Appian who
saw the fact
Antonin.

and

and that by a wonderfull good hap: when, as at the very houre of conflict, the Rhene swelling and overflowing sodainly staied the Barbarians forces as they wold have passed over to ANTONIVS. Of which victorie hee had intelligence by pre-
stages, before the newes by messengers came. For uppon that very day when the battaile was fought, an Eagle after a straung manner having overspred his statue at Rome and clasped it about with her wings, made a great flapping noise in token of much ioy; and within a litle after, the bruit was blowen abroad so rise and common, of ANTONIES death, that many avouched confidently, they had seene his head also brought home (to Rome,)

7

Many new orders besides in matters of common use, hee brought uppe. The dole of Viands given and distributed in little baskets in lieu of a publike supper, he abolished; and reduced the auncient custome of * compleat and formall suppers: Vnto the * 4 factions in former time, of severall crewes running with Chariots at Circean games, hee added twaine; to wit the golden and purple livery. Players & Actours of enterludes hee forbad the open stage: but within houle verily, he granted free and lawfull exercise of their Art. Hee gave commandement that no males should be guelded: And of such Eunuchs as remained in the hands of * Hucksters, hee abated the price and brought it downe to a meaner. By reason one time of an exceeding plentifull vintage, and as much scarcity of Come, supposing that by the immoderate care employed upon Vineyards, tillage was neglected hee made an Edict, That no man in all Italie should plant any newe young Vineyardes: and that in (a) foraine Provinces they should cut them all downe reserving at the most but the one halfe. Howbeit, hee continued not in the full execution of this Act: Some of the greatest offices he communicated indifferently between Libertines & souldiers. He prohibited, that there should be two * Camps of the (b) legions. Item that any man should lay up more than a thousand sesterces about the (c) Camp ensignes. For that L. ANTONIVS intending rebellion in the wintering harbour of two Legions, was thought to have taken heart and presumed more confidently, upon the great summes of monie there bestowed in stocke. Hee added a fourth stipend also for souldiers, to wit, 3, * peeces of gold by the poll.

Wher eas com-
travellers vnder
Aero, rubina
cane ad porta
has redusta

* White
Blew
Red
Greene
* Who guelded
pan pered and
let them cut
to sale.

* Geminiari
citra the grea-
ter and the lesse
as we read in
Livie &c.

* Every one
about 15, 5, 7 d.
ob, sterling.

8

In ministring iustice precise he was & industrious. Many a time, even in the comon place, sitting extraordinarily uppon the Tribunal he reversed the definitive sentences of the Centumvirs, given for favour and obtained by flattery. He warned estoones the commissioners and Iudges delegate, not to accommodate themselves & give eare unto perswasive and Rhetoricall * Assertions. The Iudges that were bribed and corrupted with monie hee noted and disgraced every one, together with their Asses-
sours uppon the bench. Hee mooved also and perswaded the Tribunes of the Commons to accuse Iudicially for extortion, and to force vnto restitution, a bafe and corrupt * Aedile: yea and to call unto the Senate, for to have a Iurie empan-
nelled upon him. Moreover, so carefull was hee to chastise as well the magistrates within Rome as the Rulers of Provinces abroad of their misdemeanours, that never at any time they were either more temperate or iust in their places. The most part of whome after his dayes, we our selves have seene culpable, yea and brought into question for all manner of crimes. Having taken uppon him the censuring and re-
formation of manners, he inhibited that licentious libertie taken up in Theatres,
of

* Of such bond
men, as against
then Lordes &
Masters Right
claimed free-
dome & vied
therin the
plea of Ora-
tours.

* who by taking
n on v exerci-
sed his office
otherwise than
be ought.

of beholding the playes and games pell-mell one with another in the quater and rankes appointed for gentlemen. Diffamatorie libels written & divulged, wherein men and women of good marke were touched and taxed, hee abolished not with out shame and ignominie of the Authors. A man of Questours degree, because he tooke pleasure in Puppet-like gesturing and dauncing, hee remooved out of the Senate. From women of dishonest carriage, hee tooke away the priuledge and use of their Licters: hee made them incapable also of Legacies and inheritances. A gentleman of Rome hee rased out of the Roll and Tables of Iudges, for receiving his wife againe into Wedlocke, whome hee had before put away and sued in an action of adulterie. Some of both degrees, as well Senatours as Gentlemen, hee condemned, by vertue of the law * Scatinia. The incestuous whoredomes committed by vestall votaries; negligently passed over, by his father and brother both, hee punished after sundrie sorts: The former delinquents in that kinde, with simple death: the later sort according to the ancient manner: (d) For, having given libertie unto the sisters * Ocellatæ as also to VAROMILLA, for to chuse their owne deaths, and banished those who had defoured them, hee afterwards commanded, that CORNELIA * MAXIMILLA, who in times past had bene acquit, and a long time after was called into question againe and convicted, should be buried quick: and the parties who had committed incest with her, beaten with rods to death in the Comitium: except on alone a man of Prætorious degree; unto whom whiles the matter remained doubtful, and because he had confessed and bewraied himselfe (upon his examination by torture which was uncertaine) he granted the fauour of Exile. And that no religious service of the Gods should bee contaminated and polluted without condigne punishment, the monument or Tombe, which his freedman had built for a sonne of his with the stones appointed for the Temple of IUPITER CAPITO LINVS, hee caused his soldiours to demolish: and the bones and reliques therein hee drowned in the Sea.

9 At the first hee abhorred all bloodshed and slaughter, so farre forth, as that (while his father was yet absent) callinge to remembrance this Verse of Virgil.

Impia quam cœsisse gens est epulata, iuuenit,

Ere godlesse people made their feasts

With Oxen slaine, (poore harmelesse beasts.)

Hee purposed fully to publish an Edict, Forbiddinge to kill and sacrifice any Oxe. Of * Covetousnesse also and avarice, hee gave scarcely the least suspition; either at any time when hee led a private life. or a good while after hee was Emperour: but contrariwise rather, he shewed great promyses oftentimes, not of abstinence onely but also of liberalitie. And whensoever he had bestowed gifts most bountifully upon those that were about him, hee laied upon them no charge before this nor with more earnestnesse, *than to do nothing basely and beggerly*. Moreover, one Legacie put downe in the last Will of RVSCIUS CÆPIO who had provided therein, *That his heire should give yearly unto every one of the Senatours, as they went into the Curia, a certaine summe of money*, he made voide. All those likewise, whose suits had hung and depended in the Chamber of the Citie, from before five yeeres last past, hee discharged and delivered from trouble, Neither suffered hee them to be sued and molested againe, but within the compasse of one yeare and with this condition, that the accuser (unlesse hee overthrew his *adversarie by that time) should be banished for his labour, The Scribes and Notaries belonging to the

Questours

* A gainst the filthy sin of Pederastie or Sodomie.
* As to loose their head.
* Surnamed of a familie in Rome.
* Or Maximilla Sc. Petilla, the chiefe of those Nunnes as Lady Prioresse or Abbesses.

2. Georgiconum, This hath relation to the last word (Ante), in the verse preceding.

* Cupiditie quogue atque avaritie. By covetousnesse hee meant the greedy desire of other mens goods: by avarice, in this place the pinch ing expense of his owne.

* Plaintiffe.
* Defence.

Questours, who by an olde custome, (but yet against the Law *Clodia*) used to negotiate and trade, hee pardoned onely for the time past. The old ends and canels of grounds, which after the division of lands by the * Veteran Souldiours, remained hoere and there cut out, as it were, from the rest, hee granted unto the old owners and Landlords in the right of Prescription. The false information of maners, whereof the penaltie came to the Exchequer hee repressed: and sharply punished such Informers. And this (by mens flying) was a speech of his, *The Prince that chuseth not Promoters, setteth them on to promote.*

10

But long continued he not in this traine, either of clemencie or of abstinence. And yet felt hee somewhat sooner to truckie than to covetousnesse. A Schollar of the cunning player and counterfeite Paris, being as yet of tender yeeres, and at that time very sicke, hee murdered: for that, both in skill and also in countenance and feature of body he seemed to resemble his Maister. Semblably dealt he with HERMOGENES of Tarsus, for certaine figures * of Rhetorick interlaced in his Historie: and withall, crucified the Scriveners and Writers that had copied it out. An (a) Houholder, for saying but these words, That the Thracian * Fencer was (b) equall to the mirmillon; but inferiour to the letter forth of the * Game, hee caused to bee plucked downe from the scaffold in the Theater, into the plaine beneath; and there to be cast before the greedy Maltives, with this title, *Impie locustis Parmularius*. The * Parmularius (c) hath blasphemed. Many Senatours, and some of them which had bene Consuls, hee killed. Among whom CIVICUS CEREALIS, in the very time when he was Proconsull in Asia; SALVIDIENUS ORFITUS and ACILIUS GLABRIUS during their exile, hee put to death; pretending that they practised Innovation in the State: all the rest every one for most slight causes. As for example, ELIUS LAMIA, for certaine suspitious iests (I must needs say) but such as were stale and harmlesse: namely, because unto DOMITIAN when (after he had taken from him * his wife) hee fell a praising of her voice, hee said, *I (d) hold my peace*, HELIAS. As also, for that unto TITUS, moving him to a second marriage, hee made answer, *Me kaisu Gamisai Theleis*: What! (and if I should wed another) would not you also marie her? * SALVEUS COCCIANUS, because hee had celebrated the Birth-dayes minde, of OTHO the Emperour, his * Vnkle. * METIUS POMPEIANUS, for that it was commonly said, *Hee had the Horescope in his Nativity of an Emperour*; and caried about him the Map or Geographical description of the * world in certaine parchments; and withall, the Orations of Kings and brave Capitaines written out of TITUS LIVIUS; for imposing likewise the names of MAGO * and ANNIBAL upon some of his slaves. SALLUSTIUS LUCULLUS Lieutenant generall of Britaine, for suffering certaine speeres of a new fashion to be called * Luculleæ. IUNIUS RUSTICUS, for publishing the praides of * PÆTUS THRASEA and * HELVIDIUS PRISCUS; and calling them most holy and upright persons. By occasion of which criminous imputation (charged upon RUSTICUS) hee packed away all Philosophers out of the Citie of Rome and Italie. Hee slew also HELVIDIUS the * sonne, for that in an Enterlude (as it were), and by way of an Exodium upon the Stage, hee had under the persons of Paris and Oenone * acted the Divorce betweene

A a

* Who being persecuted by Nero cut his owne maister veins. * The sonne in lawe of Thrasea, even another Cato or Brutus and a man of most free speech in the behalfe of the Common wealth. * For the rather, Vespasian had slain before, Trajan's sonne, handled, aljaia, taxed or reproved.

* Old souldiers who had served out their full time.

* As Ironia and Anti. brasis. & whereby he seemed to glance at him. * Who was armed with a buckler. * of word fight. * The favour of the armed sencer Thrac. above saide.

Domitia longina * Pucciniam, a Latin name, his voice as some expound it. * As if hee had uttered these words: This is mine injury but I must say nothing. * Understand hee, and in the other following (beslew or put to death). * For his father L. Salvius Titianus was Otho's brother.

* See Vespasian. cap. 14.

* Or earth. * Two most renowned warriors of the Carthaginians, and mortal enemies of the Romans.

* O. his owne name.

* Domitian,

* Of the Flavians and Vitellians.

* *Dadā laetitia, per confusio in-
refragata.*

* him and his wife. FLAVIUS SABINUS, one of his *germanes*, became upon the Election day of the Consuls, the Crier charged to mistake a little, and before the people to pronounce him (being Consul Elect) not Consul, but Emperour. And yet, after his victorie in the * Civil warre, hee became much more cruell: For, many of the aduerser part, even such as * lying hid a good while, were found out by those that were privie unto them, hee by devising a new kinde of torture made to confesse: namely by thrusting fire into the passage of their secret parts: Some also hee dismembred by cutting off their hands. And this is for certaine knowne: That two onely and no more, of the most notorious among them, to wit, a Tribune of Senatours degree, and a Centurion, were pardoned: Who the sooner to shew that they were unguilte, had proved themselves to have beene effeminate Catamites, and therefore could not possibly be of any reckoning, either with Capitaine or Souldiours.

II

* *Allorem formosum.*

* A dish of meste, &c:

* *Small gesture.*

* Senate house.

* To have their necks fast locked in pillory, and so to be beaten with rods to death.

Now, in this Crueltie of his hee was not onely excessive, but also subtil and craftie; coming upon men when they looked least for it. A * Controller of his owne, the very day before he crucified him, hee called into his bed-chamber, and made him to sit downe by him upon a pallet or beds side: hee dismissed him light-harted and merie: hee deigned him also a favour and * remembrance from his own supper. Vnto AETINUS CLEMENS, a man of Consuls degree, one of his familiar minions and bloodhounds to fetch in Booties, when he purposed to condemne to death, he shewed the same countenance, as before time, yea and more grace than ordinary: untill at last, as hee * went with him in the same Litter, by occasion that hee espied the Informer against him, *How sayest thou*, quoth hee, CLEMENS, *shall wee to morrow heere this most errant knave and varlet, what hee can say?* And because hee would with greater contempt and disdain abuse mens patience, hee never pronounced any heaue and bloudie sentence, without some preamble and preface of Clemencie: So that, there was not now, a furer signe of some horrible end and Conclusion, than a milde beginning and gentle exordium. Some that stood accused of Treason he had indued into the * Curias; and when he had premised a Speech, *That hee would make triall that day, how deere hee was unto the Senate*, hee soone effected thus much thereby, That the parties should have their iudgement, to suffer * *More maiorem*: And then, himselfe, affrighted as it were with the rigorous cruelty of that punishment, would *intercede*, in these words (for, it shall not bee impertinent to knowe the very same as hee delivered them) *Permit my good LL. this to be obtained of your gracious Piety (which I know I shall hardly obtaine) that yee would doe so much favour unto these persons condemned; as that they may choose, what death they will die: for, by this yee shall spare your owne eyes, and all the world shall know, that I was present in the Senate.*

I 2

* i. of 3. *auri.*

Having emptied his coffers with expences of buildings and Games exhibited to the people, as also with that * Stipend paid unto the Souldiours, over and above the former; hee assaied verily for easement of the charges belonging to the Camp, for to diminish the numbers and companies of Souldiours. But perceiving that heereby he was both in daunger of the Barbarians, and also never the lesse to seeke which way to be relieved from burdens: hee made no reckoning at all, but to raise booties, to rob and spoile he cared not how? The goods of quick and

and dead both, were every where seized upon: who the Accusers were? or what the matter was? it skilled not. Sufficient it was, if any deede or word whatsoever, were objected against one, to make it high treason against the Prince. Inheri- tances, were they never so farre off and belonging to the greatest strangers, were held confiscate and adiudged to the Emperours Coffers; in case but one would come forth and depose, *That hee heard the party deceased say, while hee lived, That CESAR (a) was his heire.* But, above all others the (b) Lewes were most grievously plagued in the Exchequer. Vnto which were presented as many of them as either professed in Rome to live as Lewes, or else dissimulating their Nation, had not payed the Tributes imposed upon them. I remember, that my selfe being a very youth was in place when an aged Jew, fourescore and tenne yeeres olde, was by the * Procuratour in a most frequent Assembly searched, whether he were circum- cised or no? From his very youth nothing civill * and sociable hee was: bolde of hart, audacious withall, and as well in words as deede beyond all measure excef- five. Vnto CENIS his fathers Concubine newly returned out of *Isiris*, and of- fring to kisse his lips (as her manner was) hee put forth his hand. Taking it hai- nously that his * brothers sonne in Law had attending about him his, Servitours also, clad in faire white, he cried out,

*There is no good Plurality
in Lordship and in Sou'raintie.*

I 3

But when hee was mounted once to the Imperiall Seate, hee stucke not in the very Senate to make his boast, *That hee was who had given unto his father and brother both, The Empire, and they had but deliuered it up to him againe.* Also when after Divorcement he brought home and remarried his wife, hee bashed not to give it out, that he was called to his * sacred bed. Moreover, upon the day when hee made a great * Dinner unto the people, hee was well content and pleased to heare their acclamation throughout the Theater in these words,

Domino et Dominæ, feliciter.

All happines, to our Lord and Lady.

Likewise at the Solemnity of Trying Mailleries in the *Palatium*, when all the people besought him with great consent and one accord, to * restore PALFURIUS SURA (one in times past degraded and thrust out of the Senate, but at that time crowned among the Oratours for his Eloquence) hee vouchsafed them no answer, but onely by voice of the publike crier Comaunded them Silence. With semblable arrogancie, when as in the * name of his Procuratours he ended any formall Letters, thus hee began, *Our Lord and God thus comaundeth.* Whereupon afterwards this order was taken up, that neither in the writing or speech of * any man he should be otherwise called. No Statues suffred he to be erected for him in the Capitoll, but of gold and silver; and the same of a certaine weight, iust. As for two-fronted IANI and ARCHES with their foure Streedes, together with the Ensignes and Badges of Triumph, hee built them stately and so many in every quarter and Region of the Cittie, as that in one of the saide Arches there was this Mor in Greeke written, *ἀρκος (a) i.* It is enough. Hee tooke upon him seventene Consulships, more than ever any man before him. Of which, those

A a 2

seven

* Or Master of the Exchequer.
* But proud & scornfull.

* Who married Titus his daughter Julia.
* An Hemistichium out of Homer Iliad 2.
* *Plures* words as if he should say I like not to many Caesars

* *Pulvinar* said as if he had beene a God: for their Gods and Goddesse they bestowed in certaine bed-
* *lots* called *Pulvinaria*. * During y^e *tolerance* Games exhibited vnto them.
* To his Senatours place.
* Or behalfe.
* Common talke

* *Ponderis certum*. *Sabellius* can-
* *de*th *centena* *i.* of an hundred pounds according to *Strabo*
* *Papinius* of *Domitian* statue
* *Sylus* *5.* *De Capitolio* *et* *eternum* *sedibus* *abstrum*

* *Quo niteant sacri comento pondere vultus Caesaris*

* Not above 4 months.
 * Not a fort. night full.
 * Over the Calais and Dair.
 * September.
 * Oct. ber.

14
 * Minions.

seven in the middle, hee bare continually one after another; and in manner all, in name and title onely: but none of them beyond the * Kalends of May; and most, to the * Ides onely of Ianuarie. Now, after his two * triumphs, having assumed into his stile the Addition of GERMANICUS, hee chaunged the Denomination of the months September & October; calling them after his owne names GERMANICUS and DOMITIANUS: for that in the * one hee entred upon his Empire, and was borne in the * other.

In these courses that hee tooke, beeing both terrible and odious also unto all men, surpris'd he was in the end, and murdered by his * friends and freed men that were most inward with him; who together with his wife conspired his death. The last yeere and day of his life, the very houre also and what kinde of death he should die, he had long time before suspected. For when he was but a youth, the Chaldean Astrologers had fore-told him all. His Father also one time at supper, when hee saw him forbear to eat Mushromes, laughed him to scorne as ignorant of his owne destinie, for that hee did not feare the sword rather. And therefore beeing alwaies timorous and stricken into his pensive dumps upon the least suspitions presented, hee was beyond all measure troubled and disquieted: In so much as it is credibly reported, that no other cause moved him more, to dispenſe with that Edict which hee had proclaimed for the cutting downe and destroying of Vineyards, than certaine Pamphlets and Libels scattered abroad with these verses.

* ΚΑὶν με φάγης ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἐστὶ καρποφόρος,
 ὁσόν ἐστις πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ σαρὶ θυμένω.

*Eate me to roote, yet fruit will I beare still and never misse,
 Enough to poure on CÆSARS head whiles sacrific'd he is.*

* Alluding to the like verses of the Poet Evagor: which Ovide seemeth to expresse. *Fastorum in Lucanibus. Rode caper vitem, tamē hic cū siabu ad aras. Intus quod spargi verum possit, vitis*

In the same fearefulness hee refused a new honour and that which never was devised before, offered by the Senate unto him, (though otherwise most eager and greedie of all such things) whereby they decreed, *That so often as hee was Consul, the Gentlemen of Rome, as it fell by lot to their turnes, should in their rich and gay coats and with militare Lances march before him among the Lifours and other Sergeants and Apparitions.* When the time also of that danger drew neere which he suspected, he became perplexed every day more than other: and therefore he garnished the walls of those galleries wherein hee was wont to come himselfe and walke, with the stone *Phengster*; by the images rebounding from the brightnesse whereof he might see before his face whatsoever was done behind his back. The most part of prisoners and persons in duresse, hee would not heare but being alone and in a secret place, taking holde first of their chaines in his owne hand. And because he would perswade his household servitors, that no man should be so hardy as to lay violent hand upon his owne Patrone to kill him, no though much good might ensue thereof; hee condemned EPAPHRODITUS the Secretarie of NERO, for that it was thought, his Lord & Maister (after he was forlorne and forsaken of all) had his helping hand to dispatch him out of the world.

15

To conclude, his Vnkles sonne (a) FLAVIVS CLEMENS (a man for his lither-nesse and negligence most contemptible) whose sonnes being yet very little ones, hee had openly ordained to be his Successours: and abolishing their former names, commanded the one to be called VESPASIAN and the other DOMITIAN, he killed sodainely, upon a slender & small suspicion, even when he was scarce out of his Consulship. By which dee'de of his most of all, he hastened his own end and

and destruction, For 8 moneths space together, so many lightnings were seene & reported unto him, that he cryed out, *Now let him strike whom he will!* The Capitol was smitten and blasted therewith: the Temple also of the FLAVIAN Linage: like wife his owne house in the Palatium, and verie bedchamber. Moreover, out of the bafe of his triumphall Statue, the * Tide being driven by force of a storme, feldown into the Sepulcher next adioyning. That tree which being laid along, had risen up againe when VESPASIAN was yet a private person, fell sodainely then a seconde time. The Image of fortune at * *Preneſta*, which all the time of his Empire, when he recommended unto her the new yeere, was wont to give him an happy answer & alwaies the same, now in this last yeere, delivered one most wofull, and not without mention of blood. He dreamed, that (b) MINERVA, whom he worshipped superstitiously, departed out of her Chappell, and said, *She could not protect him any longer*, for that shee was by IVPITER disarmed. But with no one thing was hee so much disquieted, as with the answer of ASCLETARIO the Astrologer; & the accident that chanced unto him thereupon. This ASCLETARIO beeing enformed against, and not denying that he had delivered what by his art and learning he foresaw, he questioned with and asked, what his owne end should be & when he made answer & affirmed, *That his destinie was to be torne in peeces with dogs*, & that shortly after he caused him presently to be killed but to reprove the rashnes and uncertainty of his skill and profession, he commanded with all, that he should be buried with as great care as possibly might be. In the doing whereof accordingly, it fortune that by a sodaine tempest, the corps being cast downe out of the funerall fire, the dogs rare and rent peecemeale, when it was but halfe burnt and the same happened to be reported unto him among other * tales and newes, of that day, as hee sat at supper, by LATINVS the player and counterfeite iester, who as hee passed by, chanced to see and marke so much.

* Jupiter or God.

* Or Pica stoole.
 * Or Inscription.

* Where was on Oracle.

* Fabulus narrations to make Princes merry

16 The day before his death, when he had given commandement that certaine Mushromes set before him should be kept against the morrow, he added moreover, if I may have vie of them & turning to those that were next him he said, *The day following it would come to passe, that the Moone should embyne her selfe with blood in the signe Aquarius, and some act be seene, whereof men should speake all the world over.* But about midnight, so * skared he was, that he started out of his bed. Hereupon in the morning betimes he gave hearing unto the Soothsayer sent out of *Germanie*, who being asked his opinion about the lightning, had foretold a chang in the state: and him he condemned. And whiles he scratched verie harde at a wart in his forehead which was festered and growne to be sore, seeing blood run out of it, would God quoth he, this were all. Then asked he what was a clocke? and in steede of the * 5 th. houre which he feared, word was brought for the nonce that it was the 6 th. Being iolous hereupon that the danger was now past, and hastening to cherish his body and make much of himselfe, PARTHENIUS his principall Chamberlaine turned him another way; sayinge there was one come who brought tidings (I wot not what) of great cōsequēce, & of a matter in no wise to be deferred. Voiding therefore all persons from him, he retired into his bedchamber, and there was he murdered.

* He dreamed haply that Iunius Rusticus whom hee had killed came upon him with a naked sword.

* 11 Of 7 clock

17 As touching the manner how he was forlaide and of his death, thus much (in manner) hath bene divulged. Whiles the conspiratours were in question with themselves and doubtfull, when, and how, they should set upon him: that is to say, whether he bathed or sat at supper? STEPHEN the procuratour of * Domitilla, & at the same time in trouble for intercepting certaine monies, offered his advise and

* Whom Enobarbus reported to have bene aspiex by the sister of Flavius Clemens and a Christian, therefore confined to the Island Pontia.

helping hand, who having for certaine dayes before bound up and enwrapped his left arme (as if it had bene amisse) with wool and swadling bandes, thereby to avert from himselfe all suspicion, at the very houre interposed fraud and made a lie. For, professing that hee would discover the conspiracy, and in that regarde being admitted into the chamber, as DOMITIAN was reading of a bill which hee preferred unto him, and therewith stood amazed, hee stabbed him beneath in the very share neere unto his privie parts. When hee was thus wounded and beganne to struggle and resist, CLODIANVS a * Cornicularius, and MAXIMVS a freed man of Parthenius, and SATVRIVS the Deane or Decurion of the Chamberlaines with one out of his owne swordfencers schoole, came in upon him, gave him seven wounds, and killed him out right. A youth and page of his, who stood by (as his wonted manner was) because he had the charge of his bedchamber (a) LARES, and was present at this murder committed, made this report moreover; that DOMITIAN, at the very first wound given, immediately bad him reach the * dagger, that lay under his pillow, and to call in his ministers and servitours: but at the beds head hee found nothing at all thereof save the hilt onely: and as for the doores besides, they were all fast shut: Also, that DOMITIAN in this meane space, tooke hold of STEPHEN, bare him to the ground and wrestled with him a longe time: That he one while assaied to wreathe his sword out of his hands, another while (albeit his fingers were hurt and mangled) to plucke out his eyes. Well, killed he was, the 14 th day before the Kalends of October, in the 45 th yeere of his age, and the 15 th of his Empire. His dead bodie was caried forth upon the common bierre by the ordinary bearers: and PHYLIS his nourse burned it in a funerall fire, within a country manour of his owne neere unto the Citie, situate upon the high way Latina. But the reliques thereof hee belowed in the Temple of the FLAVIAN family, and blended the same with the ashes of IULIA the daughter of TITVS, whom she had reared and brought up.

Of stature he was tall, his countenance modest, and given much to (a) redness: his eyes full and great, but his sight very dimme: Besides, faire he was and of comely presence especially in his youth: well shaped all his body throughout, excepting his feet: the toes wherof were of the * shortest. In proceesse of time, he became disfigured and blemished with baldnesse, with a fat grand-panch and slender shanks: & yet they grew to be so leane upon occasion of a long sickenes. For his modesty & shame facednesse he so well perceived himselfe to be commended, that one time before the Senate he gave out these words, *Hitherto certainly ye have liked wel of my minde and of my countenance.* With his bald head he was so much yrked, that hee tooke it as a reproach unto himselfe, if any man els were either in bord or good earnest twitted therewith: albeit in a certaine little booke, which he wrote unto a friend of his, concerning the nourishment & preservation of the haire of the head, he by way of consolation both to that friend and also to himselfe, inserted thus much.

ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος οὐκ ἔχει καλὸν τε μέγεθος.

See st thou not yet how big and tall

How faire I am and comely with all

And yet quoth he, my * destinie and fortune will be to have the same defect of haire: & with a stout heart I endure, that the bush of my head waxeth olde in my fresh youth. And this would I have you to know, that nothing is more louely, nothing more fraile and transitorie than beautie and favour.

19 Being impatient of all labour and paines taking, he was not lightly scene to walke in the Citie. In any expedition and march of the army seldome rod he on horse-

horsebacke, but was caried in a * listour. No affection had hee to beare armes or wield weapons: but delighted he was especially to shoot arrows. Many men have scene him oftentimes, during his retiring abode at Alba, to kill with shot an hundred wild beasts of sundrie sorts at a time: & of very purpose to sticke some of them in the head, so, as that with two shoots hee would fet his shafts in their fronts like a paire of hornes. Sometimes he would drive his arrows point blanke so iust against, the palme of a childes right hand, standing farr off and holding it forth stretched open for a marke, as they should a l directly passe through the void spaces betweene the fingers, and do him no harme at all.

20 All liberrall studies in the beginning of his Empire he neglected: albeit hee tooke order to repaire the Libraries consumed with fire, to his exceeding great charges: making search from all parts for the copies of bookes lost, and sendinge as farre as to * ALEXANDRIA, (a) to write them out and correct them. But never gave he his minde to know histories; or to have any skill in verse, or to write ought, though necessitie so required. Except it were the commentaries and acts of TIBERIUS CAESAR, hee never used to read any thing. For his Epistles, Orations and Edicts, hee employed the wits of other men to drawe and frame them. Howbeit, his ordinary speech was not unelegant: and otherwhiles you shold have him come forth even with mirable sentences and Apophthegmes. As for example; *Woe! Go! quoth he, I were as faire and well favoured, as METIVS thinks himselfe to be:* And seeing ones head * partly coloured, with yellowish and white silver haire intermingled: Hee said it was * snow and mede mixed together. His saying it was, *that the condition of Princes was most miserable, who could not be credited as teaching: a conspiracie plainly detected unless they were slaine first.*

21 Whensoever his leisure served, he solaced himselfe with dice play, even upon the very worke daye, and in morning houres: Hee bathed * by day time, and made his dinner so liberrall to the full, that seldome for his supper he tooke any thing, unless it were a * Marium Apple, and a smal supping or potion out of a narrow mouthed and great bellied glaile. He feasted often, & that very plentifully, but his feasts were short and after a snatching manner: Certes, hee never far past sunne setting, nor admitted any reare bankets after supper. For, towards bedtime, hee did nothing, but in a secret chamber walke by himselfe alone.

22 To fleshly lust he was over much given. The ordinary use of VENVS, as it were a kind of exercise, hee named Clinopale, as one would say, bed-wrestling. The report went, that him selfe used, with pinners to depilate his concubines, and to swim among the commonest naughtie packes, that were. His brothers * daughter offered first unto him in marriage whiles she was yet a maide, when he had most resolutely refused, by reason he was chengled and overcome with the mariage of DOMITIAN; not long after when she was bestowed upon another, of his owne accord hee solicited, and was naught with her: even verily whiles his brother TITVS yet lived. Afterwards when she was bereft of father and husband both, hee loved her with most ardent affection, and * that openly: in so much, as that hee was the cause of her death, by forcing her to miscarie and cast away the untimely * fruite wherewith she went.

23 That he was killed the people tooke it indifferently: but the souldiers, to the very heart: and forthwith went about to canonize him a God, and to call him * DIVVS: ready enough also to revenge his death; but that they wanted heads to lead

* Upon mens shoulders.

* In Aegypt.

* Of two colours. A kind of delicate drinke among the Romans.

* De die. It tooke the name of one Marius who lived in hortyard well like as Aspians and Scaprians male of Appius and Scapianus.

* Julia. As his wedded wife. Conceived as some say, by her former husband: others, by Domitian in her widow head: and here to accordeth Luvens. Quam tot abortivos, &c. Julia vulnam Solueret, &c. true smiles of Luvens off as. * A Saint or of sacred memory.

* Certaine foule diseases were so feared,

* Or rapier

* 17. th. of September,

* Reflexiones drawn inward

* Homer Iliad at Lycion the Sonne of Priamus unto Achilles, * Eadem me ment some read (10).

¶ Peronius and
Porthenus.
Sext. Aurel.

¶ Coates of
Mars.

lead them. And yet within a while after they did it, and calling most instantly, and
sore giving over for the authors of this murder to be executed. Contrariwise,
the Senate so much rejoiced, that being assembled in great frequentie within
the Curia, they could not rule themselves, but stirred up such a tumult and tear him
now dead with the most tumultuous and bitterest kinds of (a) acclamations
that they could devise: commanding ladders to be brought in, his statues &
images to be taken downe in their light, and then there in place to be throwen and
dashed against the hard floore: In the end that all unles whereofsoever bearing his
name should be rased and scraped out, and his memoriall abolished quite for ever.
Some few months before hee was murdered, there was a Crowe in the Capitol
spoke these wordes plainly: *ἄλλ' ἂν τὸν καλῶς, ἰ. All shall be well: And there wanted*
not one, who interpreted this strang Prodigie thus.

Nuper Tarpeio qua sedet culmine coram

EST BEN ENEM POTUIT DICERE, JIXIT ERIT.

The Crow which lately sat on top of Tarpeie newes to tell
Tis well when as she could not lay, said yet, it will be well.

And reported it is that DOMITIAN himselve dreamed, howe hee had a golden
extremitie rising & bunching behind his necke: & knew for certaine, that thereby
was portended and foresignified unto the common wealth, an happier state
after him. And so it fell out, I assure you shortly after: such was the
abstinence and moderate cariage of the (b) Emperours
next ensuing.

FINIS.



ANNOTATIONS VPON C. Julius Caesar Dictator.

(a) **D**IVIVSCAESAR, hee died sodainly at
Pise in Italy, as hee
put on his shoes in a
morning, when hee
was newe risen. *Plin.
Natur. Hist. Lib. 7. c. 53*
(b) **F**LA MEN
DIALIS, i. the great
Priest of IVPITER.

Three FLAMENS there were at Rome, by the first
Institution. DIALIS of IVPITER, MARTIA-
LIS of MARS, QVIRINALIS of ROMVLS;
and these were the principall: unto whom (in pro-
cesse of time) 12. more were adjoynd, attending all
upon severall Godds and Goddesse. *Caroli Sig. de ant.
Iure Rom. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

(c) **R**EPUDIARE. In the civill Lawe, wee observe a
difference betweene *Repudium* and *Divortium*. *Repudi-
um*, when the man rejecteth and casteth off the wo-
man betrothed only unto him before marriage in this
forme, *Conditione tunc non utitur*. And in this wise CAS-
SAR and COSVTIA parted before. *Divortium*,
when hee putteth her away after shee is his wedded
wife, with these solemne words: *Res tuas tibi habeo*, or
Res tuas tibi agito. Howbeit, in this place *Repudiare* is
to be taken in this latter sense, for CORNELIA was
his wife, and had borne him a daughter. *Paul. Mode-
stin. Caus.*

(d) I take it, that he meaneth such inheritances, as
are not *Testamentarie*, but *Legitima*: i. Which when one
dieth intestate, fall unto the children, first and for de-
fault of them, to the *Agnati* and *Gentiles*: i. to the next
of kinne, and to the name. These are called with us,
the Right heires at common Law. *Vide car Sigon. de Iudi-
cis. lib. 4. cap. 4. De antiqu. iur. civ. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

(e) The principall of them was, CORNELIVS
PRAGITAS, a Freed man of Sulla, unto whom
CAESAR gave two talents, for to escape his hands.
See cap. 74. and *Plutarchus*.

(f) It belonged vnto these Votaries and Nunnes
of VESTA, to goe betweene parties offended, and
make reconciliation. See more hereof *Alex. ab Alex-
andr. Genial. duc. lib. 5. cap. 12.*

(a) YOVNS gentlemen of noble bloud, the better
to be trained up in martiall feats, & the knowledge
of any Province affaires, were wont to attend the L.L.
Deputes there, & to be entertained with them in the
same pavilion, as familiar companions. *Cic. orat. pro
Calio & Plancio.*

(b) *Libertines* were such properly, as of bondsmen
were manumitted and made Free, although *Sueto*,
elsewhere, to wit in *Cl. Cæs.* nameth the children of

such, *Libertines*: by which it appeareth that hee com-
foundeth them with *Ingrui*. i. Freeborne.

(c) Clients have a relation to their Patrones: and
as these were *Patritij* and Nobles, so the other were
Commoners. And such a mutual and reciprocal en-
tercourse of duetie was betweene them, that as the
Patrons were ready to instruct in the knowledge of
the lawes, to defend and protect their Clients,
who had put themselves into their patronage: so
these were bound to attend their Patrons when
they went abroad, into the city & returned home, to
relieve the with their purse in the bestowing of their
daughters &c. And lawfull it was for neither of them
to enforme, to depose, to giue their voices, or to side
with adversaries, one against another, without the
note and guilt of treachery and perfidious prodi-
cion.

(d) Made of oken branches, or of *fles*, or *Esulus*,
bearing malt, in defect of the *Oke*, for saving the life
of a citizen. Although Generals of the field were ho-
noured therewith, in other respects.

(a) WHO being Confull with Q. CATVLLVS
LYCTATVS, went about to repeale and annul all
the Actes of SVLLA late deceased, and so kindled
a newe civill warre.

(a) By the death of L. P. DVVS, whom his Co-
LEGVS CATVLLVS drave out of Italy into *San-
dinia*, where he dyed, as some write, of a violent
Rehume: or as others, with a deepe thought that he
tooke, upon intelligence that he had of his wives ad-
ultery, in which melancholy he pynd away *Plutarch*.

(a) These *Tribunes Militarie*, call them Colonels
ouer a thousand footmen, wherupon they worke
that name first, to wit, when the *Romanus* Legion con-
sisted of 3000. according to the three ancient Tribes,
Rhamnium, *Lucerum* & *Tatiensum*: or High Marshalls,
as BYDREVS would have them to be, considering the
execution of their office in the campe, not much un-
like to our *Kn. Marshalls* in these daies: Some by ve-
tue of an Act or Lawe preferred by RVRTIVS RV-
FVS, were chosen in the Armie by the L. Generall, &
named RVTVLI or RVEVLI, others by the
voices of the people in their publick assemblies for
Elections called *Comitia*, and for distinction sake, an-
named *Comitiales*. And such a Tribune militarie was CAS-
SAR in this place.

(b) *Regatione* *Ploria*. A bill preferred, and the
same as a Lawe not yet enacted, was called *Regatio*,
(as one would say) *Interrogatio*: for that the people
were demanded and asked their opinions in this
forme of words. *Velitisne, iubeatisne Quirites* &c. Is it
your will and pleasure, yee citizens of Rome, that such
a thing should passe, or no? And of him who propos'd
the

the same, it took the name.

(4) By the Latine Colonies, are meant here those beyond the Po, which being before endowed *Latinum*, i. with the freedom of Latium stood not therewith contented, unless they might be *donati* or *crviani*. I. enjoy the Franchises and Freedom of Rome.

(5) *COMMITIVM*, was one part of the *Forum Romanum*, wherein stood the *Rostra*, and the people used to assemble for election of Magistrates, for making of Lawes, and hearing of publike Orations.

(6) *SVLLA*, in the time of his proscription and outlawing of the aduersie faction of C. *MARIUS*, ordained two talents for every one that killed any of the proscribed and brought him his head, not sparing Master or Father: but that the servant might kill his master and the sonne his Father; nay hee made it death if they saved any such.

(7) Of *Corneilius Sulla*.

(8) *T. LABIENVS*, *CICERO* and *HORTENSIVS* pleaded for him.

(9) For, to kill a Tribune of the Commons, who were *Sacrosancti* and *Inviolabiles*, would beare the Action *Perduellio*. And that was laide to *Rabirius* a Senator his charge, although indeede hee slew him not, but one *Streum*: marry, when he was killed, hee caused his head, in most ludiicrous manner to be caried about.

Now was the crime *Perduellio*, all one with treason against the Common wealth, or a principall person of State: or else Felonie in some high degree.

(10) The liberty of appealing unto the people, was granted by *Tullius Hostilius* the third king of the Romanes, As appeareth by *LIVIVS*, in the case of *Mutatius*, for killing his owne sister.

(11) *Q. LUTATIUS CATULVS*, and *P. SERVIIVS ISAVRICVS*.

(12) *Cesar* envying such an honour unto *Catulus*, as to dedicate and dedicate the Capitol consumed with fire, a peece of worke that *Sulla* the Dictator tooke in hand but finished not, and the onely thing whereby his felicity was not compleat, would have put him by it and conferred it upon another: and therefore put the matter in question, before the bodie of the people, there to be discussed and debated, whether it were their minde and will that *Catulus* should doe it, or some other?

(13) A Lawe is said to be promulged, after it is once proposed for to be considered upon, untill it be fully enacted: during which time, reasons were alledged for the convenience thereof, or otherwise; and free it was for any man who had a voice to impugn or allow it.

(14) *Optimates* and *Populares*, were in the cite of Rome opposite either against other, and are lively described by *Cicero* in his Oration, pro *Sextio*, in the 6 wordes. *duo genera in hac civitate semper fuerunt, quorum quodam in re, atque in casu excellentius genere studuerunt. Quibus ex quibusdam alteri Populares, alteri Optimates haberi esse voluerunt. Quia quae faciebant, quaeque dicebant, multitudinis iucunda esse volebant, Populares: qui autem ita se gererant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarentur, Optimates habebantur. Item. Quis ergo est*

*Optimatus? quis? De numero si quavis innumerabilis, neque enim a iudicare possumus. Sunt principes consilii publici, sunt qui curis seculis sequuntur. Summa maiorum Ordinum bonorum quibus patet Curia, sunt principes Rustici, Rura, Summa negotia gerentes sunt etiam Litterarii Optimates. Wherby it appeareth, that those were counted Optimates, not simply of noble birth, and of great wealth &c. But were they *Patricii*, *Equites*, or *Placidi*. Itchy roode for good thunges, or favoured those that so did; Nay, whether they were Burgesies of Free Burroughes, yeomen of the Country, or of free husbandry, Merchants and Trademen, or very Libertines, so they affected good causes, they were reckoned in the number of Optimates. On the other side, as many as ayemed onely at this, to please and content the multitude, were they neuer so well borne or otherwise qualified, they went in the rancke of Populares; so that it seemeth, that Populares were the *Forenses* *falsio*, that *LIVIE* writeth of, and whome *Q. FABIVS* reduced all in to the foure Tribus urbanas; and Optimates, the Tribus rustica, wherein was *magis* popularis, *fauore* & *cultor* bonorum. Thus much of the strict signification of this worde Optimates. But for as much as commonly fewe of the Nobilitie and Gentry of Rome were Popular, and as fewe of the Commonalte fauourers of the best things usually; by these Optimates, or the better sort, are meant the *Patricii* and Gentlemen.*

(15) Upon the Kalends of January, i. the first day of the yeare, the Consuls entered their office, on which day attended they were obsequiously by those better sort of the citizens and their friends, waiting upon them, when they went vp into the Capitoll for to Sacrifice, and home againe. On this day likewise it appeareth, that *CASAR* began his Pretorship.

(16) This purple Robe bordered, called *Prætexta*, was a Garment not proper to the Pretors onely, but to other Magistrates also. Embroidered it was or garded about with purple. For *PLINIVS* writeth, that *Litulus* *pinctus* *Aedilis* *Curule*, wore in his Robe, purple of a double die, called thereupon, *Diabapha*. And thereupon it was called in Greeke *πορφυρεα*. And not onely cite-Magistrates, but Priests and children of gentle birth used the same. Setting a side the border of purple, it was otherwise while.

(17) By *Curia* simply without any adunction, is meane *Curia Hostilia*, as witnesseth *Alex. ab Alexandro*. A stady place built by *K. TYLLIVS HOSTILIUS* in the *Forum Romanum*, neere unto the *Rostra*; where, as in the Parliament house assembled the Senators ordinarily to consult upon the affaires of State. For, other places there were, under the name of *CURIA*, wherein likewise the Senat met together, as *CURIA POMPEII*, in which *CASAR* was murdered, *Drus Augusti* &c. but then they had their addition. I am not ignorant, that other *CURIAE* there were for the Pontibes and Priests. To say nothing how the people was divided into *CURIA*, *id est*, *Parishes*, and in every of them was a *CURIA*, and a superintendent or Curate called *Curio*.

(18) Superiour Magistrates, bee the Consuls Pre-

Pretours and Censors, the rest as Aediles, Quæstors, were accounted inferiour. &c.

(19) *CASARVS* is named for one, who entered into a bond for him of 830. talents, what time *CASAR* deeply indebted, said, *his milites* & *quingenties centena milia nullis sibi adesse oportere, ut nihil haberet, id est*, that 250. millions of sesterces would but set him cleare with the world.

(20) By the Lawes, none might make suit for a triumph, but whiles they remained abient without the cite, nor for a Consulship except they were present as private persons within the cite. In these streights, *CASAR* made choyce to be Consul, for the victorie obteyned in Spainie over the *Callesi* and *Lusitanes*.

(21) The manner was at Rome, that they who sued for Magistracies should for the obtaining of the peoples voices and suffrages make promise of certaine summes of money to be distributed amongst them, and such as were appointed to deale the saide Largesse, they called *Distributores*. Now, for that the Election of Consuls passed by *Comitia* *centuriata* that is, by the assembly of the people, by their centuries or Hundreds according as *SERV. TULLIVS* first ordeyned them, therefore was this money to bee devided amongst them, as they gave their voices.

(22) Provinces signifie three things, the countries conquered or yielded, and the same governed by *Roman Deputies*; and this is the proper and primæve signification thereof, altho the Region wherein any *Roman* Generall by commission from the state maketh war: and last of all, what publick function or affaires fouer is to be admmistred. In which fence it is heere taken.

(23) Either for the cutting downe of trees for the best comodities: or els for a gaurd to be kept neare vnto them, to suppress the outrage committed by theues, haunting the same and robbing and spoiling passengers.

(24) To amend the waies and beaten pathes, where, either wayfaring men or beastes shoulde passe with more ease. And verily these were base matres and requiring no great forces to bee performed: and so by consequence, the Consuls employ therein could compass no greates projects and therefore lesse to be feared.

(25) This societie bred the Ciuill warre that after ensued, betwene *CEASAR* and *POMPEIVS* vnto which the Poet *Lucan* alluded writing thus. *In causa maiorum*

Facta tribus dominis communis Romæ.

(26) As well to a void tedious canuassings and consultations as to provide for the historie and memoriall of every matter.

(27) One of the consuls onely had the twelue Lictors going before him, with the rods and axes: to wit, each of them their moneths, by turnes one after the other, *Ne siambo fasces haberent duplicatos terror videretur*. As *LIVIE* writeth: An ordinance as ancient well neere, as the first institution of Consuls.

(28) *ACCESSVS*, an officer attendant vpon Magistrate, so named as *accidendo*, *id est*, of giuing summons to any for appearance, or of calling any to the Magistrate.

(29) Great indulgences, immunities and priuiledges were granted by the *Romanes* vnto those that had *iuuenum liberorum*: but as *APPIAN* writeth more particularly to the explication of this place, there assembled 20000 together, craving mainenance and foodes every man, for three children and more that they had.

(30) Publicanes were they that either for a certaine rent tooke to ferme the publicke reuenues of the City, whether it were taxes, pasturage, customes, imposts, &c. or vnderooke by the grosse to make provision for the state, or to build and repaire any cite-workes &c.

(31) This was not more *maiorum*, for then his sentence should haue bene demanded first, that by the Censors was elected *Prætor Senatus*, *id est*, President of the Councill: but extraordinarily, as appeareth by *Aul. Gel. Noct. Attic. lib. 4. cap. 10. & lib. 14. cap. 7.*

(32) For as *LIVIE* testifieth *lib. 38.* The *Romanes* triumphed oftener over the *Gauls*, than cuer all the world beside.

(33) Which *VATINIVS* a Tribune of the Commons proposed in the behalfe of *LIVIVS CESAR*, that for five yeares together, hee shoulde (without casting lots, and the Senates decree), gouerne *CISALPINE* *Gauls*, together with *ILLYRIUM*: contrarie to the Lawe *Sempronius*, which provided that such *Provinciales* *Gouernours*, or *LL. Deputies*, shoulde yearly bee chosen by the Senate, *Caes. Sigon. lib. 2. cap. 1. de antiquo iure provinciarum.*

(34) *CISALPINA GALLIA*, is that, which lay betwene Italy and the Alpes, diuided into *CISPADANA* and *TRANSPADANA*, according to the site thereof, either on this side, or beyond the river *Po*: & caried the name likewise of *TOGATA*, either because it was much inhabited by the *Romanes*, or for that vnto this Province the *Romane* Robe *TOGA* was granted, or els in regard that the saide Province was more ciuill and peaceable, than the other called *TRANSALPINA*.

(35) *COMATA GALLIA*, a part of *GALLIA TRANSALPINA*, lying beyond the Alpes, from Italy toward Spaine: so called for the long haire that they wore: and *omnesque* put for the whole *TRANSALPINE* Province, like as *BRACHATA*, one part of the saide Province, so called of a certaine kinde of apparell, is taken for the whole and contounded with *Comata*.

(36) This terme, which they commonly use, who threaten such as they contemne, may bee drawn to an obscene and filthy sense, not heere to bee named: and albeit *CASAR* is

hereby was galled to the quick, as privie to himselfe, of the passive abuse of his body with K. N I C O M E D E S, yet in his answer thereto, he turned it to another signification.

(f) *Warlike women*, so called (as some write) of their paps which they did cut off and fear, thereby to bee more expedit and nimble in fight, and to shoot at greater ease. See *Strabo*, *Iustin. Q. Curtius*, *Herodotus* &c.

23 (a) For, if his *Questour* or *Treasurer* had beene condemned, it would have beene a shrewde precedent for his conviction also in the same cause.

24 (a) Who stood in Election for the *Consulship*: so called of the white robe, which they put on, who sued for such Magistracies and places of Honour. For whereas the ordinarie gowne that *Romaine* citizens daily wore, was white of it selfe, against such a time they made it whiter with chalk: so that a difference there was betweene *Toga alba*, and *candida*, whereupon they were called *candidati*, as appeareth by *Macrobius*, and *T. Livius*, lib. 4. ab ur. condita.

(b) *Supplication*, was a solemne Honour done unto the Lord General of a Province upon some notable victorie. For the manner was, that *L. L. Gucumours*, after they were by their Souldiers saluted by the name of Emperour, i. Sovereigne commanders, should send them Letters dight with Lawrell unto the Senate, wherein they required both to be styled by the said name, and also to have solemne processions made by the people in the Temples, and thanksgiving unto the Gods for their good successe, which solemnity, at the first continued but one day, as *T. Livius* reporteth in the 304. year after the foundation of Rome: but proesse of time, it grew to 4. and 12. And at length, *CEASAR* obtained it for 15. yea. and 20. daies together, as *PLUTARCH* testifieth in his life, and himselfe in his owne *Comenariies*, of the Gauls warre.

26 (a) *Super HS. milles*. This character *HS.* standeth for a Silver coine in Rome, which is the three halfe pence, farthing, cue, the 4. part of *Denarius*: & is called *Sextertius quassijsequitarius*: as one would say, valuing two brazen *Alles* and the halfe of a third: so common a peece of money there, that *Numus* put absolutely alone, standeth for it and no other coine: so that *Milles sestertium* and *milles nummum*, are both one. Now if the *Romaine Denier* bee valued at viij d. ob. with vs, and 100. Deniers arile to one pound sterling: this summe here set downe, that is to say, a Sestertie multiplied by the *Aduerbe Milles*, amounteth by just account unto 25000. li. sterling. And thereto for the overdeale or surplussage *decemties sestertium*, which is one 5. part of the former summe, it maketh up 170000. li. sterling. A thing that may be thought incredible, but that we reade that *CEASAR* himselfe saide, hee was 250. millions in debt when he went into *Spain*, and *P. CLODIUS*, whom *MILLORE*, dwelt in aboute, the purchase whereof cost him almost 15. millions. No marvell therefore, if so many houses, which *CEASAR* must needs buy for the plot of ground aforesaid and in so populous a city, cost not so little as a hundred millions.

(a) The dote given by a Prince or great man unto the people, was properly called a *Congiarie*, 27 which word tooke name of the measure *Congium* among the *Romaines*, consisting of 6. *Sextarij*, and is answerable to our gallon: by which Oyle or wine was giuen. Howbeit *Strabo* saith, any such publicke munificence, in money or otherwise is so called: and in this place, by it are meant other gifts bestowed upon private persons.

(a) In some copies, wee reade, *Quando me plebisicio Pompeius posset abrogaret*. To this sence. That *CAESAR* being absent, was not eligible by vertue of an Act made by *POMPEIUS* to that effect, considering he had not abrogated the same by any ordinance of the people, but onely of his owne authority: corrected it after it stood upon record in the city chamber.

(a) This sheweth reference unto his violent dealing with his fellowe *Consull Bibulus*. See before in the 20. chapter.

(a) The fourth finger next vnto the little one, is honoured especially with a golde ring, for that there is an euident arterie from the heart reaching unto it, *GELLIVS*. But *PLINIE* allegeth another reason.

(a) He would doe any thing rather than his souldiers to well deservng at his hands, should not bee satisfied: such a credit carried the ring upon a *Romaine* finger.

(c) Which is the State and worth of a *Romaine* knight or gentleman according to this verbe of *Horace* *Si quadranginis sex, septem milia desint, Plebs eris*, &c. amounteth to 3125 li. sterling.

(a) As if *Petruus*, *Afranius*, and *Parro* had no skill in martiall feats.

(b) He meanteth *Cn. Pompeius*, for his militarie knowledge and warlike employes furnished *Magnus*, i. the Greater: whose principall power was now overthrowne at *Ilerda* in *Spain*.

(a) *Lychnuchos* *Gstantibus*, bearing either young men that carried Linckes, Torches, and effect lights: or els braunches and candlestickes, resembling them, and holding the said lights: Some reade, *Lychnus gstantibus*. i. bearing lights: but to the same effect.

(a) *Super bina HS. i. Sestertia*: that is to say, 15 li. 38 12 s. 6 d.

(b) *Quaterna Sestertia*. i. 31 li. 5 s.

(c) *Vicena quaterna milia*. 187 li. 10 s. By which reckning, hee gave unto horsemen foure times as much as to footemen. Looke in the marginal note to the text, and you shall finde this donative much more: which may seeme incredible: but consider what provinces hee spoiled, and what pillage hee made, in regard whereof hee was called of the Greekes *χρηματοποιος* *αυτο*.

(d) *Denomodios*, in round reckoning may goe for ten peckes or hoopes with vs.

(e) *Totidem libras*. i. so many pynts, with the better

(f) *Trecenos nummos*. i. 46 s. 10 d. ob.

(g) *Centenos*. i. 15 s. 7 d. ob.

Which being put together, make 100. Denarij or Drachemes, that is. one *Mina*, and amount in all to 3. li. 2 s. 6.

(b) *Bimo*

(b) *Bina milia nummorum*. i. 15. lib. 12 s. 6 d.

(i) *Quingenos sestertios*. i. 31. lib. 5 s. 1 d. ob.

39 (a) *Regionum urbe tota*. Rome, as *PLINIE* witnesseth, was divided into 14. regions, and every one of these had their severall Stage Playes by themselves.

(b) The Games *Circenses*, I take to be so called of the Greet *Cirque* or *Showplace*, wherein they were performed: and not of swords, wherewith they were environed, as one would say, *Circa enses*. Indee the these games resembled the *Olympick* in Greece by *ELIS*, where the runners with chariots were heamed in of the one side with the running river, and of the other with swordes pitched pointwise, that they should hold on the race directly, and not weerve aside without danger. Herein were performed running with horses and chariots, Juggling, elite, and Turnement: bating and chafing of wild beastes, &c.

(c) *Pyrrhus*: Of some, thought to bee the same that *ENOPIA*, was a kinde of Moriske daunce, after a warlike manner in harmois, devised in *Creta* first by *Pyrrhus*, *Plin. lib. 7. Nat. Hist. cap. 56*. In which young gentlemen were trained to exercise all parts of the body by sundry gestures as well to avoide all venues and defende themselves, as to annoy and offend the enemy.

(d) This *DECIMVS LABERIUS* was a Poet also, that kind which wrote wanton Poems or lascivious Comedies called *Mimi*. For, howsoever in all Stage Playes, there is represented a lively imitation in gesture and voice of others, yet in these *Mimi*, these same are done after a more licentious manner and without all mode reverence, even in uncleanly and filthy arguments: as *OVIDIUS* testifieth in these words, *imitantes turpia Mimi*. It seemeth therefore, that as well the Poemes as the *Auours* and *Abours* be called *Mimi*.

(e) *Orchestra*, is here taken for the most commodious place in the Theatre, wherein the Senators and Nobles of Rome were allowed to sit and behold the Stage Playes, apart from the people. For so the Poet *IVVENAL* understandeth it in these words, *Sinemque videbis Orchestram ex populum*.

As touching this *Orchestra* and the Poet *LABERIUS* above named, *SENECA* in his second booke of *Controversies*, and third controversie reporteth thus, *IVLIUS CAESAR* at the solemnitie of his Playes, brought *LABERIUS* forth to act upon the Stage: and when he had made him a gentleman, or Knight of Rome, willed him to take his place amongst them of that degree, but as he came toward them, they all first of all and neede to another, that there was no room for him. Now by the way, you may understand that *CICERO* then in place, had not yett his full anill name, for that hee was no such full friend, either to *POMPEIUS*, or to *CEASAR*, but a flatterer of them both. *Agrippa*, *CAESAR* at that time had chosen many and charge of Senators, partly to supply and make up their number, which during the late civill warres was much diminished, and in part to reward those who had well deserved of him and the State: so hee therefore alluding to the

extraordinary number of newe Senators, sent unto *LABERIUS* as hee passed by, this word merrily, *Recepissim te nisi anguste sederem*. i. I would have taken you to mee and give you a place, but that I sit my selfe very stright. Then *LABERIUS* returned this pleasant answer backe unto him, *Atqui solebas duobus sedu sedere*. i. And yet you were wont to sit upon two tooles, scoffing at him for his double dealing with *POMPEIUS* and *CEASAR*.

(f) The Troy fight, was in warlike manner on horsebacke, brought by *Aeneas* into Italy. The manner whereof is described by *Virgil Aeneid. 5*.

(g) These *Goales* called in Latine *Metes*, above which the horses and chariots ranne, were in fashion broad beneath and sharpe above, in manner of *Pyramides*, *Steeples* or *cocks of hey*, and for their mater, of wood first, or ofloft griststone, but afterwards of marble and laid over with gold. Concerning this *Cirque* why *CAESAR* enlarged it and brought water round about it, Reade *PLINIE 8. lib. cap. 7.* and 36. lib. cap. 15. *Natural Hist.*

(h) To try manerites in footemanhippe, leaping, flinging the coit or hammer, darting & wrestling: which Game was called *Pentathlon*, of those five kinde of exercises.

(i) *In minore Coderis*, which was a place on the further side of *TIBERIS* so called of certaine plots of young springs or shootes there growing which resemble horsestails. Some reade *In morem coxlee*, that is, narrow beneath and broad above, like to the shell of a periwinkle or such like fish.

(a) This day is called *Bissexius*, and falleth out to bee the fifth day before the end of *Februarie*, to wit, the first before the Calends of March, by interposing whereof, wee say twice Sext Calend *Maris*, of which day our leape year hath the name *Bissextilis*.

(a) Which by the first institution were 300 and by occasion of the late troubles much impaired.

(b) *Patritio allegie*: For those that were *Plebs* generis, might bee Senators: or els, as so ne expound it, he advanced divers to the degree & ranke of the *Patritij*.

(c) All but *Consuls*, *Praetors* and *Censers*, were counted inferior Magistrates.

(d) For the *Centors* with the publicke *Nocaries* ordinarily tooketh this reviewe, and that in *Campus Martius*, and *Villa publica*.

(e) By reason of so great a number receiving come from the State, the purveyance hereof tooke the city yearly as *Plutarch* writeth in a thousand two hundred and fiftie talents.

(f) For they might discontinue out of Italy eleven yeares. *Plutarch*.

(g) Such were called *Comites*, or *quasi ex comite Praetoria*, as it were gentle men of the privie chamber.

(h) *Novum tabularum*. To wit, when the olde bonds being cancelled, and thereby former debts remitted, new obligations were made.

(i) *Parricidii*. *Parricidii*, such as kill fathers, mother, brother, sisters and such like, were in bloud

as also, any other man or woman wilfully, according to the Lawe of K. N VME, *Si quis benevolum liberum suum morti dant parricida esse.*

(a) *Repetundarum convictio.* Such governors as by way of extortion pilled and polled the Provinces which they ruled: who after their time expired, were many times called judicially to their answers.

(b) Many Lawes there were called *Sumptuaria* and *Cibaria*, to restrain the excheite at the table, as namely *Fannia*, *Licinia*, *Acumbia*, *Julia* &c. *Read. Ant. Gall. Nott. lib. 2. cap. 24. Macro. Satyr. lib. 3.*

(c) Of whom *TERENTIUS* writeth thus, *Vir doctissimus undecunque Parro.*

(b) *Isthmus* is a narrow strait or foreland by *Cornith*, five miles over, lying between the two seas *Lamian* and *Aegean*, or as *PLINIVS* writeth, lib. 4. cap. 4. between the two Gulches *Cornithiacus* and *Saronicus*. The cutting through whereof, was attempted before by *K. DEMETRIUS*, and afterwards by *C. CALIGVIA* and *NERO*, but without effect.

(c) Which *CRASSVS* before him had not done: and therefore was overthrown.

(a) *COMITIALI MORBO*, so called, for that the assemblies of the people called *Comitia*, were dissolved and broke up by occasion thereof, in case any one among them fell downe of that disease, according as *Q. SERENVS SEMONIVS* hath testified in these verses, cap. 57.

*Est morbi species subiti, cui nomen ab illo est,
Quod fieri nobis suffragia iussa renfunt.
Saepe etenim membris acris languore caducis,
Concussio populi labes horrenda ducunt.*

As also for that, they who were subject thereto, fell into a fit thereof ordinarily at such assemblies, if they were crossed in their suites and businesses there, *CORNELIVS CRISVS* calleth it *Morbum maiorem*, i. a great sickness. It is named likewise *infectio*, i. the sacred disease, either because it affecteth the heade, which is the most honorable place of the body and the seat of the Soule, or in regard of the greatness thereof, which the *Gracians* expect by the word *ipso*. *Allo Epilepsia*, for the fo-daine invasion of it. *HERCVLEVS MOREVS*, either for the strength of the malady, whereby a man is forced to fall, or because *HERCVLES* was troubled therewith. *PLINIVS* nameth it, *Syncope*, for the hurt that it doth vnto the bodie: Others *adunus*, or that upon it, men fall to the ground: it is called *Morbores Luatium*, of the Moone: because it keepeth time with the course of the Moone, or apprehendeth them that are borne in the change thereof, as the same *SERENVS* reporteth in these verses.

*Huc quoque commemorant dubie pertransfusa Luna,
Conceptum saltem, quem saepe ruina profudit.*

Lastly *HIPPOCRATES* nameth it *Tedion*, i. *puerilem morbum*, for that children bee subject thereto: whereof on some tongue is, *Diater puerorum*.

(b) This manner of going so closely girt, might signifie a disolute and effeminate warren. Hereupon *CICERO* made cloze in the civill warre to take part with *POMPEIVS* against *CAESAR*: And when one asked him how it came to passe, that in siding with *POMPEIVS* hee was so much overseene, for that hee had the worse, this answer hee made *Præclara me deceptus, doctus* I was by that loose guiding of his.

(a) *CAESAR* derived his pedigree from *LULIVS* the sonne of *AENEAS* whose mother was *VENVS*.

(b) The grace which is in the Latine tongue be expressed well in English, because the word, *Subigit* carrieth a double sense, the one signifieth the conquering of a nation, and so it is taken in the former place, as it is applyed to *Gauls*: the other, the wanton abuse of the bodie: in which acceptation it is to bee understood in reference to *CAESAR*, abused by *K. Nicomedes*.

(a) In the two fold sense likewise of these two words, *Tertia* and *Dedita* lyeth the pleasant grace of this conceited speech.

By the one, may be understoode, that a third part of the price was deducted: by the other *Cicero* meant, That her daughter *TERtia* was brought by her to his bed.

(a) *THIS* Distichon, or 12 verses, which his souldiers after their licentious manner in the *Triumph* chaunted may thus be Englished.

*Looke to your wives, ye citizens, a lacher bold
wee bring.*

*In Gauls adultery cost thee gold, heere tis but
borrowing.*

For, as hee borrowed of other men, so hee lent or paid as much againe, in that his owne wife *POMPEIA*, as is thought, was kept by *R. CLODIVS*.

(a) Such a vessel as this named here *Thelamagus*, and by *Seneca* 7. lib. 16 *Pemphigis Navis* abundantly, *Protrahens Philepater*, as witnesseth *ATRENEVS* had, which carried in length 4 halfe furlongs, in breadth 30. cubites, and in height little lesse then 40.

(b) *Impudicitia*, I observe, that both in this Authour and also in other approved writers, *Impudicitia*, is properly and peculiarly taken for that abominable uncleanness onely, which

which is named *Sodomie*: Like as *Pubicitia*, for the integrity of the bodie, and clearenesse from that detestable filthinesse. And so, *Pubicus* and *Impudicus* are to bee understood.

(a) WHICH cometh to 23. pound, 8. shillings, 9. pence, and is not much more than halfe the worth. According to *Eudorus* it was 7. pound of Silver for one of Gold.

(b) For it was esteemed a great honour to be called *Allies* and *Associates*, or styled *Kings*, by the people of *Rome*.

(c) *ANTICATONES*. Whereas *CICERO* had written in the playe of *CATO* [*VITICENSIS*] he wrote two bookes against the said *CATO*, which hee called *Anticatones*.

(a) *VENVS* surname *Gemina* i. Mother, *CAESAR* honoured, as the goddess from the which he was defended, by *LULVS* or *ASCANIUS* her nephew.

(b) The principall ensigne or standard of the *Romane Legion* was an Eagle of Silver, reared upon a Speare toppe, the poynnt whereof beneath was sharpe, and fastened into the ground: and the same stood within a little shrine, not to bee removed, but when the Army was on foote.

(a) *DION*, lib. 42. and *APPIAN*. *Civil*. 2. report this otherwise: namely, that hee forsoke the said Coat armour (it clogged him so much) and so the *Aegyptians* got it.

(a) *EVATICO* suo. *Albeic viaticum* properly signifieth the store and provision set by for a journey, yet heere it is put for the wealth and substance of a souldier: like as in *Eurip*. lib. 2. *epyl*. 2.

*Luculli miles collecta vicia multis
Astronibus, &c.*

In which sense, *istud* likewise in Greeke is taken.

(b) *PLINIVS* calleth it *Lappana*, lib. 19. cap. 8. *Natural. Histor*. A kinde of wilde worre or cole.

(c) To be tithed, i. euerie tenth man to suffer death. *Appian*.

(d) Which ordinarily consisted of 550. footemen, and 66. horse, wherof ten went to a Legion. Some, I wot well had more, some fewer. But for this place it may suffice, that it was the tenth part of a Legion.

(a) *QUIRITES*. i. *Romane Citizens*. As freed now from their allageance, which by their military oath they were bound vnto.

(a) WHICH was a great abuse offered, among the *Barbarians*, who let great store by their beards, and suffered them to grow very long.

(b) *THENSA* or *Tensa* & *ferculum* a Chariot of Silver or Yvone with a frame in it sustaining the Images of the gods, which was drawn in most solemn and stately manner vnto the *Pulvinar*.

(b) *Pulvinar*. A bedd loft, or place where certaine rich beds were made for the said Images to be laid upon.

(c) *FLAMIN*. A certaine priest, bearing the name of that god, for whose service he was instituted. As *Dialis* of *IUVITER*, *Martialis* of *MARS*, *Quirinalis* of *ROMVLVS*, &c. *Cic. 2. Phil*. Iarth that *M. ANTONIVS*, was *Flamen* to *Julius Caesar*.

(d) *Luperi*, were certaine young men, who at the *Lupercalis* feast, *Lupercalis* instituted to the honour of *PAN LYCARVS*, otherwise called *IVNVS*, by *ROMVLVS* and *RENVS*, ran up and down naked in the City of *Rome*. A new kind of these *Luperi* obtained *CAESAR*, of his owne name called *IVLIANVS*. At this feast *Lupercalis*, *M. ANTONIVS* played the part of a *Lupercus*, at which solemnity, when *CAESAR* sat in a Throne of Gold, arrayed in a purple robe, the said *M. ANTONIVS* attempted to doe upon his head the royal Band, called a *Diademe*. *Cicero*.

(e) Whereas, before it was called *Quincius*, he named it *Julius*.

(f) This was *Canninus Rebus*: of whose Consulship, there go divers fables, as namely these, wherof *CICERO* was the Author, a vigilant Consul we have had of *CANNIVS*, who in all his Consulship never slept winkle. Also, a consell we have had to severe and Censur-like, as that during his Consulship, no man dined, no man supped, no man so much as once slept. Likewise *PLINIVS* said of him. Heretofore we had *Flamines Diales*, and now wee have Consul *Diales*, playing upon the equivocation or double sense of the word *Dialis*, which being derived of *di* & *di* *Iupiter* signifieth his *Flamin*: but of *di* & *di*, a day, betokeneth a day Consul or *Flamin*.

(a) ACCORDING TO *LYCANA*. *Omnia Caesar erat*. *Caesar* was all in all.

(b) Well knowne it is that *SVLLA* was passing well learned both in Greeke and Latine. But in that hee resigned up the absolute power of his Dictatorship, which hee tooke upon him, for an hundred and twentie yeares, that is to say, for ever. *CAESAR* said hee was no *Grammariar*, *quia reseruit distare, quod magis est Grammatici*: alluding to the word *ambiguus distare* i. to endue, or give precepts as *Grammariars* doe to their scholars, as also, to command absolutely, wherof it may seeme that *Dictator* tooke the name.

(a) WHO were in number, 10.

(b) Or, if I may for *Pomius Aquila*: spoken by way of a scornfull Ironia.

(a) *PLEBEIO*, and not *Plabi*, for the commons could not endure that name, as may appeare by *CICERO*'s words in his second *Philippica* or invective against *M. ANTONIVS*. Thou thewest the *Diademe*. The people all over the common place gave a groane thereat. Thou wert about to set it upon his head, to the great grieve and sorrow of the people, hee rejected it, with as great joy and applause of theirs.

(b) The name *OPTIMVS*, *MAXIMVS*, wherewith the auncients styled *Iupiter*, signifieth

most bountifull and most powerfull : wherein it is observed that Bountie goeth before Power: because as M. TULLIUS writeth, it is better and more acceptable to doe good unto all, then to haue power over all.

(c) In *Aegypt*: A renowned Citie, built by King ALEXANDER the great: for the pleasant site much commended, and therefore might bee affected by CAESAR: at which, there is no day almost through the yeare, but the Inhabitants behold the Sunne shining cleare upon them: And which AMMIANVS calleth *Verticem omnium civitatum*, i. The chiefe of Cities.

(d) *Ilium*, a Citie where Troy stood: The Citizens whereof, as STRABO writeth, CAESAR in memoriall of his progenitors from thence defended, and namely, from IULVS or ASCANIUS the Sonne of AENEAS, had indowed with many franchises and immunities, and therefore it caried some likelihood, that he ment there to make his abode.

(e) These *Quindecim-viri*, or fiftene men, were instituted in the daies of CORNELIUS SYLLA with this addition *Sacrorum*: unto whose charge it appertained to see that Sacrifices and Divine service, that supplications, and processions, expiations, & ceremoniall rites should bee duey performed, as also to peruse the bookes and propheties of SIBYLLA: At first they were but two, called *Duumviri*, afterwards x. under the name of *Decemviri sacris faciendis*. *Alex ab Alex. lib. 3. Genial. dierum. cap. 16.*

(a) *BONVM factum*. A forme of preface which in olde time they use *boni omnis cause*, before their Edictes and decrees. &c. so commonly, as that these two Capitall letters B. F. did betoken the same as ordinarily, as S. C. stand for *Senatus consultum*. It had the same use, as *In nomine Dei* with us.

(b) Some take these *Brachæ*, whereof *Drachata Gallia*, a part of *Transalpine*, *Gaulæ* tooke name, For frize rugges striped with sundrie colours, which may resemble Irish mantles; but I suppose them to be a kinde of course breches, much like to the Irish trousses, but that they are more tull.

(c) By rising up unto him, and shouting or applauding as he passed along,

(d) *Vinum rivere*.

(e) *Brutus quia Reges ejecit consul primus factus est: Eic, quia consules ejecit, Rex postremo factus est.*

(f) Certaine bridges there were for the time made, upon which the Tribes passed when they gave their voyces in *Lampus Martius*, at their solemne Leets and assemblies for Election of Magistrates.

(a) Some take it to bee the same that REGVLVS, or TROCHILVS. Thought to be the Wren, and is likewise named King of Birdes, in Greeke *Λαοαῖ*: OMINOVS therefore unto CAESAR, seeking to be king.

(b) This is diversly reported by authors the occasion of which varietie ariseth upon the assignie of these names CASSIUS and CASCA. For as there were two CASSII at this action, so likewise were there two SERVILII brethren, both surnamed CASCA. By, ALTER CASSIUS or CASCA therefore, you may understand one of the two brethren, or the second of them. For some write, that the one CASCA gave him in the necke a wound, but not deadly, whereupon CAESAR caught hold of his dagger crying out, *Stolerte CASCA quid agis?* i. What meanest thou, O wicked CASCA, and then CASCA called unto his brother for helpe, who came in, and gave him his death wound, in the breast under the channell bone, PLUTARCH.

(c) *Albeit*, *Graphium* doth signifie a writing punch, (or Steele or wrier), otherwise called *Stylus*, wherewith they wrote in hard matter, as wood, or bark, before the use of our parchment and paper, as also our pen made of a quill or other substance, as brasse, &c. in which sense it is taken in that verse of OVID. *Amer. lib. 1. Eleg. 11.*

Quid digitis opus est graphium lassare tenenda?

And probable it is that CAESAR sitting in counsell was not without such a writing instrument: yet both DOMITIVS MARIVS upon the foresaid verse, and PEROTIVS also the author of CORNUCOPIA, expounding this place of SVETONIUS, takes *Graphium*, *pro pugnaculo*, i. A little poynard, poynado, or pocket dagger. And hapely therewith CAESAR wounded CASSIUS or CASCA (whether you will) being more readie at hand, hanging at his girdle, than the style or Steele aforesaid, which by all likelihood was yet in the case or sheath, called *Graphiarius*, considering CAESAR was but new set. But I leaue the exposition of this place, *in medio*.

(d) VALERIUS MAX. under the title of VERECUNDIA, commendeth this maydenlike modestie of CAESAR, who notwithstanding that he was masakred with 23. wounds, for man-hood sake forgot not to hide his nakednesse, and to die in decent manner: but as EURIPIDES writeth of the virgin Ladie Polixena,

ἄλλοι προσηύδατο γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα.

Where, by the way it may be noted, that the Romanes wore not trusses or breches, as wee doe, to cover those inferior and secret parts.

(e) This may have reference to that which is reported before, how in his youth, he loved SERVILIA, the mother of this BRUTVS: For his age falleth out to agree fity with that time: in so much as he was commonly thought to be a sonne of his. And yet this attribute *Fili*, may sort well with the familiaritie that was betwene them.

Some read *καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ*. i. And art thou one of them?

(e) VIRIN;

83 (a) VIRGINI *Vesalis Maxime*. That *Nus* or *Pe-stall virgin*, who in age and dignity excelled herself, and was the Mistress as it were, and governess of them, they called MAXIMA: much like unto the Ladie Abbess or Priorresse in our times.

(a) The argument wherof was the deciding of the contention betwene AJAX and ULYSSES, about ACHILLES Armour.

84 (b) For some of these who took part with POMPEIUS, he had pardoned.

(c) *Quicquid preceps ad munus aderat*. Others read, *ad delatum aderat*: understanding thereby those

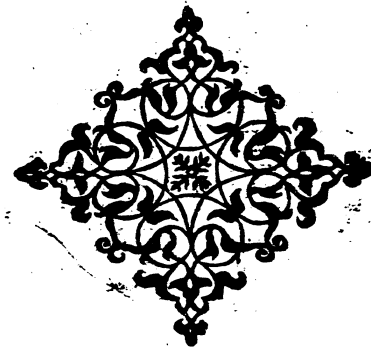
griftes which they brought as offerings to his Ghost, and be called *desere*.

(a) Which is counted one of the Climatich years, in which it falleth out that 7. is multiplied by 8. which two numbers, as C. I. C. A. hath observed. 6. & 8. be complete. A revolution final to SCIPIO AFRICANVS the younger to VIRGIL also and PLINE.

(b) APPIAN writeth, that it was in a sodaine up-rore of the people burnt to the ground.

(c) To signifie, that upon that day The father of his country was killed.

ANNO



ANNOTATIONS VPON

Octavius Augustus Caesar.

LITER diviores, u-
peraque Compertes.
This was thought to
be but a base occupa-
tion, namely, to give
among the Tribes,
such sums of money,
as the *Candidati*, or
those that stood in elec-
tion for offices promit-
ted & pronounced for

the buying of voices. The name also grew to be odious,
howsoever PLAUTVS in *Aulul.* calleth them *Aligi-
fros Curie*. Likewise all such servitors as otherwise
gave attendance in *Campo Martio*, and thereby got a
living, whom he termeth here *operas compertes*, were
but of meane reckoning.

(a) *Regione Palatii*. In old time Rome was divided
into foure principall regions or quarters. *Suburana*,
Equiline, *Collina*, & *Palatina*.

(b) The manner in old time was, that the newe
borne babe should be set up on the bare ground to cry
and call upon the Goddesse *Ops*, who so gently had
received it. And the Goddesse forsooth, that helped
to lift it vp againe, was called *Levansia*, & *Levanda*. *Au-
gustin. Mureto*.

(c) The *Vitile* robe was the ordinary Ro-
mane gowne, all white without purple, which they
wore when they came to be past 16. yeares of age.

(d) To wit, bracelets, chaines and collars, speare
shafts without iron heads, trappings, chaplets and
guirlands, &c.

(e) This was the *Triumvirate*, so much spoken of
during which, M. ANTONIUS, M. LEPIDVS &
AVGVSTVS ruled jointly together.

(f) MARCVS BRVTVS.

(g) Hee meaneth CICERO, as appeareth by an E-
pistle of D. BRVTVS vnto CICERO in these words,
*Quoniam tu mihi scribis, ut te ad me venissem, ut de rebus
quibusdam cum te loquerer, ut de rebus quibusdam*

ad te venissem, ut de rebus quibusdam cum te loquerer, ut de rebus quibusdam
ad te venissem, ut de rebus quibusdam cum te loquerer, ut de rebus quibusdam
In which words, as also in this place of
TRANQVILLVS, there is an equivocation or
doubtfull sense in this Verbe *Tollendum*: which in
one signification, is in manner *aquivalens* with *lau-
dandum* and *ernandum*; and betokeneth, to bee ad-
vantaged, extolled, or lifted up: and so is to be taken
in good part: but in another, it is all one with *tol-
lendum de medio*, or *occidendum*, id est, to be dispatch-
ed out of life, or killed. In which sense CICERO
meant it, and AVGVSTVS took it, namely in ill
part. Much like to this, you shall read in *Yero. fiftus*
hic matre, sustulit ille patrem. The grace lieth in the
ambiguity of the Latine word *tollendum*, which cannot
in English be so well delivered.

(a) The *Equities*, as APPIAN witnesseth.

(b) Which by the Lawe IVLIA THEATRA-
LIS, and ROSCIA, were allowed for the knights
or Gentlemen of Rome, whose estate was valued not
under 400000. Sesterces. The lawes aforesaid, were
promulged by AVGVSTVS, CAESAR, & L. ROSCIVS
OTHO a Tribune of the Commons. And these 14.
Seates named *Equesitria*, were the next unto the stage
after the Orchestra arising by degrees and staires, as it
were higher & higher, & so farther off. Above which in
the upper and more remote scaffolds sat the com-
mon people, and thereupon they were called PO-
PVLARIA. Howbeit, for all the lawe *Rescia*, many
Commoners of good wealth and credit, used to sit
indifferently in the said 14. foremost seats, untill the
other Lawe IVLIA was enacted, which distinguished
the orders more precisely. *Cicero. Sign. De Antiq. Jur.
Civ. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

(c) When in stately Pompe, the sacred chariot
Throned, with the images of the Gods in it, was de-
voutly drawn according to the solemn manner.

(d) A coast-towne of Italy affronting
Sicilie, from whence it is a very short cut over
sea so called by the Greekes, as if even there
a breach was made by the sea, dividing
Italy

traie from Sicilie which before time was a part of
the continent or maine land: And no marvelle of
that Name: since that Mritine Region, wherein Lo-
cri stood, was in times past called *Magna Gra-
cia*.

(e) In that hee put downe in his will the chil-
dren which he had by CLEOPATRA a stranger
and Barbarian borne, which allowe begotten in
bastardie, as well as if they had bene naturall Ro-
manes and legitimate, hee faulted in common civi-
lize, but much more, when hee proceeded to call
the sonnes that he had by her, *Reges Regum*, i. the
King of Kings. As absurd also and immodest hee
shewed himselfe, when having by her at one birth
two twinnes, the male infant hee named Sol. i. the
Sunne, and the Female, Luna i. the Moone.

(f) In the custodie of the Vestall Nunnes, or
Votaries, as IULVS CAESAR had done before
him: of such integritie and so good conscience
they were thought to be, as things of great weight
were committed unto them in trust.

(g) This forename, TITVS cannot truly be gi-
ven to any of the *Domitij*, if that bee true which
is written of them afterward in *Domitius Nervo*,
cap. 1.

(h) But in the behalfe of M. ANTONIUS, con-
sidering he was their Patron and Protector. For o-
ther forain States and Cities usually were throuded
under the favour of Gentlemen at Rome. In which
regard, hee laid not to their charge that they had
not sided with himselfe, but rather taken part with
their Patron ANTONIUS: considering that nere bond
wherewith such Protectors and Clients or Depen-
dents were linked together: which DIOMITIVS
supposeth to bee almost as ancient as Rome it selfe,
and almost equall to that of Allies; yea and kinde-
folke in blood.

(i) A Promontorie or Cape in EPIRVS,
shooting into the way Andracium, in the view
whereof the sumptuous Armada of Antioxia and Cleo-
patra was defeated.

(j) THESE Pylisli are people in Affricke supposed
to have bodies of a singular vertue to kill Serpents,
as also a speciall skill in sucking forth venome out
of the wound made by their sting. Yet CORNE-
LIUS CELSVS lib. 5. cap. 27. is of opinion, that
they have no principall gift or cunning in this feat
above other men, but more boldnesse rather, con-
firmed by use and practise: For the venome of a ser-
pent, saith hee, hurteth not by being tasted, but as it
is infused by a wound, which hee proverbly by those
poysons that the French use especially in hitting. And
therefore a verie Snake or Adder is false, may bee
eaten safely, how ever the sting is deadly: and it
whiles it lieth asstoned or benumbed (the cast wher-
of these *Monte-banck* or jugglers have by means
of certaine medicines) one put his finger into the
mouth thereof, and bene bitten or stung withal,
there is no spertle or slimie humous there to doe
harme. So that whosoever else, by example of these
Pylisli shall sucke a woman and infused by a Serpent,
he shall doe it safely, and cure besides, the party that
is stung. Provided alwaies, that hee have no fore
or ulcer, in gummies, palate, or any part of his
limmes.

(k) Some thinke this kinde of Alps which was
used, was *Pryas*, others *Hymale*; for that the
thing brought driveth upon her: and Lu-
cane called it *Alpide Sonmiformis*. But comment is
unto all the fables to kill by sleepe and stupefaction
without paine, some sooner, some later: but
all within the space of 6. houres: So that *Hym-
male* may seeme to be a generall attribute to them
all.

(l) As if hee counted those *Proles* dead,
who left no memorable actes behinde them. And
Alexander, a King still, or worthe alone to be cal-
led King, whose memoriall was yet so fresh and
lively.

(m) For that one of his parentes was a Parthine,
that is to say, a stranger of *Illyrium*, and the other
a Romane.

(n) WARRIS take the name of those that bee
vanquished. As, *Gallicum bellum*, *Germanicum*, *Dal-
matium*, &c. in which *Gaul*, *Germanie*, and *Dalmatie*
be subdued.

(o) Some take this bridge to be a kinde of Fabrick
or scaffold reared for the assaile of the towne *Meta-
lumi*, and not an ordinarie bridge built over some
river.

(p) This temple, as appeareth afterwards, hee
had vowed in the Philippian warre, which hee un-
derooke in revenge of his Father IULIUS CAE-
SARS death, and therefore dedicated it vnto MARS,
Revenge.

(q) THE Temple of IANVS QVIRINVS, or
QVIRINI, because it was first founded by *Romulus*,
Numa Pompilius his successor ordained to be let open
in time of warre, and shut when there was peace.
Wherupon IANVS was termed under a two-folde
name, *Patecius* and *Clausus*. Once it was shut in
the said *Numa* his reigne; and a second time, after
the first *Punic* warre ended, when M. *Annius*, and
T. *Mellius*, or *Mellius*, were Consuls. At all times
before and after it stood open, untill AVGVSTVS
CAESARS daies. During whose Empire it was
thrice shut. First, upon the defeate of ANTO-
NIUS and CLEOPATRA before *ACTIVM*.
Secondly, after his victorie in *Spain* over the *Canti-
tari*: Last of all, when all Nations (in manner) of
the earth by occasion of his victories, grew to an
universall peace. About which time our Saviour IESVS
Christ, IMMANVEL, that True Peace ma-
ker betwene God and us, was borne. Thus OR-
OSIUS repureth, and redeth, *ter, not terris*. How-
beit LIVIUS seemeth to acknowledge, but once,
namely, upon the *Actiack* victorie.

(r) Oration was a kinde of petite triumph: wher-
in the Captaines victors rode not in a Chariot,
nor wore a Coronet of Laurell, but of the Myrtle.
It tooke the name *ab ovibus*, i. Sheepe Sacrificed,
or rather all the voyce, *Oves*, which the Soldiour in
their acclamations redounded.

(s) THE Romane Armie consisted of Legi-
ons, who were all Romanes, and of *Auxilia*. i.
aids and those were of Allies and confederate na-
tions.

(t) This day, was *Ante diem quartum*
non. Sextil. i. the second daye of August.
Which was also that verie daye of the month,
wherein

wherein the Romans in times past suffered the defalcious overthrow at Cannæ.

(a) BY which the people of Rome wonne their immortal fame, and conquered the whole world. as Cæsar faith: *Pro Muræna*.

(b) December, Ianuarie, and Februarie.

(c) Thereby disabling them for being serviceable fouldiers.

(d) These Publicanes, so called for that they fermed their Cities, reuenues, as Customes, Tolls, inposts, &c. were likewise Knights or Gentlemen of Rome, and by being so earnest to buy out one of their owne sort, were thought to fauour him; and minded presently to dismisse him at liberty: which was contrary to his intent.

(e) FOR his Vncle and Predecessor IULIUS CÆSAR, had taken up that familiar terme of COM-MILITONES, by occasion of so many troubles that followed him, and therefore was driven to speake his Souldiers tayre.

(f) *Libertines* were those who having beene bond were made free or manumitted: and these were not capable of *Militia Romanæ*, but in time of great extremitie and desperate cases.

(g) It seemeth by this, that these *Vallare* and *Murell* coroners were made of some other matter than Silver and Gold. Yet *Aul. Gell. lib. 5. cap. 6.* writeth that both these, as also the *Nevale*, were of gold. Now, the *VALLARE* or *CASTRENSIS* coronet, (for they were both one) resembled *vallis* i. the Rampter a palafade about a Camp, made of *vallis* i. stakes or pales sharpened at the head, wherewith the banke or mure was the better fortified, and hee received it as an honorable reward, who first mounted the said palafade, and entered the Camp of his enemies: The *Murell* was fashioned like to the battlements of a wall, given likewise unto that souldier, who approached the enemies wall first, scaled, and climbed over it into the Citie. As for these *Phalere*, albeit they be commonly taken for the ornaments or trappings of horses; yet it appeareth that they be the ornaments of the men themselves: And as well they as *TORQUES* were, *Tralatitia militum dona* i. Ordinarie and common gifts bestowed upon good souldiers. See *Tuvenal. Satyr. vii. P's leti phaleris omnes, & torquibus omnes*.

(h) Such as be called before *MANIPVLARES* and *GREGARIOS*: although in other authors, *Caligati* stand for all manner of souldiers.

(i) In *Laun Fests* I haue met much to this sence in our English tongue. No more hast then good speed: For, *The soft fire makes sweet malt*. This proverbe the same *AVGVSTVS* expressed also in his coines, wherein hee stamped together with lightning or a thunderbolt, the God *TERMINVS*, representing by the one, *Celeritie*; and by the other, *Stayednesse*. Like as *TITVS VESPASIANVS* the Emperour joynd an Anchor and a Dolphin together in his coine, to the same purpose.

(j) A verse of *EURIPIDES*, in the Tragedie *Phœnisæ*. i. A ware Captaine is better than a venturous.

(k) It was the Apophthegme of *CATO*, *Some enenough is that done, which is well done*.

(l) BY the law *Annaria*, that *L. IULIUS*, or

VILLIUS rather promulged, required it was, that a Consull should not be under the age of 45. Yet for their worthnesse and demerits, some attaine to that dignity, under 30.

(m) Like unto this was the speech of that Centurion, who being sent by *IULIUS CÆSAR* Dictator, for to haue the tune of his government and conduct of an Armie in the prouince proroged, standing before the doore of the Senate house, and taking knowledge that it would not be granted, shooke his sword hilt with his hand and said, *the prorogatio* i. This then shall prorogate it.

(n) THREE such Halles there were in Rome, wherein Iudiciall courts were held, and causes pleaded. 1. *Remanum*, which was so much frequented with Lawyers and their Clients, that *CATO CENSORIUS* delivered his opinion, that it should be paved with *Calcestris*, to keepe out that rabble which haunted it. 2. *Cæsareum*, that *CÆSAR* Dictator built, and adjoynd thereto the Temple of *VENVS Genetrix*. 3. *AVGVSTI*, whereto was annexed by him one Temple of *MARS REGENS*. For, another he erected in the Capitoll, after he had regained from the *Partians*, the Roman Standards and military deioignes, which they wonne from *CRASSVS*.

(o) An *Apytheatre*, and a Theater, differing: the full Moone from the haife, or a compairt rounde from a semicircle.

(p) *PLINY* writeth, that Rome was deuided into foureteene Regions, or wards, and into more than a thousand streets.

(q) Augurs were certaine Priests employed about the obseruation of Birds, and from them out of their learning gave directions. In number at first they were but three belonging unto the three ancient tribes of Rome. In proceesse of time there was a Colledge or covent of them to the number of 14. namely, in the daies of *SVLLA* Dictator: So that I doubt not but among these were some appointed for this ministerie eyther about the Goddesse *SELVS*. i. Health or safety, unto whom there was likewise a Temple built, or else in the name and behalfe of the people, *Captare Augurium salutis*, which as *DIO* maketh report, was in this manner: *That they should call unto God for safetie, if he would permit: as if it were not lawfull to craue it as the Gods hands, unless they first granted it. And one day every year was chosen for this businesse, in which no Armie did set forth to warre: no man warre against them, nor take weapon in hand to fight. A thing that could not be, during the late troubles and ciuill warres. No merveil therefore, if this function being forelet, was now taken up againe by *AVGVSTVS*, when by occasion of peace, he did shut the Temple of *IANYVS*. And as this function was called *Augurium*, so I see no reason but the very *Augurship* or *Sacerdotal dignitie* is seife in this place might be named *Augurium*, in the same forme, that presently after, the *Flamen*ship or Priesthood belonging to *IUPITER*, is named *Flaminium*: And this I take to be the meaning of our Author.*

(r) Which were solemnized once in an hundred, 31 or as some say, an hundred and ten years.

(s) BY which addition, there were in the year 32 230. Law daies or pleadeable.

(t) *MORX* maiorum ordained it was, that a *Patricide*, should first be beaten with rods, and then, loved

followed within a leather male or budge together with a dog, a cocke, a viper, and an Ape, and so throwen into the sea or some running water.

(b) Whereof *CORNELIUS SVLLA* was the Author intituled: *de falsis, or Testamentariis*.

(c) MANY lawes went under the title *Sumptuaries*, to repress the immoderate expen in apparell, and belly-chere especially: as namely, *Fannia*, *Didia*, *Oppia*, *Cornelia*, *Ulpia*, as well *Cæsars* as *Augustus*. But in the time of *TIBERIUS CÆSAR*, notwithstanding he did what he could to keepe them in force, yet they were all abrogated.

(d) *Lex Julia, Cæsaris & Augusti de Adulteriis & Pudicitia*. For albeit the law of *Scatinia*, provided against the later, to wit *Pederestie*, yet the penaltie thereof by vertue of the said law was but *Pecuniaria*, i. a mony matter. Whereas by *Julia* it was *Capitalis*, i. worthie of death. And, that *AVGVSTVS* established and enforced this law against Incontinencie, it may appeare by this, That *Seneca Avulius* reprooued him: because being himselfe giuen to lasciuiousnesse, yet he was a most severe and sharpe chafficer of that vice: as also by that answer of a young man, who be for committing adultery with his daughter *Julia* smote with his owne hands. Who thereupon cried out *Nisi Iudex es Kalpas*, i. Thou hast made a lawe of *CÆSAR*. Now as touching the foresaid law *Scatinia*, it was so called (as *VALERIUS MAXIMVS* writeth by occasion of one of *Scatinia* a Tribune of the commons, who against kinde had abused a sonne of *MARCELLVS*, and was therefore condemned accordingly.

(e) *De ambitu*. Of which there were diuers, namely *Asilia Calpurnia*, *Asidia*, *Bebia*, *Aemilia*, *Cornelia*, *Fulvia*, *Maria*, *Pompeia*, *Petilia*, *Tullia* and *Ulpia*, *Cæsaris & Augusti*.

(f) *Lex papia poppea, de maritandis ordinibus*, wherof, there were many branches and chapters, not only respecting this conjunction of the Gentrie and commons: but also concerning penalties to be laid upon those that neglected marriage, and rewards due to such as lived in wedlocke and begar children, &c.

(g) The badges that distinguished Senators from others, were their Robes purpled or embroidered or with broad studs or purple like naile heads, called therupon *Laticlavii*, and shoes with peakes resembling the horned tips or pointed ends of the moone, named therefore *Calcei lunati*, in token of their ancient Nobilitie, as some interpret it.

(h) These solemne feastes at which Senators were allowed to be present, were *Epulones* or otherwise called *Cena* *Dialis* within the capitoll: Likewise *Cena* *Triumphalis* *Pontificalis*, and *Auguralis*, i. the sumptuous suppers to the honour of *IUPITER*, at triumphes, given by the Pontifices and Augurs.

(i) The first day of euerie moneth. The 13 of March, May, Iuly, and October, the 15 of the rest.

(j) A Iudiciall court there was at Rome called *Centumviralis Massa*, for that it consisted of certaine Commissioners or Iudges named *Centumviri*, i. The Hundred-men. Before whom were debated ciuill matters and causes betwene citizen and citizen, of no great importance. Chosen these were out of euerie Tribe three. And those were in all 35. which

number doth arise to 105. but in round reckoning they went for an hundred.

(k) What these ornaments and badges were. *T. LIVIUS* reporteth in the 30 booke of his *Romane historie*: to wit, *A crowne of Gold, and a faire golden Bell: A curule, Ivorie chaire, with a staffe likewise or scepter of Ivory: A long Robe embroidered of sundrie colours, and a rich coat of Needles worke representing the Date tree*.

(l) This solemne shew or Riding of Roman Gentlemen, was upon the Ides, i. the 15 day of *Quintilis* alias Iuly yearly: Instituted first by *FABIVS RVTILIANVS* in the honour of *CASTOR* and *POLLVS*, who appeared unto the Romans, at the battell neere the Lake *Regillus*, what time they achieved a noble victorie. They rode from the Temple of Honour, as some write, or as others, of *Mars* without the walles, through the *Forum*, and by the Temple of *Castor*, up into the Capitall, dight with chaplers of Olive branches, as *PLINIE* writeth *lib. 15. Natur. Hist.*

(m) BY this it appeareth, that ordinarily he might not bee a Tribune of the commons, who was not a Senator: For albeit this be a Plebian Magistrate, yet might a commoner be a Senator.

(n) Whereupon, *SVIDAS* thinketh, *Annenas* to take their name, *quasi anni die Natus* i. because come was wont to be dealt among the people, upon the Nones of euerie moneth, namely, the seventh day of March, May, Iuly and October, and the fifth of the rest: Whereas indeed *Annona* is derived *ab anno*, i. the year, *quasi annalis alimona*, i. the yeares provision of food.

(o) It seemeth that *AVGVSTVS* held of two Tribes: to wit, *Scaptia*, unto which the *Ostij* belonged, and wherein he was borne: and *Fabia*, by his adoption into the familie of the *Iulij*.

(p) For, howsoever the *Romane* habit was the Gowne, yet permitted were they, upon necessitie, namely to save the said gowne in foule weather, or to defend themselves from cold, to cast over it a cloake in any frequented place of the Citie, as were the *Forum*, i. The common pleading court, ward, or Market place, and the *circus*, i. The Shev place.

(q) For the ordinarie Roman Gownes were white and faire kept.

(r) Of these spectacles and games, some were *Matutini*, some *Meridiani*, and other *Pomeridiani*: according as they were exhibited, In the morning, at Noone, and after-noon.

(s) These were called likewise sacred Games, as Stage-plays, *Gymnicke* Exercises, and *Masteries* in Musicke, in *NEROS* time.

(t) They took that name of a spacious Gallerie or walking place called *Xystus*, wherein they were wont to exercise in winter time.

(u) *COLONIES*, were Towne-ships in Italy and other Provinces planted with *Romane* Inhabitants. In which, *Decuriones* as one would say Aldermen, had the same authoritie as Senators in Rome.

(v) Hereupon, some Provinces were called *Cæsaris*, or *Præsidaria*: namely which were ruled by the Emperours sole appointment, and had strong Garrisons placed in them: others, *Pœpuli*, and

and they were named *Prætorie, Consulares, or Præcon- fulares*, governed by *Prætors, Consuls, or their Vice-gerents*.

- 50 (a) There is a kinde of Monkey or Marmoset in *Aethiopia*, going under the name of *Sphinx*, in *PLI- NIA*. The Poets also faine, that a certaine mon- strous beast so called, sometimes did haunt the Citie of *Thebes* and the Tentrerie about it: Which from a rocke propoled riddles unto the passengers. This monster by their report, carried the resemblance of three creatures, to wit, a Foule, a Lion, and a mayden, according to these verses of *Anthonis*.

Terruit Ioniæ volucris, Leo, virgo, trifurmis
Sphinx: volucris perna, pedibus færa, fronte puella.
 A three-thap'd Sphinx, Bird Lion-Maid,
Ionian land did fright,
 In wing a foule, in feete a * beast,
 In face a virgin [bright].

PLINIE writeth in the last booke of his *Natu- rall Historie*. That *AVGVSTVS* used at the begin- ning to figure with this *Sphinx* engraven upon his Sig- net. And verily quoth he, in the casket of his moth- ers lowels two of these he found, so like, that one could not be discerned from the other. And as hee was wont to weare the one wheresoever he went, so in his absence during the civill warres with *Antonie*, his friends that menaged his affaires at *Rome*, sealed with the other, those mulsives and edicts which passed in his name. And from hence it came, that those who received any such letters or edicts conteyning matter of difficultie, were wont merily to say, that the said *Sphinx* came ever with some hard riddle or other, which could not be avoided. Whereupon *AVGVSTVS* to avoid the obloquie that arole by his *Sphinx* gave over sealing therewith, and signed al- waies after with the image of King *ALEXANDER* the Great, &c.

- (a) This humanitie and affable courtesie termed by *SVETON*. *CIVILITAS*, was reproved in *ALEXANDER* the Emperour by his mother and wife both, as not becoming the Majestie of a Prince. For they told him many times, that thereby he caused his Imperiall power and dignitie to be the more contemptible: Yea, but it is by that meanes quoth he both surer, and like also to last the longer *Lam- prid* in *Alexandro*.

- 53 (a) This name *Dominus* among the Romans, like as *Sir* with us, was duely used. In the sense of imperious and Lordly commande, as were sometime take [Lord] it was odious: as having a relation to *SERVVS* a slave or vassall. To mollifie therefore the harshnesse of the word, they used to terme their holders or masters of families, *paterfamilias* in stead of *Dominus*, as also household servants *familiares*, and not *servos*. Otherwise they used it by way of flatter- rie or faire speech, as appeared in the chap. 21. of *CLAVDIVS* following. Hence it is, that lovers call their sweet hearts, *Dominæ* i. Mistresses. Also if a man speaketh unto one, whom hee cyther knoweth not, or hath forgotten he saith, *Dominæ* i. Heere you Sir, according to that Epigram in *Martiall*.

Cum te non nossem, Dominum Regemque vocabam,
 Or fr. Al while that I you kenned not, I cald you L.R. King

Last of all, by way of scorne and derision. And so, the same *Martiall* testifieth in this Latinicken.

Cum voco te dominum polis tibi, cinna, placere,
Sepe etiam servum se referale meum.
 When I O Cinna call you Sir, joy not, I you addressse,
 For even my servant I salute oft times no otherwise.

In which manner we speake unto our servant, or any other in contempt, by this terme *cinna*: to say nothing of Sir knave. No mervail therefore, if *AVGVSTVS* could not abide this word *Dominus* so doubtfully taken, and seldome in good sense.

- (b) If you read, [*adpetra*] i. close and shut, it may have reference to this, That he took not state upon him, nor sought the peoples applause: which accordeth to his other behaviour reported before. If [*ad aperta*] i. open, it sheweth likewise his courteous carriage and affabilitie: as who was readie to accept of petitions and requests: a thing right commendable in a Prince, as it is written of King *ARTAXERXES* surnamed *MENON*, how riding in a Carroch with his Queene, he commanded her to draw open the curtaines thereof, That he might the better attend upon his subjects. And this agreeth as well with that which followeth of *AVGVSTVS*. And here- to I rather erline.

(c) He looked not for their attendance at home in his owne house, neither would he be thought to have conferred with any one privately, as touching the publicke affaires.

(d) It is generally a received opinion, that within seven naturall daies such voluntarie abstinence from food is not mortall, as *PLINIE* writeth in his eleventh booke, who reporteth also, that many have continued fasting more than eleven daies. Which I easily beleeve. For, in mine owne knowledge I may be bold to report, that a Birch lived so long, and yet died not, nor miscaied the whelps within her. Some melancholicke persons therefore, may within the Latitude of Health endure so long, yea and those likewise who are fraught top-full with a ballance of cruel and cold humours, which may engender a quartaine ague as well as melancholicke doth. For, I doubt not, but in such chronick diseases occasioned and maintained by grosse matters, one may abide above eleven daies without all manner of food. Yet *AVLVVS GELLIVS* saith, that beyond seven daies without abstinence, a man is not able to live.

- (a) For, as *Plinian* testifieth. *lib. 18. de Testamento*. A law there was, that whosoever in the infamie of any person published a Libell either in his owne or another mans name, yea without name at all. If he be convicted thereof, shall be interhabilis. i. disabled both for making a will himselfe, and also for to be a witness unto another mans.

(b) By these candidates, he meaneth cyther such as himselfe recommended unto the people for any office, as *CAESAR* his predecessor did before him, and those were called *Cæsaris Candidati*, or else his especiall friends whom he laboured for.

(c) *PLINIE lib. 35. cap. 12.* writeth, that *Cassius* his accuser charged him to have killed 130. guests, with one platter of poisoned meat.

(c) Certaine souldiers there were going under the name of *Scutarii*, as *PAVLVS DIACONVS* wit- nessed.

nelleth in his supplement upon *Entropius* writing that *Valentinian* of a Tribune or Colonel over these *Scu- tarii*, became Emperour.

- 64 (a) *GERMANICVS* was the sonne of *Drusus*, and *Antonia* the younger. Now, had *Drusus* for his mother, *Livia* the wife of *Augustus* and *Antonia* for hers, *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*.

(b) In all bargaines of sale, and alienations, the soleme and ceremoniall forme at *Rome* was this, that five witnesses at the least, *Romane Citizens* and of lawfull age, with one other beside of the same condition called *Libripens*, (because he held a payre of bal- lances, &c.) the chapman or buyer should come with a peece of *Brasse* coyne in his hand, and say, (for example sake, if it were a bondslave to be bought and sold) these words, *This man or woman, I avouch by the law of the Romans to be mine, and bought I have him or her, for this peece of brasse, and with this brasse ballance, and therewith, siting the said bal- lance give the brasse peece unto the other partie that is the seller, By which imaginarie kind of chaffe, ring, things were alienate, and their property chaged.*

(c) So ordinarie it was to traine up youth in swim- ming, and in * Grammer, of which the one had relation to the exercise of the bodie, the other of the minde, that of such as had no bringing up at all, arose this proverbe, *non vici, non perdidisti*.

(a) *CAIVS* was sent by *AVGVSTVS* with an armie to suppress the troubles and insurrections in the East-parts: where he was stabbed treacherously, with a knife or short skene, by one who presented unto him a supplication, of which wound he died af- terwards. *ALVCIVS* likewise he sent into *Armenia*, recommending him unto the Gods in these words, that they would vouchsafe him as welbelovd as *Pompeius*, as *valerius* as King *Alexander*, and as fortunate as himselfe.

(a) These he adopted, because they were out of the tuition of their fathers (deceased) in the com- mon Hall or *Forum*, before the high priestes, and with consent of the people, by verue of the law *Cu- riatæ*. And this was properly called adoption. Where- as, sufficient it was to adopt others above named with the assent of their fathers, by the formall bar- gaine of saile called *Mancipatio*.

(c) Certaine quehours there were named also *And- didati Principis*: whose Office it was to read such mulsives or letters in his name.

(d) Happily, this he did to know thereby, whe- ther she had bene naught of her bodie with them or no: considering wee learne out of naturall Philo- sophy, that commonly children resemble their pa- rents in complexion, favour, and marks. Howbeit, this *Julia* is reported to have brought forth children, all like unto *M. Agrippæ*, her husband so long as he lived, notwithstanding she was known to be a com- mon strumpet. But beside her answer to that point, unto those who made a wonder at it, which ye may see in *lib. 1. Saturnal. lib. 2. cap. 5.* read the pleasant and witty Epigram of *Sir Thomas Moore*, upon the like example.

(e) Alluding to a place of *Homers Iliad. 3.* wherein *Hector* curseth his brother *Carus*, and after some ap- proprious termes saith thus, *οὐδ' ὅτι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι·*
World God, thou hast of women we're bene borne:

Or else had died thy wedding day before.

Which verse, by inversion of words and using one of them in a contrarie sense, *AVGVSTVS* trans- ferred unto his owne person. For it is to be noted, that *οὐδ' ὅτι* where in *Homere* hath a passive signifi- cation, & soundeth, as much, as *as yet* i. not borne, whereas *AVGVSTVS* taketh it in the active, for one that is childlesse, or hath begotten no children.

(f) These Cancers be certain tumors or swellings, or is unable hard & unequal of their nature which he called *Scir- rus* for generation rhes, and of an ugly aspect, as arising from un- naturall melancholy breeding, as *CORNELIVS CAELIVS* writeth, for the most part in the superiour region of the bodie, about the face, nose, ears, lips, and womens breasts. Which our Author heere and the Greeke writers name *Carcinoma*, for the re- semblance of the Crab-fish crooked clees, which the blacke or swart veines all about them doe repre- sent, or because they be hardly or uneth removed, if they once take to a place, no more than the said fish when it sealeth to a thing and claipeth it, Vato- ward to be healed, and commonly the worke for all the cure done unto them. These Cancers, if they be- come ulcers once are termed *Wolves*. In regard of which properties, aptly compared *AVGVSTVS* those ungracious Impes of his breed, unto them, as being foule Eye-ores, dissteining his honour, and by no discipline of his corrigible.

(a) According to that sage precept of *Solon*, *οὐδ' ὅτις μὴ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον ἴδῃ, οὐδ' ὅτις μὴ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον ἴδῃ, οὐδ' ὅτις μὴ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον ἴδῃ*
 Be not hasty making any thy friends
 And the saying of *Æcuba* in *Æuripides*,
οὐδ' ὅτις ἑαυτοῦ νόμον ἴδῃ, οὐδ' ὅτις μὴ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον ἴδῃ
 No friend, I say,
 Who serves me eye.

Which two rules Propertius elegantly comprehen- derth in one verse,
Amare.

Nec cæso desisto, nec temere incipio
 Late ere I love, as long ere I leave.

(b) *ÆSOP* gave this lesson, *οὐδ' ὅτις μὴ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον ἴδῃ*. Commit no secrets to a woman. And as for this *Mecenas*, he was noted to be *Psorinus*, more than he should, and one, who (albeit his wife was a shrew and readie to goe from him every day soone admitted attonements and reconciliations. Whereupon *Seneca* in his morall Epistles said, That ha- ving but one wife, yet he married a thousand times.

(a) *EVE* word almost in this verse carieth a double construction without the understāding whe- of, all the grace is lost. For, *Cynædus* in one sense, be- tokeneth one of the Galli, Priestes of the Gods *Cybele* named also, *Ops Mater deum*, and *Tellus*, even the ve- ry Earth. Which priestes were gelded or disabled for generation, and took that name of the river *Gallus*, the water whereof drunken, caused men to be virate and effeminate. Now, the manner of these priestes in the divine service of the said goddesse, was to bear the Taber or tamper upon the *Timbril*, which is expres- sed here in these words, *Orbem digito temperat*. For that the *Timbril* is round & circular, to signifie the Globe of the earth symbolize by *Cybele*. And in this sense, may the verse literally be interpreted: But, be- side this significatiō, *Cynædus* betokeneth a wantō *Pashick* or *Catamite*, who suffereth himselfe against nature to be abused *Orbis* also is pur, for the habitable world, and *digito temperat* is as much to say, as He hath the world

at a becke, or at his command, as if the same were ruled by AVGVSTVS CAESAR, who was noted for that abominable filthinesse. And in this latter sense did the people of Rome expound the said verse, and apply it unto him.

(a) Of twelve Gods and Goddesses together: Alluding to those fixe select Gods, & as many Goddesses whom antiquitie in heathenish honours above the rest: whose names ENNIVS the Poet comprised in these two verses,

Inno, vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercurius, & Iovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

Answerable to which number hee entertained fixe young women attired like Goddesses, & six boyes (Iametes) in habit of Gods, as his guests at this Supper.

(b) I doubt, the first verse of this Hexastichon is not perfect, for, I do not please my selfe in the translation of it.

(c) Neyther is it certaine what this *Mallia* should bee: Some read *Manlia*, as if it were the name of a chamber within the Castell or Citadell of the Capitall, which this banquetting place of his did counterfeit, and then we must admit the figure *Protespaea*. Others take *Mallia* to be the name of some woman, imployed in the furnishing & setting out of such a supper.

(d) For AVGVSTVS not onely sat here among the rest in the person of *Apollo*, but also would sometimes be thought *Phabus*, otherwhiles *Phabus* his sonne.

(e) For, it is not unknowne what adulteries the Poets talke of, betwene *Iupiter* and *Armenia* &c. betwene *Mars* also and *Venus*.

(f) No marvaile, if *Iupiter Capitolinus*, with other Gods and Goddesses, being before possessed of the Capitall, abandoned their shrines and chappels, when they saw such in place.

(g) Wherein Tormentors whips and scourges were to be sold: and there-upon hee tooke that name of Tortour (like as before he is surnamed *Sandalarius*, and *Tragedus*) which, AVGVSTVS seemed now to verifie in himselfe, whipping and plaguing the people with hunger, as hee did.

(h) IN which moneth the feast *Saturnalia* was kept, and much libertie tolerated of gaming, feasting and reveling.

(i) In this game called in Latine *Lusus salorum*, or *Talarum*, there is some resemblance of our dice, but that the *Tali* have but foure faces or sides, and therefore yeeld foure chaunces and no more. Of which the first is named *Canis* or *canicula*, answering as some drinke to our Ace, and is the worst of all. The opposite unto it, they termed *Venus* or *Cocus*, and is accounted the best, as which may stand for our sixe. The third bare the name of *Chinus*, proportioned to Trey with us: and the last *Senio*, and is as much as *Quaire*. For in these *Tali* or cockall bones there is no chance of Deux or Cinque.

(k) *Quinquatrus* or *Quinquatria*, were certaine festivall holidays held for five daies together in the moneth *May* to the honour of *Minerva*. See *Ovid de Fast. Par. Macro. Aut. Gell.*

(l) For pleasure therein he called it *Syracusa*, comparing it to that beautiful Citie in *Sirily*, and because it served his turne for meditations and inventions, he gave it the name *Συρακων*.

(a) Employed, as it should seeme in his civill waies. Certaine soldiers there were attending upon the Prince under the name of *scutellatores*, whose service hee used, in spying and listening. In Greeke such were named, *Σκωπτοὶ*, *ἀκούοντες*, *ὑποστάται*. Also in doinge execution upon condemned persons, and in sending of letters unto the Senate, as *Quintus Torrenius* hath observed verie well in his Annotations upon *CATVS CALIGVLA*.

(a) *Sabbatis Ieiunium servat*. If Sabbats be but for weeks, as the manner of the Jewes was to speake, according as the Publicane saith in the Gospell after *Saint Luke*, *noctes die & Sabbata*, and as it appeareth in other places of the Evangelists, true it is, that SVETONIVS or AVGVSTVS reporteth of the Jewes, as also if by Sabbats are meant other of their festivall and solemne daies. But if you take it for the seventh or last day of the week, it is altogether untrue, and to be imputed unto the crout and ignorance of SVETONIVS and the Romans, in the Jewish rites and ceremonies. For seeing them religiously to keepe the said seventh day or Sabbat holy, whereupon they were commonly called *Sabbatarii*, and observing withall their fasting, generally it was thought of strangers that they fasted upon the Sabbat. Also for their devout fasting against the intent of the Passover, called by themselves sometime the great Sabbat, as also by forainers, as it appeareth by *Horatius lib. 1. serm. sat. 9.* in this peece of verse *fiende tricesima Sabbata*, &c. they imagined that the Jewes fasted every Sabbat. And in truth, reckon from September (at which moneth the Jewes in one computation begin their year) 30 weeks forward, you come unto their *Ascha*: According to which time wee Christians also doe celebrate our fast of Easter. This onely is the difference betwene us and them, for that they observe the *Neomenia* or new moone at the spring *Aequinox*, and solemnize their passover in the next full moone, and wee, the Lords day or Sunday after the said full.

(a) If it seemeth, hee tooke but a light repast: not putting off his shoes, as the maner was, at full meals.

(b) Some copies have, *restitit pedibus*, making (re) to be *restituit*, as if he meant, verie well covered (contrarie to the use of that word *retere*, which otherwhise significeth, to uncover) like as *recondere*, i. to lay up verie safe and sure. Others, *retractis*, i. with his feete somewhat drawn or pulled up to him: in the same sense as *CORNELIVS CELSVS* useth *paulum retractis, qui fere iacentibus balneis esset*, as hee saith, which is the ordinarie forme of lying, when as men be in health. Lastly, some read, *retractis*. Let downe or stretched out to the full length.

(c) *CASABONVS* interpreteth, *Lecticulum lucubratorium* [a pallet or low bedde made for the nones, to rest and studie upon].

(d) By whose report, he wanted not much of the full height of men, to wit, nere six foot, according to *Vegetius*. Above which *Stature* the growth is somewhat giantlike.

(a) *Ad Imperiginis formam*. The second kinde whereof, as *CORNELIVS CELSVS* writeth, (for willingly do I often cite him as the Roman *Galene*, in explication of a Roman writer) *Varia figuris habet*, i. resembleth many and sundre formes, *lib. 5. cap. 28.*

(b) This

(b) This infirmity of his was a kinde of gout, which the Greeke writers call *Istelas*, and is commonly named *Saraca*. As for the remedie or palliative cure rather (for easement of paine) with stand: it may be meant eyther of some mentation with linnen bagges wherein was saide. For, *Cornelius Caesar* writeth, *Ibas Melle sedes, fatis, and sand*, or any of them put within a linnen cloth, and to applyed to the affected place, cure the said disease: or of walking in sand by the sea side, or else of tumbling and wallowing therein: Which remedie *Q. Serenus Samonicus* in this verse: *Nec non & tepidis convolvitur corpus arenis*, &c. hath prescribed and experience verifieth.

(c) CATO in his Husbandrie, and *PLINIE lib. 17. cap. 17.* maketh mention of curing the *Saraca* with a clift of agreen cane or reed, but there must be forsooth, a charme go with all, and so, it repositeth oshocations or bones out of ioynt: Indeed, both *Diocletianus*, and also *Galene*, attribute vnto the rinde or barke of Cane-rotes, and to their ashes a defecative vertue: Whereby, they are found good for such dislocations, and to may cure the Articular disease likewise, called *Saraca*, which differeth not much from a dislocation, of the huckee-bone.

(d) *PLINIE* reporteth 3. cap. lib. 25. That the stone of the bladder, and especially the Strangurie, i. pissing drop-meale, occasioned by grauell, (which I take here to be meant) is of all others most dolorous.

(e) THIS is accordeth to an observation of *Cornelius Celsus*, *Qui secundis aliquando frustra curatus est, contrariis aliquando restituitur*. I. The patient whose cure devised by art, and according to the rule of Physicke, sometime speedeth not well, recouereth otherwhise by a course of meanes quite contrarie.

(f) Which the Greekes call *Periodicall*: As the Quintane Ague and other intermittent fevers be so termed, because their fits returne vpon certaine daies. The taling sicknesse likewise, keeping time with the moone, whereupon some name it *Lunaticus*. And gout, which are most busie in the spring and the fall, &c.

(g) Toward the end of September. An unequal season of the yeare, wherein commonly, the mornings and evenings be cold, and the Noone-tides hotte, whereby many diseases are occasioned. But as touching the Birth-day here mentioned, *Valerius Max.* and *Plinie* report, that *Antimachus Sidonius* the Poet every yeare vpon the day of his Nativite onely felt the access of an Ague. Whereof he died in the end, after he had lived to a great age.

(h) No mortuall: in acchoymical bodies, such as his was, the humors which lay still and quiet all Winter, began to spread and swell in the spring, causing *Dysentem* and *Parasitum*: especially in that place where they were gathered and laid up as it were in store, to doe a mischief when the time came.

(i) *FAEMILIIVS & tribulibus*. In Steele of our Breeces and Stockings, the Greeks and Romans, used in those daies certaine loose cloathes in manner of swathing bands to cover and lap their nakednesse. And long it was, as they tooke to anie such, and it were upon occasion of some disease. Whence heere of *PENITVS* King of Macedonia

whoas *PLETVARCH*, when hee late in Port sale of certaine slaves or captives, was admonished by one of them to let downe his upmost garment for to hide his shame. *IVLIVS CAESAR* also himselfe, being deadly wounded, was careful to let fall the lap of his gowne for to cover his private part: when he should fall. In proceesse of time they tooke to wearing the cloathes aforesaid in lieu of *Eruca*. i. Breeces, which the French and other barbarous Nations used: but they did so in Winter onely. For, otherwise they went ordinarily in those parts without trusses: covering all as mannerly as they could with their loose upper garment, which upon a small occasion were readie to flie open.

(b) Partly, to make a noise, and so to procure sleepe, and in part to refresh and coole the Ayre.

(c) As well to coole him as to drive away gnats, for want of curtaines or a canopy, which thercof tooke the name in Greeke *κατακλις* or *κατακλις*. Now the manner of this windowing or making wind was for the better and daintier sort, with plumes of peacock stables, much like to the fannes of feathers used in these daies as well as in old time, but for the meaner, with beards stables.

(d) From Rome to *Praneste* or *Tibur*, is about one hundred *Stadia* if then, you reckon 125. paces to a *Stadium*, it cometh to 12. miles and an halfe. *CATO CENSORIVS* was of another minde, who said he Repented when soever he went to any place by water if he might, by land.

(e) The abstinence wherof in some measure is good for those that have feeble joynts, and be remembered otherwhiles with any gout, as AVGVSTVS was yet a thing that Physicians in old time could hardly bring their patients unto, so ordinarie it was in those daies to both.

(f) Which, the wanton and delicate Ladies of Rome, as *PLINIE* writeth, used of silver.

(a) *Ad pilam*. Whereas there were divers kinde of balls to play with, it seemeth, that hee meant in this place that, which of all other was least and hardest, as being stuffed with haire, wherevpon it tooke the name: the same no doubt that our Tennis Ball is sent to and fro with the Racket. Named likewise it was *Trigonalis*, of a Tennis court within the baines, three square walked: from which walk the ball did rebound. Of this ball, and the exercise thereof, *GALLEN* wrote a Treatise.

(b) *Folliculum*. By *Folliculum* is meant a kinde of wind hand ball covered with leather: having within it a bladder puffed up with wind, the softest & lightest of all others, smitten, nor with a racket as the other, nor with the palme of the hand, as that which they called *Paganica*, filled with woole, flocks or yarne, but driven with the clutched fist, wherevpon it tooke the name *PUGILLATORIA*.

(c) So *TURNERVVS* expoundeth it. But *ISACVS CASABONVS* understandeth thereby, *Segestrie* or *Segestrium*, in Greeke *σεγέστριον*, a light banquet or quilt.

(d) By this, is meant a play, that children used, and not that game of hazard resembling dice, as which, hee saide before, they played *παιον*.

(c) For ought that I can gather out of the sundry conjectures of expeditors, these *cellas* made of silver or Iron, resemble the game of young Gentlemen called of some *Trot-Madame* or else that pastime of boys named nine holes.

(d) *BASSIDES* the poetic allusion unto the fabulous historie of *AIAX*, *TORRENTIVS* hath observed in the word *Spongia*, a double signification: to wit, a sponge called *Delatilis*, which writers had at hand, cyther to wipe and wash out what mistaked them, or to blurre and blot the same, according to the use of the Poet *AVSONIVS*.

*Aut castis pariter spongia oblimet
Patrum lachrymator spongia sepiam.*

Whereupon *Martialis* saith of it,

Vtilis haec quous scripta vocare voles.

and also a sword. Which addeth the better grace unto the conceit, considering that *AIAX* fell upon his owne sword. But in this latter sense, I have not yet found *Spongia* taken, in any approved author.

(e) *AVGVSTVS* taxed *MAECENAS* for being *Cariculus*, and found as much fault with *TIRRETIUS*, because he was *Amignarius*.

(f) By these words *μυρμήρξ*, *Cincinnos* *AVGVSTVS* noteth the affectate forced phrases, and curious ynkeborne termes as it were, of *MAECENAS*, *Cinns* *ovais*, as *SENECA* reporteth of him *Epist. 94. aque soluta est, ac ipse distinctus*. His manner of stile might be compared to those haire of his, curled with crisping pins & besmired with odoriferous oiles, which *CICERO* calleth *capillus calemissimus & delibutus*. Neader do I thinke that *AVGVSTVS* reprehendeth *MAECENAS* for using these words, *μυρμήρξ* *cinnos*, because it is his owne manner in writing to enlargeth Greekes with Latin, & besides, *Cariculus* is therein to be found. But his over curious termes and new devised phrases he so calleth, for that *MAECENAS* was wont in trimming and tricking up himselfe to be somewhat womanish.

(g) *AVGVSTVS* in a certaine Epistle unto *Maecenas* by expressing his owne nice and delicate phrases, after a sort derideth them, and dehortheth him thereto, in these words. *Pale mel grynium Medullie ebore ex Mestria, lafer Aretinum, adamus supernas, Ziberinum Marcarum, Cilnorum Smerogde, Iaspi figurorum, Berylle Porcenne, carbunculum Italia, xxi in ovitum sacra pndu, xxi Marcharum*. In which words, as in a mirror he might see himselfe.

(d) As if he should say, *Never a barrell better bearing*. There was neyther of them better than other, as offending both waies. The Asiatick Orators were *Cicropi*, *Cumbr Atticus* and *Petrinus*, *Antiquaris*. So that, it was meere folly & vanitie to make any doubt, whether of them to imitate, being all sturke naught.

(e) This *SETHAEVS* was a deep Scholler & great Humanitarian as we speake, and whom the Greekes call *Philologus*. Under him *AVGVSTVS* became *modicus* i.e. skilfull in historie, Antiquities &c. like as, under *ARIVS* he learned Philofophy.

(f) The principall Authors whereof *HORATIUS* comprised in this verse,

Empolis atque Crasimus Aristopli anesque poeta.

In this manner of Comedie the vices of men and women were represented and taxed upon the stage over-boldly, and bravely to their discredit. For which

it grew to be offensive, & was laid away a long time.

(g) Who was *Censor* in his time, and perswaded in his orations that all men of what degree soever should be compelled to marrie for procreation of children.

(h) *PIETAS* *lib. 2. cap. 55. Nat. Hist.* wherein, that it never lighmeth above five foot within the ground. Fearfull persons thereto, shunke such deepe caves most fast.

(i) *BY* this custome and gesture, as the Argument and circumstance of the place naturally importeth, he thought to inure the goddesse *Neptis* for to spare him: *Neptis* I say, whom the Heaten imagined to attend with an envious eye, upon all excessive prosperitie. To avoid therefore adverse afterclaps, which this spitefull goddesse might bring upon him, unlesse they were pacified, *AVGVSTVS* thus debated himselfe superstitiously, and in some sort, seemed to abridge his owne felicitie. Much after the manner of *POLYCRATES* that rich tyrant who to be excused from this *Neptis*, fling into the sea a Jewell, with a precious stone of unestimable price.

(j) *NUNDINAE* among the Romans were those daies in every moneth. Whereto they kept fyres and markets. It should seeme thereto, that he held the day after them ominous and of unlucky presage, as we lay in our proverbe, *A day after the faine, or else* because he had sometime not sped very well, when as he did set out in his journey upon such a day.

(k) *Neomis, quae, non is*, which literal y offeth as much as, *you go not*. Much like to that in *Plinie 15. lib. cap. 19*. When *M. Crassus* was ready to embarke in that unfortunate expedition into *Parthia* where he was slaine, a fellow cried certaine sigs to be fold with this note *Caveas, Caveas* (for of that kinde were those sigs) which offeth thus much unto him, as if in short speech he had cried *cave ne eas, cave ne eas*, i. Take heed you go not this voyage.

(l) *AN* Idoll resembling an Ose, which the Egyptians worshipped as a God for *Serapis*.

(m) He did this, as it should seeme in policy, because he would not be thought addicted to the Jewish sect. For otherwise it appeareth as well by his gracious Indulgences granted unto them, as his own testimonie in Edicts & commissions, wherein he giveth unto their God [the true & onely God] the attribute of *4-rit*, and instituted for ever certaine *Holocausts*, or whole burnt offerings, to wit, two lambs and one bul, to be offered unto that soveraigne most high Diety.

(n) *SOME* have expounded this of our Saviour Christ, King, not of Rome onely, but also of all the world, who took our nature upon him, and was borne in the daies of *Augustus Caesar*.

(o) The like conception by a serpent is reported of *Olympas* the mother of King *ALEXANDER* the great, of *POMPONIA* likewise the mother of *SCIPIO AFRICANVS*.

(p) This broad scale wherewith were signed Letters Patents and other publike Instruments, carried a stamp representing the Citie of Rome: and being thus put into his bosom, prefigured that he one day should have the government of the state & commonweale.

(q) Symbolizing thereby, that the Citizens of Rome, who before time might not lawfully be scourged were in danger to loose their liberty in that behalf.

(r) Or

(a) Or, when he stood the first time for to be Consul. For, the manner was of the *Candidati* or Competitors of the Consulship, the night before the Election day to lie without the Citie abroad in the open ayre: and afterwards early in the morning to sit in a chaire made of one entire peece within the precinct of a certaine place therefore appointed (which therupon was called *Templum*) and there, to waite and expect until some God presented unto them a good and fortunate signe.

(b) *CVM augeri hostias imperasset.* The manner was of the *Paimis* if they could not speed of their Gods favour as the first sacrifice, to kill more beasts still, until they saw some tokens thereof: which in the Soutisayers learning was called *Livare*. Thus did *PAVLVS AEMILIIVS* for 30 together, and obtained no warrant of happy successe before he had slaine the one and twentieth. Yet some write, that *Sacrifices* are then said *Augeri*, when together with the beasts, there is use of *Salsa mola*, i. meat & salt. Which kind of Ores be called *Mella*, *quasi melleis anthe*.

(c) Significant names both, and oiles of victorie. *EVICTIVS*, importeth Luckie or Fortunate: *NIEN* Victour or Conquerour.

(d) This solemnitie of purging the Armie everie five yeares was instituted by King *SERVIVS TVLIVS*, and celebrated with the Sacrifice of a Swine, a Sheepe and a Bull, named there upon *Suovetaurilia*. Hereupon, the revolution of five yeares, they called *Lustrum*. This function or office belonged afterwards to Generals of the field: like as the Expiation and purging of the people unto the Censours. And this manner of *Lustrum* is here meant. *Carol. Sigon. Afon.*

(e) Writings or Instruments signed, concerning the said vowes: whereby they bound themselves, as it were, by obligation to pay and performe the same. Oftentimes also they fastened them with waxe unto the knees of those Gods or Idols unto whom they nuncupated those vowes, according to that verse of *Juvenal. Satyr. 1*.

Propter quas est genna incertare Deorum.

(f) *Præter consuetudinem.* *SVENTONIVS* seemeth heere to forget himselfe, writing that *Augustus* contrary to his owne wont embarked by night, having reported before, that it was his manner so to doe. *Torrensius* would save all, expounding it thus, that his hastie and long journey (for it was a good stretch from *Astura* to *Beneventum*) was contrary to his wonted manner. But to speake, what I thinke, his journey now by night, was occasioned by a gale of winde that served well for *Beneventum*, and hath no reference at all to his accustomed travaile. Some would read *pro consuetudine* i. after his usual manner, but they respect not the scope of our Author, whose purpose in this place is to put downe certaine particulars that were ominous and presaging his death. Among which, this may be reckoned for one, *That he did a thing now*, repugnant to his ordinarie guise. A point, I wis, observed too much even now a daies by those that are superstitiously given. Although, I am not ignorant, that of this observation, in sicke folks, there may be a naturall reason rendered out of Philisike.

(g) *DE navis alexandrina.* By *Navis* he meaneth as I suppose, *Classis* (by the trope *Synecdoche*) i. the

whole fleet, like as by the same figure, *classis* signifieth a ship. For one vessel alone arrived not into that haven of *Patros*, fraught with merchandise, considering that the same is by other writers named *megynae* *raia*, and *comenae*. Yes, and by the figure *Caesaris*, *Martial* calleth in *Stilianus* *comenae*, which properly betokeneth the fleet when it is arrived. Neyther is it like that Mariners and Passengers out of one ship onely saluted *AVGVSTVS* in this wise.

(h) *Quadragesimo annis.* Every such peece was worth fiftene shillings sterling and better, answerable to our Spurre Rials.

(i) These commodities were thought to be Drugs and Spices of all sorts, webs or clothes in Say, Books, Paper, Glasses of sundrie fashions, veere of flaxe, birds, or Tow, findall or fine linnen, twisted yarne and threed of divers colours, Babylonian and Egyptian cloath, well favoured bondslaves, and of good education, &c.

(j) *Vicinam capreis insulam.* Yet some read otherwise, *Vicinam capreas insulam*. The land *Capreae* neere adjoining, as if *AVGVSTVS* had abode all this while in the skirt and coast of *campania*, or in some other of the neighbour islands. But I incline rather to the former exposition.

(k) The Citie of *Eafe* and *Idleneffe*.

(l) This *MASGABAS*, seemeth by his name to have beene an African, whom *AVGVSTVS* had made Constable as it were of that place, and ruler over a Companie, that he sent thither to dwell, after he had purchased it of the Neapolitans. And for that *AVGVSTVS* had in mirth given him the name of *Founder*, he was so reputed, and his yeares minde after his death solemnized accordingly.

(m) *Morbo variante.* I take it, he meaneth that which *Calpus* calleth *Alvum variam*, and other Physicians *Eggestionem variam*, namely when in a fluxe the excrements & humors be of divers colours, an argument that nature is not able to concoct them being so irregular, and therefore, sometimes a deadly figure. Or, it may be expounded thus, *That otherwhiles he seemed to be better and on the mending hand, and thereupon more reverent.* Then read, *Morbo variante tamens.*

(n) Celebrated everie five yeares after the Graecian manner, and called *Gymnicke*, because the mastenes therein, were performed by Champions for their better agilitie well neere naked.

(o) This was a speciall honour and indulgence granted by a singular privilege, for otherwise it was against the custome & lawes of the Romans to bring a dead bodie into a sacred place, or into the Citie, for feare of polluting and profaning it.

(p) The Senators and Gentlemen of Rome wore rings of Gold, the Commoners of Iron.

(q) The chiefe Colledges & Societies, at this time were compted foure, that is to say. The Pontifices or chiefe Priests, the Augures, the *Septem-viri*, or seven wardens called *Epulones*, for that to the belonged the charge of providing the sacred feasts, the sumptuous suppers of the Pontifices, named *Cena adficiales*, as also the stately Tables, in the honour of *Jupiter* and other Gods: and fourthly, of the *Quindecim-viri*, *sacris faciundis*, i. fiftene overseers of the Sacrifices. Afterwards adjoynded there was to these a fifth, *Augustinum Sodalium*, erected by order from *AVGVSTVS*, and others in proceesse of time by his preceident.

(r) This

(d) This *Refra* was the publicke pulpit for Orations, standing in the common Market place, called *Forum Romanum*: so called for that it was beautified with the beake-heads of ships (named in Latine, *Refra*) which in a memorable fight at Sea, the Romans wonne from their enemies. Neere vnto which were certaine shops called *Petres Tabernae*: and absolutely *veteres*, for distinction of others, known by the name of *Novae* i. the new shops. Yet some are of opinion, that in this place our Author meaneth *Refra veteris* i. the olde pulpit: to put a difference betwene it and another named *Novus* i. the New.

(e) You must thinke, That the dead bodie to be burnt in a funerrall fire, was set therein so, as the ashes and bones thereof remained a part by themselves from the rest. Otherwise, the ashes of wood, the bones likewise of horses and other beasts sometimes burnt therewith, should have the honour due unto the said dead corps. Some are of opinion that it was lapped in a linnen sheete of the flaxe called *subellum*, which would not bee consumed with fire.

(f) The sumptuous Tombe that Queene *Artemisia* built for her husband *MANSOLVS* King of *Caria*, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, was called *Mansoleum*, after his name. Wherevpon, at such costly and stately monuments are so named; and more particularly, that of *AVGVSTVS*. Of which you may read more. *5. Gergasti Stelenis*, for the better explanation of this place.

(a) *DEPOSITVM apud se.* Some read, *apud se, i. i. vestales*, as if fixe of these Vestall virgins had the custodie thereof, or at leastwise brought the same forth, being committed to them all, and the seventh, named *Maxima*, the Prioresse as it were, and governesse of the rest, were left behinde.

(b) This hath a reference unto the *As*, or pound waight Romaine consisteth of 12. ounces. which standeth for the bala and rule of many other things: and namely heere for the entiere inheritance that *AVGVSTVS* disposed of by his last will and Testament. For, two third parts of 12. he gave unto *TIBERIVS*: and another third part unto *LIVIA*, which made vp the whole.

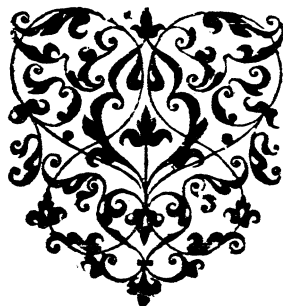
(c) That against the law *Pecunia*, which expressly provided, That no man should endow a woman in more the fourth part of his goods. So that if a man died seized of one hundred thousand pounds, his wife might not enjoy the thirds, but only 25000 pounds and no more. Howbeit *AVGVSTVS* had a speciall Indulgence and dispensation for this Lawe.

(d) *Albirt TIBERIVS* had beene long before adopted his sonne, and thereby may be thought to have assumed the names of his civil father, in this stile: yet this surname onely of *AVGVSTVS* would not be communicable with him, but left it as hereditarie after his decease; as appeareth in *Tiberius*. As for *Livia*, after *Augustus* his death she was commonly called *Julia Augusta*: how ever some writers containe her olde name *Livia*; and others againe in *Augustus* his life name her *Julia*: by the figure *Prolepsis* because the name after he was dead.

(e) In most copies of *SVETONIUS* you find this reading, *Legavit populo Romano quadringentis, tribuistructis quinquies*. In which words there may be thought a Tautologic. For that the people of *Rome* and the Tribes (which were in number 35) be all one. Therefore, some learned men have thought good to leave out the later clause wholly, or at leastwise, the word *Tribulus*. Others againe would have heere two legacies to be implied, the one of foure milless given generally in common to the whole bodie and people of *Rome*, the other of three milless and one halfe, to be distributed among the Tribes in particular, or to the poorest persons in everie Tribe according to the discretion of their *Precum-gistri*. And these, put a distinction betwene *populus* and *plebs*, which *plebs* is heere understood vnder the name of *Tribulus*. But I leave it indifferent; although I am not ignorant, that sometimes *Populus* and *tribus* be confounded and put the one for the other, as also that *tribus* stand of the vulgar and meaner sort of the people onely, expressly distinct from *populus*, *Equites* and *Senatores*, which the Poet termeth *Sine nomine turbam*; and *T. LIVIVS* not unsapely, *ignota capita*.

(f) Which amounteth by the computation of *BYDAEVS* to three thousand and five hundred *Myriades*.

Anno-



ANNOTATIONS VPON *Tiberius Nero Caesar:*



It seemeth that in his owne Native country, where the Inhabitantes, before time were defended from the Greeks, he had to name *Atta Clausus*: and being once incorporate among the Romans, changed it into *APPIVS CLAVDIVS*. Now, *Atta* signifieth of the Greeke word *αττις*, which is in going, not to set the sole of the foote firmly upon the ground, but rather lightly to tread as it were, on uppon. Heerevpon, as *FESTVS* noteth, they that have that imperfection in their feete, whereby they can go no better, be called *Atta*. Which was the occasion, that one of the said house tooke that name first, and so his posteritie after him. Like as among the Romanes, or another accident, arose the name *Appia* first. For that one was borne into the world with his feete forward. And these additions, whether they were forenames or surnames in the beginning, it sheweth not. For surnames in continuance of time came to be forenames, and contrariwise.

(b) If you have recourse unto the Originall, *NERO* is as much as *Nervus*, or *Nervus* i. *Nervatus* or *Nervatus*: that is to say, well compact of nerves and sinewes: and such are strong.

(a) *SENECA* reporteth in his booke *De brevitate vite*, cap. 12. That this *CLAVDIVS* perswaded the Romanes first, to go to sea, and embarke: Wherevpon he was styled *Caudex*, which in our Latin is as much to say, as the framing, and joyning together of many plants or ribs of timber, which is the very Description of a Bark.

(b) Once if his predecessours who had a Iustidition there, gave it that name, as having built likewise a Forum or Hall of Iustice there: wherevpon the Inhabitants of it and the territorie thereabout, owing service to that court, as Clients & dependents to that Family afforded this *CLAVDIVS* a meete place for him of Innovation and usurping unlawfull domination.

(c) Observing fignes from Birds, by their feeding, flying or other wise, that might give him warrant to go forward with the favour of the Gods, in his Enterprize.

(d) Adoptions by order of Law, should follow the course of Nature, whereby the sonne, cannot be elder than the Father. The cause why he sought thus extraordinarily to be adopted a commoner, was that he might be chosen Tribune of the law.

(e) The usual manner in *Rome* was, that those

persons who were arrested for criminall causes, during all the time of their trouble and triall, should change their apparell, and in steed of gowries which were saue and white, put on others sullied and roule, thereby to moove merite and compassion of the people. Wherevpon such, *Rei* were called *Sordidati*.

(f) These Tribunes of the commons as may appear in *T. LIVIVS* were *sacrosancti* i. Vnviolable, and such as no violent hands might bee laid upon.

(a) So called, of *Saline*, the salt pits or salt houses. For being Censor he set an impost upon salt, and thereby augmented the revenues of the State, little to the benefit or contentment of the people.

(a) For the manner was, that Governours of provinces, who (as they were) so would be counted also, more courtuous than others, should unrequested allow some of their lectors unto all Roman Senators that repayed unto them, for to doe them honour: *Cic. ep. ad Cornificium*.

(a) In token of his nativitie there, which as they gave out, was borne to the good *urbis & orbis* i. Of *Rome* and the whole world besides, for so, by way of flatterie they magnified their Princes.

(a) Some read, *Lullusom* i. sorrowfull, in regard of many hurts and dangers.

(b) When a chariot is drawne by a teeme of foure steeds all in one ranke or affront, as we may see them pourtraited vpon divers coines, it must needs bee that the two middle are joynted or yoked as it were to the spire pole running betwene them: and these be called *uiginti*. The other two then are without, the one on the left, and the other on the right side, called *auxiliares* in Greeke, and in this place by our Authour *Funales*, because they are guided and ruled by a cord, or some reines or chaine in lieu thereof. And say, that these quadrigij or foure steeds drawe two by two in files, one payre before the other: those which be next unto the chariot be aptly called *uiginti*, and those before them beyond the spire, *Funales*, of which *TIBERIVS* rode upon one and *MARCIVS* upon the other.

(a) ACCORDING to the vulgar speech, *Nervus familiaritas parie contemptum*.

(a) THESE daies were called *Fali*, because at first they used with such cockall bones named *Fali* to play: but afterwards they were made of Ivory, gold, &c. Among many sorts of sorceries and divinations, one there was by these bones or dies, and the wisards that professed their cunning in it, were termed *Actus augurales*.

(b) For the greater light to this place, and better proofe of *Thrasillus* skill, *Dion* reporteth, that when *TIBERIVS* intended verily to throw him downe headlong,

headlong, he perceived him by his countenance to be much troubled and disquieted in minde, whereupon he demanded the cause thereof, and then *Tiberius* answered, that by speculation of the Stars he foresaw some present danger to himselfe, and so *Tiberius* durst not proceede to execute this intent of his.

(a) *SEPTA*, was a place in *Mars Field* called about as first like a sheepe Pen: whereupon it was called *Ovidia*. But afterwards mounted with Marble stone, beautified also with stately galleries and walks, within which cloyture and precinct, the people of times assembled about Election of Magistrates and other publicke affayres: yea and with warres which were there set out to be sold. As *Alex. ab Alexandro* witnesseth.

(a) Some read *Bractes*, of which name there is a nation, as well as of the *Romaine* in *Gaulle*. Others, *Rutero*, as if he meant one of those horsemen or riders in Germanie, which at this day be called *Rutters*.

(a) A long robe embroidered and garned with purple, a caske branched with Date tree worke, a rich mantell of sundry colours. A chaplet of Laurel, a staffe & chaire, both of Ivorie, *Lib. lib. 30.*

(a) By this enigmaticall speech, *AVGVSTVS* compareth the State of the people of *Rome*, unto the miserable case of one, whom some savage and cruell beast hath gotten betwene his teeth, not devouring and dispatching him at once, but there holdeth and cheweth him along while in exceeding paine: alluding to the secret malice, and dreaming nature withall of *TIBERIUS*.

(b) It should seeme that in adopting him, he used these very words, *Hic Reipub. causa facio*. i. This doe I for the common-wealths sake.

(c) Alluding to this verse of *Ennius* in the commendation of *Qu. Fabius Max.*

Fusus homo nobis cunctando resistens rem.
One man alone by sage delay
Restor'd our state full'n to decay.

(d) In the tenth booke of *Phisces*, where *Dionides* in making choise of *Phisces*, to exploit a peccet of service with him, giveth him this praise.

(a) The Tribunes of the commons had power to call a Senate, but not whensoever they would, without a speciall Decree granted by the Nobles.

(a) This cohort or band of Souldiers which were of the Princes Guard, were called *Pretoriani*, taking that name of *Pretorium* which signifieth the Lord Generals Pavilion in the campe, his Royall Pallace in *Rome* and else where. As also the Lord Deputies house of Estate in any Province. Now those Souldiers that gave attendance and served in this place about the Prince or Governour, were intainted in better condition than the rest, because their wages was greater, and the time of their service shorter. For *AVGVSTVS* had set downe their terme twelve yeares, whereas the rest, before they could be discharged, were to serve sixteene.

(b) It may be thought, that *Germanicani* as well by the Grammaticall Analogue of the letter, as also by some circumstance of this verbe place, import a reference unto *Germanicus* the son of *Drausus* deceased.

Like as *Pitellini*, *Flavianii*, &c. But the learned observe, that as an Armie lying encamped or in Garrison, in Germanie, is properly in Latin called *Germanici*, so the Souldiers of the said Armie be truly named *Germanicani*.

(a) These solemnities were exhibited about the midst of November, whereas the other, named *Remum*, were held in the beginning of September.

(b) It is to be noted, that the name of *Imperator* in the Roman Historie is taken three waies: First, for him, who by commission or warrant from the State, hath the conducting of an Armie, And in this sense, it hath relation to Souldiers. And is all one, with Lord Generall of the field, or a commander, &c. and the same that *Prator* was in olde time. Secondly, for a Victor or Conqueror, namely when such a Generall or chieftaine hath by naturall precesse achieved many valiant exploits, & put to sword such a number of enemies, as the law setteth downe. For then the Souldiers were wont to salute him by the name of *Imperator*, Conquerour. Lastly for a soveraigne Prince, King and Monarch. In the first acceptation, it is a meer Relative In the second a surname. In the third and last, the forename of all the Romaine Emperours, to wit, from *IVLVVS*, *CAESAR* forward. Who although they were not the Crowne and Diademe, were nevertheless absolute Princes, Sovereignes, Kings and Monarches. The want of this distinction may breed some trouble in the readers of the Romaine Historie.

(c) Made of Oke branches, or in default thereof, of some other tree bearing mast: which garland by the first institution, was given to that souldier, who in battell had refused a Citizen of *Rome* and saved his life. And afterwards, it, together with the Laurel, beautified the gates of the *CAESARS* Palaces, although some of them were bloodie Tyrants, & made no spare of their citizens and subjects lives.

(a) This manner was, if Prince or Senator were carried in his Litter, usually supported by eight bond-servants, and therupon called *Obsequium*, to have a companie of Citizens in their gownes going before, and accompanying him by his side, as also certaine servitors to carie his curule chaire of Ivorie behinde.

(a) This free embassage, called *Libera legatio*, was granted many times to such, as being desirous eyther to travell and see forraigne countries, or to fly, for avoiding of dangerous troubles at home, thereby to be better entertained abroad, and with the more honest colour, to conceale the occasion of their departure, & absence as if they were sent from the state, about the affayres onely of Common-wealth.

(a) It was not ordinarie with the Emperours to accompanie the corpses unto the funerall Fire: but onely to vouchsafe their presence at the Funerall Oration in the *Ferum* or common place. This therefore may be attributed unto *TIBERIUS* his civill humanitie.

(b) It appeareth by *Dion*, that they had omitted to subscribe the clause which went in this forme, *Vota facimus pro te, Imperator i.* We make our vowes (and pray) for thee O Emperour.

(a) *CAVES* were heard judicially, and Justice ministered, eyther from a superiour place as the Tribunal

banall, or beneath upon the even and plaine ground, de plano, as the Lawyers speake, so that there were a Chaire or seat for the judge to sit upon. And the said place of Iustice wheresoever, eyther *pro tribunali*, or de plano posita felle, is properly called *Ius*: as *Carolus Sigonius* hath observed. *lib. 1. cap. 7. de Iudiciis*. Whereupon cometh the usuall phrase, *In ius vocare*. It seemeth therefore, that *Tiberius* would come into the Comitium or Hall of Iustice, and take his place, sometime within the Tribunal (for it was a spacious rowme) or else sit in his Curule chaire of Ivorie beneath, as a moderator, which is expressed heere by the terme de plano.

(a) As Marchpanes, Tarts, Gingerbread, Custards, Sugred Bisket, and generally all manner of pastrie-concoct, wrought with hony or sugar. The workman is called *Dulciarius*, and the things, *Bellaria Mellita*, or *Pemmata*. Toves not onely needlesse, but hurtfull also to the bodie, according to that in *Aulus Gellius*, *lib. 13. cap. 11. Nihil Attic. ex varum. Bellaria ea maxime sunt mellita quae mellita non sunt.* Or digestion: *Tisigoni: γὰρ μέλι, σικετας infusa.* i. such wickets fort not well with a Concoction.

(a) Diverse Statutes there were sharply punishing the adulterie of Matrones or married wives. An Act likewise passed in the Senate, that no Person of Knights degree or above, should play upon the stage, performe sword fight, or combat with wild beastes for hire. Providing all to preserve the honour of wedlocke entire, and to maintaine the reputation of Knighthood and Nobilitie. Those shamelesse dames therefore, of whom *Suetonius* writeth in this place, eyther because they would be thought unworthie to be reckoned within the censure of Law, or as *TACITVS* writeth, deemed to have abidden punishment enough in making profession of so base a trade and life. These lewde persons likewise, and unrelameable unthrifits suffering themselves thus to appeare noted with infamie, and that upon record, made accompt, both the one and the other not to be obnoxious or liable unto the statutes & acts aforesaid.

(b) The manner was at *Rome*, for Tenaunts to remove and shute out of one house into another, upon the first day of July, like as with us, at the feastes of Saint Michael and the Annunciation of the Virgin Marie: which are the ordinarie rent daies.

(a) *IOSEPHVS*, *lib. 18. Antiquit. Iudaic.* writeth that *Tiberius* sent 2000. of them into *Sardinia*, an Island in Summer time especially, verie intemperate and unwholsome, as may appeare by that pretie Epigram of *Martialis*, wherein he opposeth the healthie Citie Tibur, to the pestilent Isle *Sardinia*.

Nullo fata loco potis excludere, cum mors
Venerit, in Medio ribere Sardinia est.

No place exempt from fatall death, for when our time is come,

Mid Tibur, will *Sardinia* be found of all and some.

(a) This colludie, who gave occasion of this By-word, was a famous Stage-player, or one of these *Mimi*, counterfeiting other mens gestures, as *Beralidus* supposeth. See *Plutarch* in *Apophthegm. Laonic.*

(a) *BIBERIVS*, a bibendo i. of drinking. *Calvus*, a quida, or calida. i. hote. *Mero* of *Merum*. i. strong wine. An elegant Agnomination: whereby is shewed, that he loved to drinke wine hote, which is right delicate, & goeth downe more merry

(b) The Italicke Amphor conteyneth 48. Sextarii, every Sextarius 20 ounces *Menfuralis*, which is a wine pinte and halfe of our measure with the better. By which reckoning he drinke at one meale a undict of ten wine gallons well neere.

(c) A Bird that feedeth upon grapes and figges especially, whereupon it tooke the name. In Autumn or the latter end of Summer it is so called: at other times *Melanorophus*, or *Atrocipilla*, of the blacke cop, or hair-like feathers that it carrieth upon the head.

(d) Of this Bird for the dauntie feith of a *Martiall* made this Epigram.

Inter aves, turdos, si quis me iudice ceres,
Inter quadrupedes, groria prima Lepus.

Of feathered fowles, if I may judge, the blackbirde is the best,

Among four-footed beastes the Haire surpasseth all the rest.

(e) To invent and devise new pleasures.

(a) ALLVING partly to the Isle *Caprea*, and in part eyther to *Capra* in Latin, a goat, or to *Kapros* in Greek, a wild boare, and that member, *Quo viri sumus*.

(a) *Seneca* reporteth thus, *lib. 2. de cense. cap. 27. Quater milies scelerum suum vidit.* i. He saw of his owne, 400 millions of Sufferers.

(b) Provided it was by an auncient law, and the same revived by *IVL. CAESAR DICTATOR*, that no person should in silver or gold possesse above 60 sesteria, that is, Three score thousand sesteria. This also may have a relation to that order set downe by him a little before, That named men and vlturers should lay out two third parts of their stocke in lands and houses, &c.

(a) As we say, to make him lustice of *Quorum*, &c. For the decuries of Iudges were they *Quorum nomina*, were written in the Commission Roll.

(a) The Greeke verse is red thus, *Εἰ πὴν τοῦτο, δὲ*
Λατρί, ἀδυνατὶ δύναι, ἢ εἰ πὴν τοῦτο, δὲ

(b) *Scalia Germania*. A place at *Rome* upon the Aventine hill, into which the dead bodies of malefactors were dragged and thrown with shame.

(a) *THERY* speake the Greeke language generally throughout all Greece, yet not after one manner. For in divers parts were different kindes of Greeke called *Dialects*, to wit, Attick, Ionick, Aeolick, &c. Like as with vs in Great Britaine a common English tongue goeth wel neere throughout the whole island, albeit there is a diversity perceived between the Scotish or Northren English, and the Southerne, betwene the Cornish and the Kernish, &c.

(a) In so doing the bodie must needs be bared & some shame discovered which being an Impietie before the sacred Images of the Gods, was made *Treason* also before the Emperours Statues, unto whom diuine honours were exhibited.

(a) The last Hexastichon or 6 verses, seemeth to make one entier Epigram by it selfe. Every *Difficilum* before, carrieth a secretall sense. And as for the first two, they seeme to have a reference to the time, whilst he abode in *Rhodes*, before he was *Sui Iuris*.

(a) At which times, both among the Greekes and Romans also, the manner was to forbear Execution yea and to ease prisoners of their yrons.

(b) As if under his person he had offered abuse unto the Emperour *Tiberius*.

(c) He would say, The courage and generosity of the Romans died with them, leaue that none arose

to recover their liberties oppressed and trode under foote by this Tyrant *Tiberius*.

(d) Rather, two hundred and twentie. For *Tiberius* lib. 6. *annal. reporteth*, that all the suspected complices of *Seianus* were killed, *Iacius immensis strages, totius sexus, totius aetatis*.

(e) The like hypocritical Religion was practised during the bloudie persecution in the *Trinuitate*. A young Gentleman nobly borne, because he might not be killed lawfully, *procurator* L. under age, and wearing still his embroidered garment *prætexta*, hee commaunded to put on his virile gowne, and so he was murdered. *Appian. Dis.*

(f) For a wonderfully addicted he was to the studie of Astrologie, and such curious Arts.

(g) THE full stature of men in *Babylonia* was six foot wanting two yaches, it men grew higher than sixe they were accounted exceeding tall, if to seven, (and to that height men may grow, as *Varro, Gallus* and *Solinus* doe write) they were for Giants. So that in *Muslers* young men were chosen soldiers, five foote high and ten yaches, which was called *Infra statura*.

(h) Some read *subiti*, and not *subtiles*, to signifie that such pimples continued not, but arose and felt at times, much like to those that the Physicians call *Eidura*, *Sudamina*, or *papulus sudorum* according to *PLINIE*, proceeding of heat or sweat, if the humours be sharpe.

(i) Such be termed in Greeke *δυσουχμοι*. And if we may beleve the Physiognomie delivered by *ARISTOTLE*: they be by nature deceitfull and wile, given to circumvent, entrap and supplant others.

(j) *CORNELIUS CRASSUS*, among other good rules and precepts of Health, writeth thus, *Sanus homo qui & bene valet & sua sponte est, nullis obligare se legibus debet, ac ne medico neque alijs parere, &c.* But give he what directions he will, and let us say what wee can to this point, that men and women may be Physicians to themselves, such is there misgovernment in diet and otherwise, that Physicians shall never want employment. And as touching thirty years, of age *TACITVS* addeth moreover & faith, That "he was wont to mock those and hold them to be fooles, who after the said years had neede of other mens instructions, to know what was good or hurtfull for their bodies. Whereupon might arise our English proverbe, *A foole or a physician*.

(k) SUCH as were tunc to the Harpe. In which kinde *Pindarus* excelled among the Greekes, and

Horace among the Romans.

(l) Once of *AVGVSTVS* [adopted] sonnes. Yet somewhat *LYLIUS CAESAR*.

(m) A word usuall with us in these daies, for who knoweth not that *Monopoly* is, when one man engrosseth some commoditie into his owne handes, that none may sell the same but himselfe, or from him?

(n) It signifieth in this place a peece of workmanship set upon a cup or other vessell of Gold or silver to garnish the same, so fitted, as it may be put to, or taken away at our pleasure. The ancient Poets in Latin called such devices *Insertas*.

(o) CONTRARIO to *AVGVSTVS CAESAR*, whose manner was ever and anon in his speeches and writings to interlace Greeke words and sentences.

(p) A place neere the river *Tiberis*, so called of a Navell fight exhibited sometime there, by *Iulius Caesar Dictator*, within a spacious pit receiving water for that purpose.

(q) In the port high waies from *Rome*, the manner of the Romans, was at everie miles ende to pitch downe a great stone, and according thereto were the miles reckoned, like as with us in some places there stand crosses of wood or stone to that end.

(r) I. A creeping Dragon. Which implieth, that there be others winged, or at least wise supposed to flie, in the common opinion of men. For the attribute, *Serpens*, signifieth Creeping. Now, because all of them use most so to do, the general name of Dragons, goeth under Serpents. And as for the word Dragon, it is given to the whole kinde of their quicke fight, comming of *draco*, in Latine, and *δράκων* in Greeke, *δρακὼν* of seeing.

(s) *Recidiva* prior radice, say the Physicians. The relapse unto a former disease is more dangerous, than it was before.

(t) Itooke the name of L. *LYCVLLVS*, the Lord thereof.

(u) A towne in *Campania* where he tooke so great delight, and a place infamous for the licentious life of the inhabitants, whereupon grew the name of those lascivious and filthy Comedies, *Atellanae*. A plague I say smiting well to his beastly behaviour. As if he had beene unworthie to be conveyed to *Rome*, the Citie which so long before he had abandoned.

(v) As poore begger bodies were wont to be served in haist, by the common bearers, and not fully burnt with leasure.

(w) Where malefactors ordinarily were burnt.



Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON

Caius Caesar Caligula.



ALLED by some, *Annals* or *Annuaire*: of others, *Comitales*. By which provided it was, in what yeares of a mans age, he was capable of Quæsture, Preture, Consulature, or any other like Office of State: as also

it was limited, within what time betwene, one might eschoone the same Office againe. *Item*, what the terme of everie Magistracie should be? &c. And albeit the ancient Romanes had no such lawes, but (as *CORNELIUS SCIPIO* at his petition of Aedileship made answer, when exception was taken against him for his young age) whomsoever the *Quirites* would charge to be a Magistrate, hee had yeares enough on his backe, yet afterwards, sundrie Statutes were enacted in that behalfe: although by vertue of speciall privileges, the same were not duly observed. By the *Chronologie* it appeareth, that he was but nineteene yeares old when he became Quæstor, like as *TIBERIUS* before him.

(b) Which *TIBERIUS* envying his greatness, wrought, thereby to expose him unto greater dangers.

(c) *WILL* might this unreasonable exercise puff up and fill his skin with crudities and foggie humors, but hurtfull unto his health it was, and brought upon him diseases, and namely, that, called *Cardiaca*, of which, some say, he died. Let them looke to it therefore, who, because they would be fat, not only fall to bodily exercise out of time, even upon full stomachs, but also every morning eate in their beds and sleepe upon it, yea and ordinarily take a nap at noone, so soone as their meat is out of their mouths.

(d) By this Attribute, *Civill*, in our Author, ye must understand, Courtlesse, Affabilie, and a part not exceeding that of private Citizens, without taking any state.

(e) As if the Gods, whose Images were shined within, were not to be honoured any longer as Gods, suffering so good a man as *Germanicus* was, to die. For, as in token of honour, the people used to adorne the Statues and Images of famous persons with flowers and greene leaves, so, whom they did vilipend and despise, they were wont to cast stones at their Images and Statues.

(f) The Tutelarie Gods of the house which ordinarily stood within a closet, called thereupon *Lætarium*.

(g) For, to what end should they reare children any more? since *Germanicus*, grown to so good proofe, sped no better, but was taken away by untimely death.

(d) In this place, the circumstance sheweth, that the King of *Parthians* is meant, how ever the *Persian* King and such mightie Monarches, having under their Dominion other petty Kings as *Tribunaries* or *Homagers*, be so called: like as *AGAMEMNON* also in *Æneide*.

(e) Which, at *Rome* denoted: a generall mourning, occasioned upon some extraordinary calamitie, or feare of publicke danger, even as wash vs, the shutting in of Shop-windowes, &c.

(f) ABOVE the mids of this month, began the feast *Saturnalia*, celebrated with good chere, with revels, dances, gaming and all kinde of libertie.

(g) For, common souldiers wore a certaine studded shoe, named *Caliga*.

(h) WHICH was later than the ordinarie time, by reason of *Tiberius* his lingering. For, usually these complements were performed at 17 yeares of age.

(i) IN this habite and manner of attire, counterfeiting a woman, thereby to decline suspicion when he entered into other mens houses for to dishonour them and abuse their wives, whom our author termeth heere *Adulteria*, *pro adulteris*, as else where, *conjugia*, *pro conjugibus*.

(j) The fabulous Historie of *Phœbus* is well known, namely, how by misgovernment of the floods which drew the Chariot of the Sunne his Father, he set the whole world on fire: By *Phœbus* therefore is meant, a combustion (as it were) and generall confusion of the Provinces, like as by the waterfreak, the verie bane and poyson of the Roman State.

(k) To doe him the greater honour, they intertaine him upon the way (as the manner was), with Sacrifices, Torches, Tapers, and wax lightes.

(l) An opinion there was deeply settled in mens heads, that the death of one man might be excused and redeemed, with the death of another.

(m) The two hundred penie.

(n) His halfe image downward from the head to the waist, portrayed with a Shield or Scutcheon: & the same was commonly set out with the largest. Hereupon, *M. TULLIUS CICERO*, when he saw such a demie personage representing his brother *QUINTVS* in the province that he governed (& a very little man he was of stature) My brother, quoth he, in his halfe part, is greater than in the whole.

(o) A festivall holiday solemnized by bearded men, in the honour of *Pales* their Goddesses and Pastorelle. Vpon which day, the foundation of *Rome* Citie was laid. This feast they kept, the 12. day before the Kalends of May, to wit, the 20 of April.

(p) *Menius*, a riotous unthrif, when he had wasted his Patrimoine and sold his Capitall house in *Rome*, excepted in the sale, and reserved to himselfe

and his heires, one Columne or Pillar, from which he projected and put forth into the street a jettie, and upon it built a gallerie; out of which he might behold the sword-fencers in the market place, whereunto he had a fayre prospect from the said Pillar. Whereupon all such galleries or buildings jetting out in the street, be called *Mansions*.

(a) THE end of one verse, and beginning of another, cited out of *Homer* in the second of his *Iliad*. The Poet ascribeth them unto sage *Phylos*, in this sense.

One [Sovereigne] Lord,
One King let there be.

(b) By exchanging the ensignes and Ornaments of the Roman Sovereigne or Emperour, with the Regall Diadem, purple Robe and Scepter.

(c) *Pharnacoporus* is a water foule haunting lakes and fennes, and the river Nilus, as *Hesiodus* writeth. The feathers be of colour read, or purple. Whereof it taketh the name: and the tongue is a most daintie and pleasant morsell. So said *Apollonius*, *sepium omnium abissimum gurgis*. Of this Bird *Martiall* made an Epigram.

Dum mihi penna rubens nomen: sed lingua gulo
Nonna sapit. Quid si garrula lingua feret.
My name I take of wings so red, but unto gluttons taste,
My tongue right pleasing is: oh, what, if it could prate as fast.

(d) Some take them for Bistards: Birds decked, no doubt, with most beautifull feathers: as may appear by *Tertullian* against *Marcion*, in these words: *Pna Tetraonis penna, (necesse de parvo) sordidum artificem pronuntiabit tibi Creatorem?*

(e) They are thought to be Hens of Guinny.

(f) By the description of *Chus*, they be our Turkeys.

(g) The Pheasant called in old time *Itis*, (which was the sonne of *Tereus* and *Progne*, transformed, as Poets teigne, into this Bird) and afterwards *Phasianus* or *Phasiana* [Arise], took his name of *Phasis* a river and Citie in *Colchia*, according to this Epigram of *Martiall*,

Argyra pennam sum transportata Carina:
Ante mihi nomen nil nisi Phasis erat.

In *Argyre* ship transported first, I was to forraine land:

Fore-time, nought else but *Phasis* towne, I knew,
or *Phasis* strand.

(a) *PHILO* reporteth this farre otherwise, and telleth a pitifull Narration: How, by commission from *Cain*, certaine Colonels and Centurians came to young *TIBERIUS*, commanding him to kill himselfe: because, forsooth, unlawfull it was for any other to murder a Prince of the Imperiall blood. The youth, who had never scene any man killed, and by reason of his tender years was nothing at all experienced in the world, requested first of them, who were come thus to him, for to strike off his head, which he held out unto them: but seeing his request would not be heard, he desired them yet, to instruct him, in what part of his bodie he should stab himselfe for the speediest death? And so by instructions from them he was his owne executioner.

(a) *ROMVLVS* ravished the Sabine virgins:

and *AVGVSTVS*, by force took from *TIBERIUS* his wife *LIVIA*.

(a) *Selena*, in Greeke, signifieth the Moone. And well knowne it is, that as *M. ANTONIVS* the *Triumvir* called himselfe *BACCHVS* and *OSIRIS*, so, *CLEOPATRA* his wife, took pleasure to be named *Lana*: i. the Moone, and *Isis*. Whereupon they gave to their sonne *ALEXANDER* begotten betwene them, the name of the sunne, and to their daughter *CLEOPATRA* the name of the Moone, or *Selena*, which is all one.

The Consuls were reposed still (in outward shew) Sovereigne Magistrates, although indeed, that *caesars* carried all before them, and were absolute Monarches.

(c) Some read, *Tesseris decima citius*. i. Before the tenth houre, or four of the clocke after noone, for so long continued the Stage-plays ordinarily. At which time, the Emperours were wont to bestow their Tickets or Talies among the people, by vertue whereof they received such and such gifts.

(d) There be learned Criticks that expound this place farre otherwise, reading *Pegmares*, in steede of *Pegmatin*, and vnderstanding thereby such sword-fencers, whose good hap it had bene to escape with life, the fall from those Frames or Pageants called *Pegmata* or *Pegma*, which with certaine vices or Skrewes were set up, and let downe, vpon which as on scaffolds, malefactors were brought forth, eyther to exhibit a shew unto the people, fighting one with another at sharpe, to the entrance, or to make them sport, by falling downe into a pit underneath, where eyther wild beasts were ready to devoure, or fire to consume them. A devise wrought by dissolving the joynts of the said *Pegmes* under them. And in this sense they interpret the rest that followeth, concerning *pauisfamilias*, i. good honest Citizens householders.

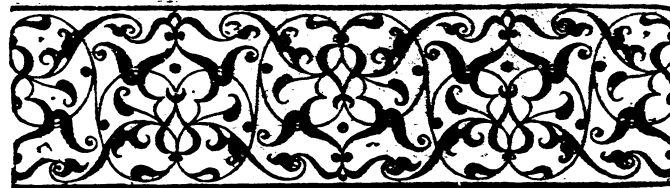
(a) HE had espied in the multitude of those prisoners and malefactors, two with bald heads, distant farre a sunder, and happily, as much as from the one end of the place unto the other: all those betwene, without respect of their cause, he commanded to be put to death indifferently.

(b) An ordinarie thing it was at *Rome*, to sweare by the *Genius*, as also by the Fortune, the health &c. of their Emperours. And what a devout oth this was, *per Genius*. i. the *Demon*, the spirit, or superintendent Angell of the Prince, which I take to be as much, as by his owne good selfe, appeareth by *Tertullian* *Apologes*. cap. 28. *Citius apud nos per omnes deos, quam per Genius principis precatur.*

(c) *Seneca* lib. 2. de Ira. cap. 33. reporteth the like example of *Castor* a right worshipfull Gentleman of *Rome*, whose sonne, the same *CALIGVLA*, upon verie envie that the young man was a proper and beautifull person, put to death in his fathers sight, and then invited the old man to supper, provoked him to carouse and be merie, which the good father was faine to endure and make semblance of contentment, for feare, least the Tyrant would have done as much by another sonne, whom he had living.

(d) *Catenis verberatum*. Among other chastisements of the bodie, there is reckoned *Vinculorum verberatio*, as *Callistratus* wimeth, lib. 7. de pennis.

The



ANNOTATIONS VPON *Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.*



Place in *Rome* so called of a building there, which stood upon seven courses of Columnes or Pillars, arising all round and higher every one than other, in manner of so many circles or girdles.

(b) He meaneth not a Physiognomer, who hath taken upon him by inspection of eyes, forehead, face, &c. to tell ones nature and disposition: such an one as *ZOPYRVS* was, who noted *SO-CRATES* for to be by naturall inclination a wanton lover of women: but a fortune teller, by looking on the forehead onely. Such as in these daies, by the art of Palmestrie, for looth, can assure folke, how long they shall live, and what not? If they do but see lines in the palmes of their hands, or by feaze in the forehead, will say, how many wives a man shall have? &c. As vaine as those, who by counting the letters of the husbands and the wives name, will confidently pronounce, whether of them shall burie the other?

(a) By titles in this place, and many others of *SVETONIUS*, are to be understood inscriptions, testifying for what considerations such Statues were erected. Such also were usually set up at publicke executions, to shew the offences and causes why any suffered. A thing usuall among the Romanes, and in their government, in what Province so euet, as may appear by that which stood upon the Croffe of our Saviour Christ.

(a) THAT is to say a white band or ribband: Such as the Royall Diademe at first was.

(a) OF these Baines, with what speede and celerity they were finished, *MARTIALIS* writeth thus:

sic ubi miramur velocis munera, Thermae.

(a) DOOING them thus much credit in the eyes of the world, as to give the allowance and approbation, or otherwise, of the weapons wherewith they should fight. For, in this sense may Ornaments be taken: the rather, because some copies have *Ferramenta*. Or this place may be understood of other furniture, as well as armes, wherewith they should come appointed into the listes.

(a) THIS hath bene observed in all ages, to fore-runne the death of some Prince. Thus, before the end of *Julius Caesar*, as *Virgil* writeth,

Non alias late occiderunt plura ferum
Fulgura, &c.

Horace likewise.

Per purum tonantes

Egis equos volucremque currum.

Our owne * *Chronicles* also exemplifie no lesse. For the To say nothing of the fresh resemblance of death of that, which happened with us three yeares since, *king Henry the second*, in Iuly.

(a) SOME wine, and *TERTIUS* by 10 name, that hec was poysoned with eating of Sea-hares.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON Flavius Domitianus.



HIS was some Satyricall Poeme, of which I VERNALIS writeth thus:

Improbior Satyrâ scribere Cines, i. Nerone

(b) A vestment of white linnen, after the manner of a Surplice: for such priests

therupon were named *Lingeri*.

4 (a) *Toga Etrusca*. Which is spoken *Expositio, proclamyde*, i. a cloake or loose caslocke. For *Toga* was *Romanorum*.

7 (a) PHILOSTRATVS alledgeth another reason of this Edict, namely for that many feditious broyles and commotions were occasioned by drunkenness.

(b) Or rather, as *Alethius* expoundeth [*germinari castra*] that two legions should not encampe in one leaguer. For, the pollie of warre found the same alwaies dangerous, in regard of mutinies, that by occasion thereof might arise. Souldiers, as *Dion* writeth, *apud quos in castris quies dispersum*, i. Seeing their owne numbers great, grow to be stout and malapert.

(c) For, before time, it was thought good Policy, that souldiers should lay up a portion of their conative, about the Ensignes within the campe, and not spend all their Locke, (which commonly they are given unto,) whereby they might be put in minde to fight more valiantly, and not to forsake their colours, so long as they had somewhat to save or lose.

8 (a) NAMELY, to be buried quicke under the ground, that is to say, to be let downe into some grove or vault, and there to be sterved to death.

10 (a) PATREMPAMILIAS. i. A good honest Citizen of Rome, such as came to behold the Games.

(b) Under these Tyrannicall Emperours of Rome, that favored some this faction of Officers and Chariot-riders, others that, it was high Treason and Impietie, for men to speake a word, not in open place only and in the Theatre, but also at home in their houses, even in table talks, in commendation of the aduersary faction, by way of comparison. *Martial* inviting a friend to his board, and promising that no words and free speech at meat should turne him to any danger and displeasure, writeth thus unto him,

*De Praefina convivâ meus venisq; loquatur:
Nec facient quinquam pecula nostra reum.*

Now, it is to be understood, that *Domitian* affected

ted the fencers called *Mirmillones*, against the others named *Thracas* or *Threces*, whom his brother *Titus* favoured.

(c) By *Parmularius* understand, him that speaks favourably in the behalfe of those fencers, named *Parmularii*, of the little bucklers, wherwith they were armed: otherwile called *Threces*, (as one would say *Thracians*, whose armature they had) in opposition of others which were the *Mirmillones*, who were otherwile appointed after the French fashion, and therefore tooke the name otherwhiles of *Galli*, and so is that verse of *Horace* to be expounded. *Thrax an Gallica Syro par?* As touching blasphemie, no mervaile, if these Tyrants taking upon them to be Gods heere upon earth, held everie word derogatorie say waies unto their Majestie, high Treason and Impietie.

(d) *Domitian* and other such monstrous Tyrants, as namely *CALIGULA*, envied all persons and things that were excellent. It behooved therefore *Lamia* to be silent, and to dissimule what he thought, as well as he might: although, for gricte of heart, happily, hee could not chuse but fetch a secret sigh to himselfe with a *Heu* i. *Haies*.

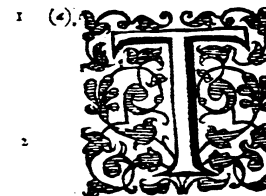
(a) I observe a double acception of this word *CALIGULA*, in this Historie penned by *SYSTONIVS*. First for a noble house in Rome: wherof *IVLIVS CAESAR DICTATOR* was descended, Whole line, eyther in blood or by adoption, were called *Caesars*. And in this sense it is truly said, that *Progenies Calorum in Nerone deserta*, i. that the race of the *Caesars* was extinct in *Nero*. And in this sense the beares apparent of the Emperours in that line were named *Caesars*. Secondly for all the Sovereigne Emperours of Rome after *Julius Caesar*. So *Gallica* and the rest, his successors were stiled *Caesares*.

(b) This exaction levied of the Jewes, which he calleth *Judaicum solum*, was for the profession and exercise of the religion within Rome: who, as *Xiphilinus* writeth, were permitted before, by *Vespasian* his rather, to observe the rites and ceremonies of their owne religion, paying an yearly Tribute, to wit, a Didrachme, i. two Roman deniers, or fifteene pence with us. And to the Christians afterwards for a time had the same Indulgence.

(c) IN some copies are inserted these words, *Aream & Calvitium*, to wit, unless ye would have him thereby rotd, for his falsenesse and fall of haye, which some Physicians call *Ara*.

(d) This

ANNOTATIONS VPON Aulus Vitellius.



ler, but a shoemaker indeed, occupied in cutting of new shoes and sewing them together.

(b) These kinde people, so double diligent about the feminine sexe, be fitly called good womens-men: and doting overmuch upon their wives, *Exoris* in Latin, as one would say Bridegroomes still. Such an one *SENECA* makes report he knew, who could not endure to be without his wives company, one minute of an houre: and if upon necessitie he went abroad into the towne, yet would he take with him a stomacher of hers, and weare it ever next his heart, &c.

(c) No doubt the same was garnished with Gold, rich stones and pretious pearles. See *Plin. lib. 9. cap. 35.*

(d) It may be gathered it was *Hemiplegia*, which we call the dead Palsey, taking the one side of the bodie, and most commonly ensuing upon an Apoplexie, if it were not the verie Apoplexie it selfe, (which is none other but an universall palsey) considering the quicke dispatch it made.

7 (a) He meaneth the crew, or faction of chariotiers holding of the blew or watchet colour: which *Phellinus* and *Galba* both affected.

11 (a) So called, of an infortunate battaile fought that day neere the river *Allia*: in which, the Romans were overthrowne by the French: who following the train of their victory, advanced their ensignes to Rome, forced the Citie, and put it to the sacke.

(b) Some read *De Dominico*, i. out of *DOMINICUS*, for so it may seeme, was the booke of *NEROES* Canticles entituled, alinding to himselfe, who would be called *Regnum Dominus*, i. Lord of the world.

(a) *CORNELIVS CILIVS* findeth no fault with *Alepiades*, who condemned vomiting, *Offensus eorum consuetudine, qui quotidie evocendo vomendo facultatem moliantur*, i. as utterly disliking their manner, who by daily casting up their gorge, seekte to enable themselves for beastly gourmandise. And to the same purpose he saith: *Isud luxuria causa fieri non oportere*.

1. That this ought not to be put in use, for to maintaine riotous excedde. He admonisheth alle, *Neg quis qui valere & senescere vult, hoc quotidianum faciat*. That no man who desireth to live long and in health would make it a daily practise. But *Seneca* reprehendeth such verie aply in these words,

Edunt ut romani, vomunt ut edunt.
They eat, to vomit, and they vomit, to eat.

(b) If *SENECA* were not the guilt head, a delicate fish no doubt it was in those daies, and better esteemed than the *Acipealer*, i. the Sturgeon. Itcheweth cud, and hath plaine teeth to grind withall, not indented like acombe or saw.

(c) *Veraculis* or *vericulis*, or *divinaculis*: all to one scale, Such as will take upon them to tell fortunes, &c. Women of this profession *Apollinus* termeth *veracities*.

(b) *Bonum factum*. The usuall preface or preamble premised before Edicts and Proclamations, *Boni animi causa*.

(a) By this ceremonie, he seemed to resigne up his Empyre.

16 (a) Making semblance thereby, that he was fled and gone, for, the manner was, at the Porters lodge doore, if no bodie were within, to tie up a massive dog, for to give warning abroad if any man came. And not farre from the said lodge, such a dog, with a chaine, was usually painted upon the wall, with these words, in great letters,

CAVE, CAVE CANEM. i. BEWARE, BEWARE THE DOG.

18 (a) He meaneth that *Gallus Gallinaceus*, or dunghill cocke, that before had perched upon his head and shoulders, alluding to the French, who are likewise named *Galli*.

Anno-

ANNOTATIONS VPON

Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.

- 1 (a) HE fortieth part. Happily the fortieth penie of all bargaines of sales that were unlawfull.
- 2 (a) Which had a border or broad gard about it, embroidered with purple studdes like nail-heads, and therefore was called *Latus clavus*; and thereupon, Senators themselves, *Laticlavij*.
- 3 (a) In lieu of *quædæm*: For, in token of love and affection they should have heaped upon him gay flowers, greene leaves and pleasant fruits.
- 4 (b) This no doubt, had relation to the prophesie of the True Messias, and Saviour, Iesus Christ. The very words imply no lesse, according with these out of Holy Scripture. *Ecce tui es servus, et in servitute tua, &c.* read *Ioseph. 6 book. cha. 31.* of the destruction of *Ierusalem*.
- 5 (a) There is an hill of that name in *Iudea*. And because answers had beene given from thence, and nothing there was to be seene, neyther Image of a God, nor Temple, but a bare Altar, & the reverence onely of the place, both *TACITVS* and *SVENTONIVS* by the name of *CARMELVS*, call that unknownen God unto them, who reigneth for ever.
- 6 (b) This sight, and the other following, berokened toveraigntie unto *Vespasian*, who warred then in the East countries, *Iudea* and *Syria*.
- 7 (a) This *Bastides* seemeth rather to have beene some Priest, or principall man of note, and not *Libertus*, i. his freed man, as some copies have. But who ever he was, to the setting forward of this disfigurement of *VESPASIAN*, *Nomen et omen erat*.
- 8 (a) Out of the 35 Tribes of *Rome*, were chosen certaine Iudges or Commissioners, named *Centumviri*, to wit, out of every Tribe three, and albeit their number arose to an hundred & five, yet roundly they went for an hundred, and so were called. These I say, being ordained *delictibus iudicandi*, determined private and civill matters betwene man and man, *de Testamentis, Stillicidijs*, and such like of no great moment. They put forth or excited a speare in the place where they late in Jurisdiction: whereupon their court was named *Falsa Centumviralis*.
- 9 (a) Alluoin to the name *Cynicus*. For these Philosphers took this denomination on Cynicks, eyther of their dogged and curstish demand, or of a place wherethey taught and disputed, called *Cynosarges*.
- 10 (a) Which in *AVGVSTVS CAESARS* time amounted to twelve hundred thousand *Septem* triple to the worth of a Roman Knight.
- 11 (a) This *Calossus*, *Zenedorus* a famous workman, made before time for *Nero*.
- 12 (a) As namely, *Pueros Symphoniacos* &c. Choristes with most sweet breasts and pleasant voyces, &c.
- 13 (b) For, then, had women their *Sacramalia*, like as the men in December. Thoe festivall holidays were called *Matronalia*, in memoriall of *Ladie Herfilla* and other noble Dames, who in old time upon that day, interposed themselves as *Mediatrices*, betwene the Romans and Sabines, readie to strike a most bloodie battell.
- 14 (a) This is reprehended by *cornelius Celsus. lib. 2. cap. 14.* in these words. *Næque audiendi sunt, qui nuntio finium, quales aliqui perferri candui est: Illud enim ex viribus hominis colligendum est.*
- 15 (a) To be caried betwene men in a chayre or seat called thereupon *Sella gestatoria*, or *lectica*. *Celsus* reckoneth sundrie sorts of this Gestation, to wit, *Navi, Lectica, Scamno, Vehiculo*.
- 16 (a) For, it was an ordinarie matter, in supper time, betwene the services and severall dishes, to cast the Dice or cockall bones, by fits.
- 17 (b) *Prætextata verba*, by the figure Antiphrasis, are put for such words as beleeemed not either the mouth or the cares of *Prætextati*, i. youths well borne, and of gentle blood descended: who, in truth, should be modest and maidenlike: and in like manner, *prætextati mores*, signifie such behaviour.
- 18 (c) Noting him for his ridiculous vanitie: which *Charops* in Greeke doth signifie.
- 19 (a) Or, if ye read before, [*perduella*] it must so stand in the Page of expenses, to this sense, laid out, for, or to *Vespasian*, belevd as if he had given her a reward for loving him, whereas she should have given unto him.
- 20 (a) Some read, in freed of *Improbis irato*, *improbis nato*, that is to say, of no good making, but ill shaped to his height.
- 21 (b) A peece of a verse in *Homer. Iliad. 7.* spoken there of *Ajax*, advancing forward to fight with *Hector*, unto whom, or to whose long pike rather, he likeneth this gangrell.
- 22 (c) Eyther of Fullers, Walkers, and Diets, who gathered and occupied much thereof about their clothes, or else, for the tubs that commonly stode in od corners and nookes of the streets, to receive every mans water that he made as he went.
- 23 (a) At the foresaid *Custia*, which was a naturall bath in the Sabines country, of medicinable waters, howbeit exceeding cold. *Plin. lib. 31. cap. 3.*

Anno-



ANNOTATIONS VPON

Servius Sulpitius Galba.

- 1 (a) HE like narration is reported of *Hiparche* and *Crates* the Thebane, a Cynick Philosopher.
- 2 (a) *Tessera data*. How ever this word [*Tessera*] in our Author hath other significations, to wit, of a watchword, a Signall, a Tally or Ticket, &c. Yet here verily, it seemeth to be put for a Precept or Commandement, whether it were delivered by word of mouth unto those that stood next, or in writing, and so passed through the campe, it mattered not.
- 3 (b) It may appeare, that *Gatilius* their former Generall, had allowed his Souldiers more libertie and pastime.
- 4 (a) These were also called *Taii*, by *Tacitus*, of *Taius*: King of the Sabines.
- 5 (b) They took their name of *AVGVSTVS*: like as other orders afterwards, as *Flavianus*, &c. of the Emperours following.
- 6 (a) In habit of a woman, and with wings, holding forth a garland in the right hand, and bearing in her left one Olivebranch: as is to be seene in many Antique copies.
- 7 (b) A truncke of a tree, or post crooked: upon which hung the Armour and apparell of enemies slaine and despoiled.
- 8 (a) During which time, were held the festivall daies of the *Sacramalia*, Newe yeares tide and others.
- 9 (a) They used in olde time such curaces (in freed of breast plates) made of linnen webbs, folded
- 10 (a) *Nicias* *Acminatus* lib. 1. vers. *Isaacs Angelis*, writeth: *ἡρεσμένον δὲ οὐκ ἐν τριγυρίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ἐν ὁδοῖς ἐν πύργῳ*: Which should be being thoroughly steeped and soaked in viniger or Austere wine, with salt put thereto, and afterwards well driven and wrought together in manner of Felt, became so stiff, an and Armour of so good proofe, *ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνῳ*, i. as that it would checke the dint of any dart or shot whatsoever.
- 11 (a) As touching the Souldier thus reprooved by *GALBA*, it was *IVLIVS ATTICVS*, as *TACITVS* writeth, one of those who went under the name of *Spiculatores*, i. Billmen: or *Speculatores* rather, as some would have it, employed in Elpiall, executions, &c. as hath before beene noted. Hence also in the clause, *Dimissa pagamentum sorte*, is to be understood the multitude of the people and common sort, who were not Souldiers. For so *Pagani* are taken, as in opposition to *Militari*.
- 12 (a) These *Anrei* among the Romans, were valued at one hundred *Septem* a peece, so as in round reckoning, they may goe for our olde *EDWARD* Spar-Reals, or fiftene shilling peeces. For, by exact computation, one of them ariseth to fiftene shillings, seven pence halfe penie. The fourth part iust, of the Roman pound, (conteyning one hundred Deniers or Atticke Drachmes) which maketh three pound, two shillings sixe pence sterling.
- 13 (b) This place where *PATRORIVS* was executed, and into which they flung their heads, who by commandement of the *CAESARS* were put to death, was called *Septorius*. *Plin. lib. 31. cap. 3.*

Anno-



(a) A Columne erected in the upper end or head of the *Forum Romanum*: at which, all the principal high waies in *Italy* began, with directions therein engraven, to every gate of the *Ciuitas*, leading unto the said high waies.

Bacca
Noscenda est mensuraturae.

(*) This bread was made of Beans and Rice flower, of the finest wheat also, a verie *Psittorum* as the Physicians terme it, or a Depilatorie, to keepe haire from growing, especially being wet and soaked in some juyce or liquor appropriate therefore, as the bloud of bare, frogs, or the Tunie fish, &c. To this effeminacie of Otho, alludeth the Saryricall Poet * IUVENAL in this verse.

Et pressum in faciem digitis extendere panem.

Serve

Anno-

(c) It is evident hereby, as also out of that verse of *Juvenal*.

Et latiphaleris omnes & torquibus omnes.

33 (a) IN this verse *Mnari*, there is couched a double sense, which gives the grace unto this pleasant scoffe. For, being a meere Latin word, and having the first syllable by nature short, it signifyeth, to stay or to make long abroad, and taking it thus, *NERO* might be thought to imply, thus much, that *CLAUDIUS* was now departed out of the companie of mortall men, and raunged among the heavenly wights, but take the same word, as *Nero* spake it, derived of **μωρος* in Greeke, which signifyeth, A foole, and hath the first syllable long it importeth, that *Claudius* played the foole no longer here in the world among men. Read the little pamphlet of *Seneca* entituled *de morali sapientia*, if ye would see *Claudius* depicted in his colours, and in a fooles coat, which be, as it may appear, composed of purpose to gratifie *Nero* in that humour of his.

(b) The Greeks call this *Kavosa* or *τὸ βῆρ*. And the Romans in honour of their Princes, were wont to compass the same all about with a wall of flint, or other durable stone, as marble.

34 (4) It may be it was in the same form, that I affi

¶ *Martyr citeth out of Orphens.*
Σύεα δ' ὄνιθεσι βέλους.
Fortes opponite profanis

Which *Virgil* in some sort hath expressed thus.

Procul este profani.

And Claudian after him.
Gressus remove et profani.

(a) THE like example is reported by *Pope* in *Aurelianus*, who tooke wonderfull delight in a mighty Eater, that in one day before his owne table,

37 *Aurelianus*, who took with him
the * Eater, that in one day before his own table,

devoured a wild doe full and whole, an hundred
loaves of bread, a wether mutton, and a pig.

(a) This *Lambeky* verse as *Dion* writeth, was rife
also in *Tiberius* *Cæsars* mouth.

(b) Aiken this word, *Insula*, beside the common signification of an island, is taken for an house standing entire by it self, a part from other, yet in this Author I observe that it is put els where for other houses also and tenements let out to tenements by the owners and Landlord, who are called *Dominus Insularum*. And even in this acceptation, it may well goe in this place.

(c) Thus tour *Horae* describeth. *carm. lib. 3-0d.*
19. in these words.

Meltem propinquam nobis arduis, &c.

(a) WHICH number ariseth to ten thousand
a moneth. A mortallie nothing comparable to that
which as *Eusebius* reporteth, reigned at Rome in the
daies of *Pelopsian*, in which there died of the pesti-
lence ten thousand a day, nor to that in *Constanti-*
nople, when many daies, there were likewise ten
thousand dead bodies caied forth. *Procop. lib. 2. de*
bello persico.

(b) Such a rumor in deed ran rife, but untruly.
Tacitus.

(c) *Orestes* to revenge his father Agamemnon's death wrought by *Clytemnestra* his mother and *Aegisthus* the adulterer, murdered her.

(d) Alcinoon sonne of Amphiarus and Eriphyle,
killed her, by cause shee had contrived his fathers
death.

(c) Aeneas carried his old father *Anchises* upon his shoulders out of the fyre of *Troy* when it burned. Here is to be noted the duplie fence of the verbs [*Sauvâtes*] in one and the same Latin verse: For in the former place, it signifieth to *kill*, or *make away*, as *Nero* did his mother, in the later, so take up and carry as *Nero* did his father. This yieldeth an elegant grace in Latin, and cannot so well be expressed in English.

(F) *Apollus*, was furnam'd *Pæon* of major in Greece, which signifies to strike, or of *Amor*, to ease and *Alley* *pains*, as being a God, that both fendeth diseases, & also cureth them. But commonly the Romans terme him so, in this latter and better sense. He is styl'd likewise *Hecatebiotes* in Greek, which is as much, as shooting or wounding from afar. In these abstruse significations and obscure termes therefore this Epigram impleth this much: That whilst now in the habit of *Appollo* plaieith upon the harpe, and would seeme to be a milde and gracious Prince: the parthian King with bow and arrows representing Apollo likewise, endangered the Empire of Rome. and all, through the lupine negligence of *Nero* given to his Musick and other vanities excessively.

(2) This is meant by that huge house of *Nero's* building, and hath a reference to that desolate estate of *Rome*, when it was sacked and tyred by the French, after the unfortunate battaile of *Albia*, what time the *Romains* were in confusation to abandon the *City* and departe to *Veij*, there to inhabit.

C

(b) 18

(b) It seemeth that Nero in his Poeme entitled *Truce*, had used to chaunt of *Neaplius* the father of *Palamedes*, who abid many calamities himselfe, and in revenge of his sonnes death, wrought much mischief to others. The *Cynicke* therefore, noteth Nero for his singing, as also for abusing his owne good parts in perpetrating all wickednesse, or else for mispending his treasure to dissolutely.

(c) Εἴθερος δὲ καὶ ὕδατος, ὅτι ὕδατος δὲ δαίμων, ὁ γὰρ δαίμων ὁ δαίμων, ὅτι μὴ δαίμων ὁ δαίμων, τὸν δαίμονα γὰρ αὐτὸν δαίμονα ἀπαλατίζοντα ἀπαλατίζοντα, ὅτι δαίμων ἀπαλατίζοντα. *Artemidor. lib. 1. cap. 71.*

(k) By *Orcus*, or *Pluto*, taken for the God of Hell or the Grave, is understood death, in this place, readie to seize upon the Senatours, whose overthrow Nero had intended. Now, well knowne it is, that the manner was then, among the Romans, as at this day with us, to carry forth their dead with the feet forward.

It should seeme, this answer was delivered in these words.

Εἴθερος τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ δαίμων οὐδὲν.
Of fustie years (I doe thee reed)
And thirteenth more, see thou take heed.

Whereby *Apollis* (for his oblique answers rightly of the Greeks termed *Loxias*) or the Diuell himselfe, whether you will, playing with him in a two-fold and ambiguous construction, (as his manner was) deluded him. For while he rested secure, dreaming still of the 73 years, which he supposed was meant of his owne age, and which he was farre short of, he fell into the hands of *Galba*, a man indeede of those years.

Rome was wont to be served of corne from *Alexandria* in *Aegypt*, in the time of dearth especially, when *Scriba*, otherwise reckoned *Horreum populi Romani*, the people of *Rome* *Garnar*, was not able to furnish them. Now, when in Steele of corne long expected, there arrived certaine saile from thence fraught with dust and sand for the sports of his gallants: no mervaille if all the discontentment and heart-burning of the people conceived against *Cornmongers* and such as made gaine by the scarcitie of graine, redounded upon *Nero* and his Courtiers.

(b) Νῆρυς ἐστὶν ἄγαν. The end of some *Trimeter* or *Senecian Lambick* verse in a Tragicke.

(c) Νῆρ δὲ δαίμων, ὁ δαίμων. i. Now 'tis high time to drive or draw. In both which Emperres, by a most tart and bitter *Sarcasmus*, is taxed his excessive love of Charioting.

(d) The speech of the people, or of his mother, who could not reclaime him.

(e) As a *Parricide* or *Killer of Parents*, &c. whose judgement was to be slowd quicke within a lethargicke budge, &c.

(f) There is not onely an *Homonymus* in the word [*Gallos*] signifying the French Nation, and the crowing cocks, but an *Amphibole* also in the sentence: whereby it may be understood, eyther that *Nero* with his chaunting, had awakened the French, who began now to revolt, as not able any longer to endure his songs: or that the French awakened him, to bestirre himselfe and looke better about him: as if they were the Cocks indeed, to raise him out of his drowsie securitie.

(g) The ambiguitie of this word [*Vindex*], implieth both a private chastiser of servants for their faults, and also *C. Iulius Vindex* or a revenger of publicke injuries, and maintainer of the common libertie. Who now had taken Armes against *Nero*.

(h) *AVSPICIA*, albeit they properly do signifie prelagie tokens delivered by birds: yet the sequence and circumstance of this passage, lead us rather to some other uncouth prodigies and straunge fights.

(b) *Nero* was seembly distained, in another kinde: as having murdered his Father *CLAVDIVS*, his mother *Agrippina*, and his two wives *Octavia* 1870 adopted him.

(a) *A calatura carminum Homeri*. Which if wee straine a little, may be englished thus, for the workmanship and engraving upon them, out of *Homers* verses. Alluding to that standing maske cup of *Agrippa*, described by *Hom* in the eleventh of his *Iliads*.

(b) An halfe verse out of *Virgil*. 12. *Aeneid*. The words of *Turnus*, unto his sister *Isurina*.
(c) Although there were divers *Presellure* in *Aegypt*, called *Nem*, as one would say, *Shires* or *Divisions*, as appeareth in *Plinio*, 5. *lib. cap. 9*. Yet by this place is to be understood the *Presellure* over all *Aegypt*, which by the institution of *Augustus*, was ordinarily conferred upon some Gentlemen of Rome. By which, it appeareth, he would play at small game rather than sit out.



Anno-

(b) *Senitiam neminem fingere*. [or rather, *Senitiam* *Senitiam neminem fingere*. i. That no toole counterfeit sofly.

(a) It was an inconsiderate speech of an Emperor, and foolishly let fall, in the Senate especially, tending much to his discredit and dishonour: as if he sent to the *Taverne* for his wine, by the pot or bottle, and had not his owne cellarage stored therewith.

(b) These words without all time or reason were rise in his mouth, which unadvisedly he had taken up, and by use could not leave them.

(a) Some thinke, that he devised not new letters

in the Alphabet, but new formes: rather of the former: as namely to write for the *Asiatick digamma*. F. the inverted character 2, and for a diphthong, ai.

(e) For, by report of *Dion* and *Xiphilinus* his stature farre exceeded the proportion of his years.

(a) And yet by circumstances it may be collected, that he caught his bane and died in the *Palatium* at Rome.

(a) These were, at it plainly appeareth, *Questors*, *Aediles*, *Tribunes*, *Prætors*, *Censors* and *Consuls*. Of all these, some one or other died, excepting *Censors*, as *TACITVS* writeth. 12. *Annal*.

ANNOTATIONS VPON Nero Claudius Caesar.

(a) THESE foure factions or crewes that ran with Chariots for the prize, were distinguished by foure colors of cloth, or liveries, & therupon called by these names *Alba*. i. White, *Veneta*, watchet or light blew, *Purpurea*. i. Greene, and *Rufa*. i. Rose coloured or read. Vnto which were added by *Domitian* *Aurata* and *Purpurea*. i. Gold coloured or yellow, and purple. The former foure *Sidonius Apollinaris* hath comprised in his *Hendecasyllables*, thus,

micant colores,
Albus cum veneto, virens rubensque.

Then shine these crewes and make a gallant shew
In white, in blew, in greene and roset hew.

Proportionate they are unto the foure seasons of the year: white, to the Autumne or end of Sommer, Watchet to the winter, Greene to the spring, and Red to Sommer, or as some would have it, to the foure Elements.

(b) Physicians have observed three kinds of dropick. The first is *Astices*, wherein the belly doth swell with much water gathered betwene the inner skin or rine of the belly and the cawle which lapeth the guts, and some wind withal, so named of *astice* in Greeke. i. A bottle, because in turning of the bodie to a side, the water is perceived to thog in the womb, like as liquor in a bottle halfe full, when it is shaken. The second, *Tympanites*, wherein the belly is hoven vp with wind especially, and some water among. Whereby it will sound like a taber or drum, if one tamper upon it, and thereof it was so called. The third *Leucoplegmaticus*, and *Arca*, *Hypo Arca*. In Latin *Inter us*, or *Aqua inter cutem*, in the proper signification on when the bodie all over is puffed up with water and wind running betwene the fell and the flesh. And thereof as should seeme, died this *Domitian*.

(a) To wit, the ninth day after he was borne, on which, they used to name their fonnies. And as this

day was called *Nominalia*, so there was a goddesse forsooth, president of this complement and ceremonies, whom they named *Nundina*.

(a) The manner was, during these solemnities in the *Albane* month, (where the chiefe magistrats were present) to leave for Provost of the Cite, some principall young Gentleman of the Nobilitie, before whom sitting judicially, causes of no great importance should be brought.

(a) These youthful sports *Iuvenalia*, or *Iuvenalis ludi*, were first instituted by this *Nero*, privately in houses or gardens, and orchards. Wherein, of all degrees, ages and sexes they dancied and revelled.

(a) The fabulous reports of *Ladie Pasiphae* wife to King *Minos*, how she was enamoured of a Bull, as also of *Icarus* the sonne of *Dedaalus*, who would needs attempt to flie in the ayre, be well enough knownen to them that are but meanelly scene in Poetrie.

(b) *Iuxta cubiculum eius decidit*. By *Cubiculum*, he meaneth here, a toyall seat raised on high wth in that quarter of the Theater called *Circus*, under a rich Tent or Canopie, where Emperors were wont to sit when they beheld such solemnities. These Pavillions were called in Greeke *ἐνδοξαστα καὶ δόξα* in some sort resembling beechambers.

(c) So named because they that wrestled, ran, or otherwise exercised, were naked, like as the place it selfe of such exercises thereupon tooke the name *Gymnasium*.

(a) Full and formall suppers, whereto men were invited, and at which the guesstes sate orderly marshalled according to their worth place, & were called *cena recte*, and after this manner in other Princes daies were their favorites feasted. In Steele hereof came in *Sportivæ*. i. allowances given unto them, eyther in money, or cates, in recompence of their ordinarie salutations and attendance.

(b) As there were fundric factions or crewes favourizing this or that colour of the Chariotters, so were

were these likewise of Actors and players. whereupon many riotous, outrages Fraies and murders were committed.

17 (a) It should seeme, that for the pleading and triall of causes, such Tricorrell seats, pews, benches & bords, were erected at first, for the present occasion, and taken downe againe by certaine persons, who gathered therfore a rent of those that went to law.

18 (a) Diuers Kings of Pontus were named Polemones as of Aegypt Ptolemæ, whereupon the realme Pontus is by Ptolemy called Polemonius, like as the Alpes Costra of Cottius.

19 (a) Many had attempted this beside him: but all their cost and labour came to nought: *κτεροζαμειον αλυσιας το σκια βιαυαδης*

(b) *πες δαδαι ονε προσις αδης νηος*

20 (a) In respect of a former fleet, that was wont to come before, and bring newes of the second laden with marchandise and vnder saile. Therefore those ships were called *names Tabellarie. Seneca.*

(b) *Bombos.* resembling either the buzzing and humming noise of Bees, or the sound of tumblers.

(c) *Imbrices.* much after the manner of that rattling, which a sodaine shewre makes vpon the tiles of an house, or the sound that crest tiles or gutter tiles may make.

(d) *Tessas,* to expresse the crafhing of pottheards or earthen pots, clattering one against another.

(f) *Insignes pinguissima coma.* In which sense we read of *pinguissima* and *Lacterna.* Yet some understand thereby *νυκταλινος* .i. whose lokes and faix were so blacke and glib with sweet oyles, that they shone againe.

21 (a) For, so would he haue it to be called. And *Thraesias Patas* was iudicially conuenced, and deeply charged, because he had neuer offered sacrifice for that heavenly voice of his. Tacit.

(b) who was with child by her owne brother *Maearens*, whereupon her father *Aeolus* caused the childe new borne to be cast before hungrie dogs: and sent a sword to his daughter to kill her selfe with.

(c) In reuenge of his father Agamemnon's death, by her murdered, whereupon he fell into a furious kind of deepe melancholie.

(d) who unwitting killed his owne father *Laius*, as ignorantly wedded his owne mother *Locusa.*

(e) By putting on a garment next his skinne, enuenedomed with the poison of *Nessus* the Centaure, and so sent unto him as a token, from his wife *Deianira.*

24 [a] It may be thought, that he then acted Oedipus or Creon, or some other King, and therefore carried in his hand a regall staffe or Sceptre. Yet some interpret this of a Lawrell rod or branch, such as Actors held in their hands whiles they sung.

(b) For, at *Olimpia*, were Games allo of Criers, strutting who could cry lowdest, for the prize.

(c) These were called *Merronice*, as one would say, *sacerd victorias*, to witt at the solemn games in Greece, *Nemea, Pythia, Isthmia, and Olimpia.*

25 (a) Five thousand were there of these Gallants, as *Xenophilus* writeth, ready to applaud him when he chaunted.

(a) He wianeth eyther a peruke & cap of counter-fait haire, *Kyane* *νυκταλινος*, *Dionis* thereby disguising himselfe: the same that in *Calgula* he terneth *Capillamentum*, or else some hood covering his head all faue the eyes. *Julius Cæsar* *calceatus* in *Caucilianum*, wherewith the Emperour *Venus* played such parts by night, in imitation of *Calgula* and *Nero.*

(b) *Quæstana*, was a Gate or Street rather in the Roman Campe, wherein was usually kept, *Forum rerum venensium*, in resemblance wherof, he termed a certaine place in his house *Quæstana*, in which he made sale of such wares and commodities, as he had gotten together by usung and robbing.

(c) It appeareth by *Tacitus*, that this was *Julius Montanus*, who, albeit he had not sitten in counsell as Senator, yet was *Laticlavus*, and wore the Senators Robe. Such Gentlemen were called *Iuuenes secundæ ordinis*, in distinction of those of the Imperial bloud, or otherwise neere allied unto the Emperour.

(a) The manner was in old time to imploy the day in businesse, and therein to take no liberrall meales, putting off the full refection, and cherishing of the bodie untill night. *Convivia de die*, argued Intemperance, much more then, feasting from noone to midnight.

(b) *Ambubaiarum.* These tooke their name (as most expositors have conjectured), *Quæ circa Patas versarentur.* Yet some learned men of later time fetch the same from this Syriack word *Ambubaie*, as if such were Syrian women, who being otherwise naufragie packes and callots, gat their liuing also by playing upon certaine instruments of musike, which they brought with them out of their native country.

(c) *Copæ imitantium.* Although *Copæ*, properly be such women as keepe victualling houses, readie not onely to entertaine, but also to invite and call in guesters, yet because these commonly are verie bold and unshamefaced, this terme goeth indifferently for strumpets and curtisians. For seldom shall a man see an impudent woman that is not withall incontinent, so inseparably is modestie joynd with Chastitie.

(d) The corrupt text in this place, hath given occasion of much obscuritie, and manifested matter enough for Criticks to worke upon, while some read *Mellita*, others *Myrtirichia*. By which are meant certaine sweet junkets, as daintie wafers, &c.

(e) This may be thought incredible, That banquetting conceits at one sitting should cost so much, and the asperion of role or other odoriferous liquors arise to more. Where is to be noted the obseruation of some, who for, *ab Syria* *ro Asia*, read *esperio resaria*, that is to say, the artificiall besprinkling and aromatizing (as I may so say) of banquetting rowmes, out of spouts and pipes, conveying odoriferous waters and oyles, going under the name of *Rosaria*. Which spouts, if they were made of silver or gold, (as we read they were at the feast of others, when he gave *Nero* entertainment) might soone amount to that somme. To say nothing of the costly compound distilled waters, or extracts and oyles, themselves, drawn out of most precious simples and spices.

(a) Him

The ignorance whereof, hath made some to read, in *cæteris verberantibus*, i. bound in chains and then beaten others, *habentibus*, for *cæteris*: as if he had bene well linged with keener thonges or halter ends, as slaves were wont to be serued by the *Lararii*.

23 (a) *ALBERTI*, the proper use of these *Graphia* was to cut or engrave letters onely, in tables of barked or soft wood: yet, because it was unlawfull to weare weapons in the Senate house, some, of a mischievous minde, made those writing files or Steeles so, as they might kill therewith, Enacted therefore it was, that no man should carie about him such writing instruments of yron or Steele, but of bone onely. And yet even these, as others also of reeds and quills, were made so keene and sharpe, that they were able to give a mortall wound.

(a) For the manner of the Roman Emperours was, upon disputation, to send men and women away into some desert isles, and there to confine them.

(b) *Ellebor*, that groweth in the Isles Anteyre, is of most effectuall operation. The roote is that, wherewith is made our ineeing powder. It purgeth exactly by vomit. Thereupon ariseth the Proverb, *Naviget Anteyram*. i. Let him saile to *Anteyra*, applied to one that is melancholicke in the highest degree, and little better than mad. See *Plinius. Naturæ Hist. lib. 35. cap. 5.*

33 (a) Some conjecture verie well, that this *Tertinius* was not named *LATRO*, being the addition appropriate to the noble Family of *Rome*, of the *Porcii*, but a notorious theefe or robber, such as in *Lana* is called *Latro*. And of that sort commonly were they that perished before the people this blaudie fight with unrebeated words, without foiles. And no meruaile, if he termed all the Citizens theife assembled *Tertinius*. i. Theeues, considering he withed before, that he could cut off all their heads at one blow.

(a) He suspected, that she had given him some love-drinks.

33 (a) *PRÆTER æquum.* How this can stand with his pride or malice, which our author hath propounded to exemplifie, I cannot see. In some copies we read, *præter eum*. i. beside him, that is to say, otherwise than he would haue them, or approve. And one Critick or Iudicious Lawier, *Franc. Hoteman*, as also *Coraci*, read, *præter eum*, as if hee should say, All Lawyers shall give none other answer but this. *Behold him*, meaning the Emperour *Cæsar*, thereby referring the decision of all matters to his will and pleasure. Lastly, *Tertinius* concludeth the Period thus, *Nequid respondere possint*. i. That they should give no answer at all. And for *præter æquum*, &c. he putteth *præterea*. i. Moreover, for a beginning of the next chapter.

5 (a) *Colossæos*, seemeth to be a word compounded of *colossus* and *Eros*. The one importeth his tallnesse, resembling the stately and Giantlike personages called *Colossi*, and the other, his lovely visage, representing *Eros*, even Love, or *Cupid* it selfe.

(b) These fenceurs, called *Thraes* or *Thraes*, thought to be the same that *Retarii*, were lightly appointed for armour, and put to desperate fight, as having all Sabellians parts of their bodies expoled to daunger, whereupon they were called also *Tunicati*, & were matched in oppositiō with the *Mirmillones*, as this verie of *Anfonius* implieth.

Quas mirmillones componitur æquum Thraes. Whereas the other named *Hoplomachi*, had for their defence, head peeces and targues. *Senec. lib. 1. Epist. 7.*

(c) The priest, called *Reus Nemorensis*, of a place where *Diana Aricina* was worshipped, within a temple beautified with a grove about it, by a barbarous custome of the Scythians, so long onely held his place, untill after one yeares revolution, some one stronger than himselfe, stepped unto him and overcame him in single fight, and so depoted him, like as, by the first institution, himselfe, foyling another in combat attained thereto.

(a) *Seneca* writeth, *Consolat. ad Helv.* That it was ordinarie with him, to consume at one supper ten millions of sesterces, and who studied himselfe, and laid his head to others, how he might at one supper make an even hand with the revenewes and tributes of all the provinces belonging to the state of *Rome*.

(b) Someread for [*ae Cædri*] *Deceres*, after the forme of *Maneres*, meaning by *Deceres* a nightie table furnished with ten ranks of Oares, for such the Greeks call *diapetes*.

(a) *Dum incensa commissa ferent.* Which may be expounded otherwise thus, when as many things were forfeited and confiscated.

(a) Taking the name from *Exploratores*, a militarie terme, signifying the Avant-couriers and fore-riders, to discover the enemy, & to cleete the coasts.

51 (a) Yet *Dian* reporteth of him, that otherwhiles, when it thundred aloft, he would seeme to doe the like beneath with a thunder barrell, or such a kinde of device: when it lightened, to make flashes with fireworks: and if a thunderbolt fell, to discharge likewise some stone out of an engine.

(a) Which ornaments belonged to *Impiter* and *Aesculapius*.

(b) Resembling thereby *Nestune*, ζ Sea for it symbolizeth his power over ζ River waters in ζ Lakes.

(c) The Ensigne of *Mercury*, betokening his Elatione.

(a) So called, because they were exhibited in the *Palatium*.

57 (a) *capitolium*, although *καπιτωλιον*, it was the stately mount or Castle of *Rome*, yet it became a generall name of all Citadels and strong Castles built for the defence of any Citie.

(b) Meaning the murder of *Caius Julius Cæsar Dictator*.

(c) Bearing the name of a notorious theefe, or Captyne rather of theives, crucified for his desertes.

ANNOTATIONS VPON

Tiberius Claudius Drusus Caesar.



LIKE as in Rome, the gate called *Porta Salaria*, and the *Strate Viae Salariae* upon sensible infortunate accidents.

(a) Whereas, by usual custome such were brought into the *Forum* or common hall.

(a) By vertue of this Act, himselfe, his landes and goods were proscribed and expoled to open sale, in a Table hung up by an Edict from the masters of the Exchequer or Citie-Chamber. And if within the time appointed, he came not in, to satisfie the debt, nor any chapman or suretie to undertake it, he and his whole state, fell by edicteate as forfait and confiscate into the Princes hands.

(a) THESE Islands are situate in the mouth of the River ** Rhodanus*: and they be so called of the order in which they lie.

(a) THE name of this Fencer *Palamus*, signifieth also in the Latin tongue a Stock-dove, which gave occasion unto him, to come out with this odd jest.

(a) PROVIDED it was by the law *Papia*. That no woman under fiftie yeares of age should be married to a man three-score yeares old or upward. Item, That no man under three score yeares, or upward might wed a woman, fiftie yeares old or above. Where, note: That these words [*a Tiberio*] as if he added the said Branch, seeme to have beene foisted in: considering that as it appeareth by *TACITVS* the Emperour *TIBERIVS* went about to moderate the foresaid law, and not to make it more strict by annexing such a clause.

(a) For feare of breaking up the pavements, if they rode in coach, wagon, chariot, or on horieback.

(b) In divers Greeke and Latin writers, the names of Jewes and Christians were confounded: so as by Jewes they understood Christians.

(c) *Orchestra* was that place in the fore-front of the Theater or Scaffolds, and neereft unto the Stage, wherein the Senators ordinarily sate, and sometime the Emperour himselfe.

(d) *Popularia*, were seats within the scaffolds and Theater, most remote from the Stage, wherein the common people were allowed to stand or sit. Betweene the said *Orchestra* and these *Popularia* were ranged the Knights or Gentlemen of Rome, and those ranks bare the name of *Equestris*.

(e) So called, of the mountaine *Eryx* in *Sicilie*, where she was highly worshipped, and where she had a Temple.

(a) As for *Drusilla* his wife, a Jew borne, she had beene married indeed before to king *ALEXANDER*, as *Ie-*

sephus writeth: but as touching the other two Queens, whofoever they were, he was acquainted with them otherwise, and not in way of marriage, so farre as I can finde.

(b) For everie man might not so doe, unless he had a Knights estate, which was foure hundred thousand *Sestertij*, or were free borne: Neyther Libertines nor Mechanicall persons living by base trades and occupations were allowed.

(a) Other writers, as *Philostatus* and *Iulianus*, say moreover, That without his wife and freed men, he was *propter imperitiam*, and *deputatus* *propter* *propter*, much like to a player in a dumbe shew, and the bare Image of a Kings Majestie, as *Plutarch* reporteth of *Aridaus*.

(a) This disease, some Physicians name *Kapthia*, i. the heart-ach, or *Cardiacam passionem*, seated in the orifice of the stomach, which is called *Kapthia*. The paine whereof, *PLINIVS* affirmeth to be most intollerable, next unto the passion of the strangury.

(a) *Flatum crepitumque ventris*. By *Flatum*, understand that riddance of wind downward, *qui uires ferit, non aures*. Which in English commeth neere unto the Latin word, *Pisio*, for that the verbe *Pisio*, is the same, to *blow*. As *CICERO* in his Epistles hath well, but covertly observed, out of the word *Drusio*, Wherein he noteth *Quiddam Cacemphaton*. Which place some interpreters, for ignorance of the said verbe *Pisio*, have expounded very absurdly.

(a) So sumptuous were these feastes, that *Pontificum Cena*, and *Salutis Epula*, grew into a proverb, to expresse exceeding great bellic cheere, and most delicate fare.

(a) *Seneca. lib. 1. De Clementia* writeth, That *Claudius* caused more Paricides to be sowed within a lea-ther male, &c. in five yeares space, than had beene ever before his daies.

(b) Whether they were hired thereto, or presuming of their owne strength, voluntarily entered upon such a combat, or forced to undergo that dangerous fight, or else expoled unto their greedie jaws for to be worried and devoured by them.

(c) This devise called heere *Automatvm*, *Horace* by a Periphrasis, pretily expresteth thus, *Nervis autem mobile lignum*.

(a) For with their *Gravibus*, as hath beene noted before, they might do a mischief.

(a) *Ira atque Iracundia*. *Ira* signifieth the hote and momentanie passion of anger, soone enflamed and as soone quenched, and *Iracundia* seemeth to be taken heere, for the continuance of the said anger, and an inveterate settled wrath. Howfoever our Dictionaries would teach us the contrary. The one may be called Gall or Choler, the other spleene or Melancholy.

(b) *Stultitia*

(b) This *FLAVIVS CLEMENS*, is thought to have beene a Proteite, and convert to the Jewish Religion, by reason whereof, being somewhat mortified, and making conscience to do evill, he was reputed base minded, and as *SESTONIVS* saith, *contemptissimus iernis*. Imputations charged by Paganes upon Christians, and the true servants of God, for their quiet cariage and modest behaviour.

(c) Whole sonne, I would not esse, he would be thought, as who put one to death, he should in his public prayers he had not made mention of him, as the sonne of *Minerva*, *Philostatus. lib. 7.*

(a) Little Images, which *Painius* devoutly kept and worshipped, (as the Tuxelare Gods of their beechamber) within a certaine Closet called *Laternum*.

(a) IT may be thought by the circumstance of this place, that this *Ruber vultus in Domitian*, was a tincture of vertue and modestie. But there was nothing lesse in him, so that it was rather an hypocriticall vizard and maske, under which was couched a most fell and cruell nature, as being by the judgement of *Tacitus* more sanguinarie than *Nero*. For

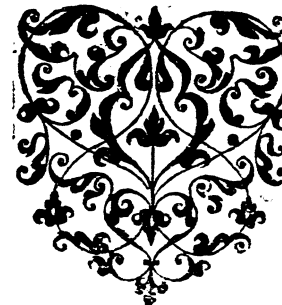
whereas *Nero*, *suberant oculis, infreques solatus, sine spectare, sub Domitiano principis infestare pars erat videri et affici, cum domitiano sic bonorum palloribus, sufficeret serville Domitiani vultus et rubor, quo se compa-poderent monitus*. A flushing red therefore is not a shew of grace.

(a) AT *Alexandria* in *Aegypt*, was that famous Librarie of King *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus* and the other *Ptolemaei* his progenitors and successors, containing to the number well neere of 700000 bookes. *And Cyprian. de lib. cap. 17.*

(a) ACCURATIONS must be restrained heere to the world sense, for all manner of Curses and Detestations, such as before were taken up by the people in this time, *Tiberium in Tiberium*, and afterwards by the Senate, against *Commodus*, that wicked Emperour, in these termes, *Hic patrie honores detrahantur, parricida trahatur, hostis decorum, carmen senatus nunc trahatur, in solario ponatur, &c.*

(b) *Nerva, Traianus, Hadrianus, &c.* Of whom, *Seneca Aurelius* writeth thus. *Quid Nerva prudentius aut moderatius? Quid Traianus devotus? Quid Hadrianus?*

Anno-



Faults escaped in the Annotations.

[illegible]